00035420

00035420

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020

# HISTORY OF CABINETS.

# HISTORY OF CABINETS.

FROM THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND

TO THE

ACQUISITION OF CANADA AND BENGAL.

35420
ac

BY

W. M. TORRENS.

*VOLUME II.*

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

LONDON:
W. H. ALLEN & CO., LIMITED
13, WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.,
Publishers to the India Office.
1894.

WYMAN AND SONS, LIMITED,
PRINTERS
LONDON AND REDHILL.

# HISTORY OF CABINETS.

## CHAPTER I.

### DETTINGEN.

### 1742-3.

Attempt to Impeach Walpole—Secret Service Money—Pulteney in the Lords—Carteret at Hanover—His Ascendancy in Council—Settling a King's Speech—Disappointment of Opposition—More Troops for Hanover?—Limiting of Public-houses—George II. Secretly Consults Walpole—Carteret and the King at Dettingen—Jealousy of Carteret's Reticence—Pelham Succeeds Wilmington at the Treasury—First Lesson to a First Lord.

WALPOLE being at length driven from power, the demolition of his system of rule, so frequently and loudly promised, was feverishly awaited by the crowd who exulted in his fall.

To make a show of redeeming the pledges given to search out corruption and to bring evil-doers to punishment, Lord Limerick moved for a Secret Committee to inquire into the malpractices and abuses of the ten preceding years. But it was hard to induce the Commons which had rejected the greater to adopt the lesser charge, confined as it was in scope to the personal conduct of the late Minister, and it took all the arts of Pitt and Pulteney to obtain a majority of seven. The zeal of the Commons for retrenchment speedily cooled. Vows of Executive reform could not be entirely ignored; yet if the distribution of blame were to be inexorably just, not a few who had shared in the late triumph were in danger of being found aiders and abettors of sin. Proofs indeed were said to be forthcoming, and the Treasury was ex-

horted to expose purposes which no man who loved his country could think of without indignation—the bribing of votes, the purchase of boroughs, the enlisting of hirelings, the multiplying of dependents, and the corrupting of Parliaments.

The Committee gave their chief attention to the use made of Secret Service money; but they were baffled at every turn, and made little way. Nicholas Paxton, confidential solicitor to the Treasury, when examined as to election payments, refused to answer questions that might implicate others or criminate himself. He had been brought up under Cracherode, in the previous reign, and received from him when he retired a balance in hand of £5,000, ostensibly for the purpose of carrying on the business of Government at the poll. Under the efficient management of the deposed Minister, the working capital of corruption grew, and it appeared that he had received altogether about £94,000, for the specific application of which he stoutly refused to answer, and he was thereupon committed to Newgate. The Committee reported that from 1731 to 1741 vast sums had been spent as Secret Service money. They contrasted the amount with that expended from 1707 to 1717, a period which included a long war, a dangerous rebellion, a disputed succession, and the Union with Scotland. The amounts paid from the time of the Revolution were constantly on the increase. From 1731 to 1741 they amounted to £1,440,128—upon an average £144,000 a year.

John Scrope, M.P. for Lyme Regis, who had been for many years Business Secretary to the Department, when called on to give evidence, refused to take an oath which would have bound him to disclose what had been done with £1,052,211 traced to his hands and those of the Minister, for the purposes of Secret Service.

Consideration was shown to his advanced age and personal character, and he was allowed time to reconsider. He told the Committee, when summoned a second time, that he had consulted the most eminent lawyers, and best divines of his acquaintance, and that they concurred in holding him bound by his official obligation to the late First Lord and to the King. He had laid the case before his Majesty, who declined to permit his disclosure of the details he might be asked to give as a witness, and, be the consequences what they might, he respectfully refused to be sworn. At his time of life it was not worth while to leave

it in the power of any man to say that he had betrayed the Sovereign or the Minister who had long trusted him ; and he was therefore prepared to abide the resolution of the Committee, whatever it might be. His scruples were respected, and he was not pressed further. There were still some sanguine enough to hope that out of Cornwall light might be elicited. Mr. Edgcumbe, well known for his practical popularity there, had a hint that he would be expected to attend ; and as his transactions on behalf of the Ministry had been chiefly with the Duke of Newcastle, he naturally felt that he might enlist the susceptibilities of his Grace in a dexterous proceeding to ward off the blow. He longed not for office, but for a coronet, of which he had been disappointed more than once to make way for bigger men; but the fulness of time was come, and the dignity promptly gazetted would baffle the curiosity of the Commons. Thus it came to pass, to the wonderment of not a few, that the Member for Plympton was created a Baron.[1] Sir John Barnard, who had often wrestled with Walpole on the floor of finance, declared himself so disgusted with the inveteracy shown towards the fallen Minister that he retired from the Committee. They did their best to get secondary evidence of the offences charged, but felt obliged regretfully to own that not more than £1,400,000 of public money remained unaccounted for ; and that little more than £57,000 had gone to pay the writers in the *Gazetteer*, the defenders of the faith that was dead. For a show of sincerity in tracking corruption through its official windings, a Bill was passed granting an indemnity to anyone who should criminate himself in his testimony before the Committee. But such a precedent for *ex post facto* inquisition would have been, it was felt, highly inconvenient. It was denounced in the Peers by Carteret as unconstitutional, and rejected by 109 to 57. In the Commons it was moved that the rejection of the Bill by the Lords was an obstruction of justice, and might prove a fatal blow to the liberties of the nation. The promoters of the Bill, however, did not on this occasion succeed in collectively keeping their countenance, and but 193 to 245 voted censure on the Upper House ; and upon this closing scene of Walpolian rule the historic curtain falls. From time to time a corner is raised by cynical Horace the younger, or little Lord Hervey, and we

[1] 17th April, 1742.

catch a glimpse of the doings which the Secret Committee sought in vain to pry into. But the rest of the acts of Sir Robert, all that he did, all the pensions he gave, and all the Members he bought, are not to be found in any of the books of the Kings of England.

Baffled in their search for probable details by the refusal of the ex-Minister's agents to peach on their master, the Committee relied on general notoriety as sufficient evidence of the fact; which it is indeed impossible for anyone to doubt who reads the personal memoirs of the time, reinforced by partial disclosures of half-repentant accomplices willing to float ashore with the turning tide, but not expected to remember too much or too particularly what might directly compromise former friends. It was one of these indecencies of political life which everyone in public declared to be scandalous, and from which few in private were altogether free. Hervey and Horace Walpole talk of the matter in the same cynical tone of half-banter and half-blame with which they speak of wantonness in old men, or indelicacy in women. Neither could have kept his countenance had he tried to speak gravely of Treasury investments in rural boroughs as morally wrong. Morality was held to have nothing to do with the matter; but it was always an open question among privileged gamblers, how far it was worth while playing with some few of the lowest cards marked, when everyone knew that no game of office could be won without them. There was, indeed, a certain jealousy whenever there seemed to be an excessive interference by Government in the Seat-market. What at the utmost it actually amounted to does not distinctly appear; but when the Government was strong and the Exchequer rich, there was always a disposition among the unofficial buyers of boroughs to grumble at their spoiling the market; and the excessive use of irresponsible power in this as in other respects was condemned as unfair.

The accusation of having surreptitiously shared in Government contracts was endorsed by Lord Limerick's Committee; but the friends of the accused Minister found it easy to repel this, by a sifting analysis of the vague and unsatisfactory evidence adduced against him. That corruption of this kind was not uncommon we may reasonably infer from the phlegmatic tone in which it was discussed, and the readiness with which the imputation was

believed. But Walpole had no need to sully his hands with constructive bribery of this sort; and any appellate tribunal impartially constituted would have reversed this portion of the verdict against him, and returned at least one of not proven.

The Session closed without anything having been done to prevent the continuance by the Cabinet of the clandestine practices, the name of which had thrown Parliament into such paroxysms of virtue. That they were punctually and persistently resumed, the correspondence of Ministers with one another and with their respective agents sufficiently shows. For

> "Ye blessed creatures, we do hear ye,
> One to another call."

Walpole, who had pulled the strings throughout the complicated negotiations and manœuvres that followed his resignation, had succeeded to his heart's content in splitting the Opposition into its primary elements. The secession of Carteret, Sandys, Winchilsea, Gower, and Pulteney and their numerous friends, drove Pitt and Grenville to reorganise their party in alliance with that of Shippen and Sir J. Hynde Cotton, on a new though narrow basis.

Loud and deep, incoherent but inveterate, were still the demands for impeachment. Walpole was no coward, and having survived numberless vicissitudes of fortune, he had grown habitually hard to frighten; and he used to make open fun of real as well as imaginary danger. He could laugh without affectation in the very hour of his fall; and honestly pity the King when he wept for it. Yet there were moments in which his stout heart quailed at the contingency of the power he had lost falling into reckless and vindictive hands. His own persecution of Oxford, the attainder of Bolingbroke, the beggary and banishment of Atterbury were not yet forgotten. He did not believe in the inveteracy of Carteret, whose chief study was to conciliate Royal favour, and whose nobler and kindlier nature was more to be relied on than the shuffling plausibilities of Newcastle.

Of Hardwicke he thought better, though he had not forgotten how he slunk from the side of Lord Macclesfield when his patron's position, credit, and fortune, were in jeopardy. Still, with his never-failing shrewdness in striking the balance of temptation, he judged rightly that the two best things for him would be that Hardwicke should remain in the Cabinet, and that Pul-

teney should be allowed to disappoint the hopes he had raised of impersonating unworldly virtue. His own career in the Commons being ended, it was a consolation to think that he had left no Pulteney behind him.

But no attempt was made after all to formulate measures of impeachment, and, had there been, the assent of too many would have been necessary who for various reasons could not have afforded the practical adoption of such a proceeding.

Pulteney was declared Earl of Bath, and Chesterfield affected to lament that he had fallen upstairs; but he retained his seat in the Cabinet, and ere long repented his self-denying ordinance. He had played a great part as Tribune of the Gentry and leader of the untitled aristocracy in Opposition, of whom he was, perhaps, as fine and yet as fair a specimen as was ever seen. Valuing highly the wealth which rendered independence easy, he could not be drawn by the lure of official emolument into public inconsistency, whereby he might have doubled his fortune. Enjoying, as few ever did, the sense of being raised by his own intellect and eloquence above his fellows, he refused repeatedly to ascend halfway the heights of the Executive. Other men had waited and worked long to gain that much-coveted reward—the being called upon in the hour of party triumph to form a Ministry. But each and all of them had either spurned the command when coupled with unworthy conditions, or had taken a secondary place in a new combination. Pulteney did neither. He insisted on showing the world that he had led the way over Jordan, although he did not enter the promised land.

He remained in the Commons during the Session, and strained every nerve to obtain by degrees better terms for his more than half-disappointed party. His tone regarding the Sovereign was sufficiently imperious; and the more so, because he found himself, in consequence of the aversion of George II., shut out from all means of personal influence. He was compelled to act through Carteret when he would persuade, and through the House of Commons when he would command. At the instance of Walpole, the King gave him to understand that as the position he assumed was alike unprecedented and unconstitutional, implying without official responsibility a sort of tribunician power, he ought to put an end to illegitimate suspicions by the acceptance of a peerage. Pulteney instinctively recoiled from the

irrevocable step which everybody but his wife saw clearly would break his enchanter's wand ; and he continued during the Session to urge the promotion of faithful friends and the removal of distrusted adherents. Of the latter none was more persistently desired than that of Hervey, whose bitter wit had left him few friends either amongst new or old courtiers.

He relied on the habitual confidence reposed in him by the King, and the remembrance of the singular regard which had always been shown him by Queen Caroline. All suggestions for his dismissal failed for a considerable time. At length, in the beginning of July, Pulteney declared that, unless Hervey were compelled to make room for Gower as Privy Seal, he should consider all understanding between him and the Court at an end, and that in that case he should certainly decline going to the Lords.

Hervey was told he must give way. In appeasement of his remonstrance, his Majesty offered him a pension out of the Civil List which he at first declined, hinting that his father would make good his official loss ; but eventually he was glad to remind the King of his munificent offer, stipulating only that he should be made a Lord of the Bedchamber, as an ostensible reason for his voting with Government.

Discordant views rendered opposition practically powerless, either to modify Ministerial policy or to exact a participation in office. A malcontent council of nine consisted of Bedford, Chesterfield, Gower, Pitt, Lyttelton, Cobham, Waller, Dodington, and Sir J. Cotton. The latter four had urged the exaction of some legislative concessions before taking office, and they persuaded themselves, if not others, that Pelham had encouraged their ideas of a Place Bill, by which subaltern officers in the Army and Navy might be excluded from Parliament, and collectors of Customs and Excise deprived of their votes. There is no evidence that he ever committed himself to any terms of the kind, and there is no probability that he believed his colleagues would ever consent to them. Waller, indeed, went so far as to ascribe the Place Bill offered by Pelham to his incapacity and pusillanimity, not that he felt any compunction for the public, but merely that he might sit easy in power, and shelter his inability from the force of Waller's experience, Pitt's eloquence, the party strength of Gower and Cotton, the keen and

lively parts of Cobham, and the social arts of Dodington, which, if concentrated in support of a patriotic policy, would have proved a serious danger to the Ministry. The leading members of Opposition saw through the unreality of Treasury professions, and thought they were only losing time by insisting upon terms, letting it be understood, however, that in the grave condition of affairs abroad, they were not averse from a friendly conference with the Triumvirate regarding possible coalition.

Carteret accompanied the King to Hanover, and kept his leading colleagues informed of the progress of affairs abroad, which he painted *en beau*, lamenting the sinister neutrality of the King of Prussia, and exulting in the indomitable resolution of the Empress-Queen. The new Lord Bath amused himself by resuming his old opposition tone of criticism, expatiating on the attenuated confidence of the public in military combinations that, however well planned, resulted in nothing, and endorsing the prevalent demand that every Frenchman should be driven out of the Empire, and the Dutch drawn into giving their support, or else we had better make peace forthwith, and have done with the burthensome war. He was sorry to remind his Grace of Newcastle that people were not so well satisfied with affairs; every measure in this country was considered wise or injudicious, according to the success attending it, and not according to the prudence or policy with which it was concerted, and people began already to grudge and grumble at the expenses entered on, so that he found that there would be more difficulty to be met in the next Parliament than once he apprehended. Sir J. H. Cotton bragged much that there would be a full attendance the next Session. He had made a progress through the western parts, and had been at Mr. Dodington's to concert matters for opposition. Great clamours were raised against taking the Hanover troops into our pay, which they said would be of no use whilst the Dutch would not co-operate with us. He hoped Carteret's journey as Minister in attendance on the King would be successful, but the motive of it must be something more than he cared at present to mention. Lord Stair would probably be offended with it, and as they had had small differences, possibly this might increase them. If Carteret could engage the Dutch to join heartily with us, or if, by going a little further than the Hague, he could draw the King of Prussia

from his inglorious neutrality, it would be of infinite consequence.[1] .

Used to the strain and struggle of pilot in stormy seas, the ex-Tribune hardly knew what to do with himself at anchor in the Lords. In the Cabinet only he could make his power of argument and expression felt, and he was already beginning to see how he could be troublesome.

Nothing had struck the French, he thought, so much as our being able without delay or difficulty to raise over six millions at three per cent. for the war, and it might be well without the semblance of boasting to let our allies generally be made aware of the fact. They had all a hankering after English help in the shape of subsidy, and their disposition would be favourably impressed by a reminder betimes how easily we could afford it. Well might Sandys tremble for financial acts he was unable to control.

At a meeting of the Cabinet at Whitehall on the 29th of July, the unanimous advice was given that 16,000 Hanoverians and 6,000 Hessians should be ordered to join the 16,000 British troops already in the field, and advance to the support of the Queen of Hungary.[2]

Nothwithstanding their success in reconstructing the Cabinet, the Pelhams were conscious of their intellectual weakness, and the infirmity of their hold on the humour of the King. They were no match for Carteret and Pulteney in foreign affairs, or for the undisguised continuance of Walpole's influence at Court. Their chief reliance in Administration was on Hardwicke, who seemed inclined occasionally to take things easy and to be preoccupied with the careful building of his judicial fame, and the expansion of his family importance. The Duke, in one of his intermittent fits of feverish distrust, threw himself at the Chancellor's feet when he was afraid his indispensable friend was likely to leave town. He had observed less activity in business than formerly, which might arise from an inclination to withdraw from the active part of it by degrees, and to confine himself chiefly to his own office. If this were in any measure the case, he must beg of his friend to consider in what situation it would leave him regarding measures started, perhaps in the

[1] From Lord Bath, 20th September, 1742.—*MS.*

[2] Carteret *MSS.*

Closet, and adopted with precipitation by those who were responsible. His brother had all the prudence, knowledge, experience, and good intention that could be wished or hoped for, but it would be difficult for them alone to stem that which, with Hardwicke's weight, authority, and character, would not be twice mentioned. Besides, his brother and he might differ in opinion, in which case he was sure that of their friend would determine both. There had been for many years a unity of thought and action between them, but it would be impossible for him to go on with credit and security to himself, or with advantage to his friends, if the world did not see and understand that the three were one, not in thought only, but in action; not in action barely, but in the first conception or digestion of things. This would give them real weight in the Closet and in the Ministry, but this could be done only by the Chancellor himself. If the writer knew his own heart, it was full of all the love, attention, gratitude, and regard that was possible for one man to have for another.[1]

Lord Gower was regarded as one of the leaders of the Tory party in the Upper House, and though of moderate parts, was much esteemed for his public and private virtues. He declined to be tempted by office until July, 1742, when Wilmington persuaded him to take the Privy Seal, on the assurance that substantial reforms were contemplated, the nature of which he felt at liberty to communicate in confidence to his friends, whose chagrin was not disguised. But on Wilmington's death soon after, the promises of improvement were forgotten, and an Earldom was the only consolation Lord Gower had for the loss of influence he had once enjoyed.[2]

Argyll's impetuosity and vacillation committed him often to contentions and confidences, neither of which he could thoroughly defend, but his death, in October, relieved his Parliamentary associates from further trouble regarding him, and left Chesterfield without a rival in the Upper House as a Leader of Opposition.

Before the end of October, Hardwicke drafted a Speech from the Throne which he sent to the Duke, "not as complete, but as something to work upon by his brother and himself, and not to

[1] To the Chancellor, 3rd August, 1742.
[2] "Dr. King's Own Times."

be hurried into the hands of anyone else, much less of the King, prematurely."[1] What his Majesty was to say must be settled definitely before he was allowed any opportunity of thinking about it.

During the autumn the outcry was renewed for detection and exposure of the waste of public money by the late Board of Treasury, and the Pitts and Grenvilles sought allies in Waller, Shippen, Sir J. H. Cotton, Lord Strange, Dashwood, and Lyttelton; and the host of many colours who rallied round them never ceased reviling the turpitude of those who, having had the great delinquent in their grasp, had loosed him and let him go. The constituencies were urged to make their members feel they must be stern when Parliament came next to judgment. Horace the younger had his own reasons for straining every nerve to catch the rumbling presages of the storm, and spared no opportunity of prejudicing all he knew with the belief of the malice and injustice of his family's accusers.

Cobham had not been tempted to take office, and on the Address his friends broke out vehemently against the compromise. Pitt spoke, they said, "like ten thousand angels," and Richard Grenville did his part in the controversy. His younger brother James "was likewise all on fire, but could not get a place." The minority divided 150, but counted their strength all told at 200. "It was inconceivable how colloguing and flattering Ministers were to them, notwithstanding their impertinence."[2] Pitt's speech was not reported.

On the vote for pay of Hanoverian troops to be stationed in Belgium,[3] Henry Fox, Surveyor-General of Works, ably defended Carteret's policy. Pitt replied with great spirit, and the memorable duel of twenty years may be said to have begun. Pitt was more open than formerly in satire on the Elector of Hanover, whom he refused to identify with the King of England in fulfilling treaties, paying troops, or providing for their employment. If bound by engagements to support the Queen of Hungary in the field, he should have raised his Hanoverian troops at the cost of Hanover, and sent them to her aid, instead of dispatching them to a place far from danger to

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 18th Oct., 1742.—*MS.*
[2] R. Grenville to his brother, 22nd November, 1742.
[3] 10th December, 1742.

eat and sleep; or, if generosity rather than justice were the impelling motive, the honourable feeling ought not to be gratified at the expense of England, that had no interest in the quarrel.

When, if ever, will the whole truth of this remarkable period of executive rule be written? Old Horace, writing two years after his brother's fall to the trusted chaplain Etough, wished that well-informed aid could be given to Tindal, who, he heard, was writing a continuation of Rapin, and who was most likely to tell the truth.[1] The Chaplain was, evidently, thought the safest hand through which such communications might be made, as one not likely to be mistaken about facts and motives. And the suggestion marks him as a witness of especial value on the Walpole side of the controversy. He responded as was to have been expected, and urged his old friend and gossip to put together every jot and tittle of contemporary annals tending to vindicate the statesman's claim to honoured recollection.[2]

Carteret, after twelve years' exclusion from office, found his hands too full of foreign affairs, bygone, actual, and impending, to find time for the interminable details of patronage on which many of his colleagues lived. He could hardly, it was said, be induced to lend serious attention to importunities for place or promotion; and when set upon by Newcastle to desist from some inconsiderate promise, or to adopt in preference some ill-bred or ill-looking candidate, legal or clerical, he was apt to yield with a shrug, or say with a laugh, "Pooh! let it be so." Banter came so naturally to him, and humour was so essentially part of his nature, that if every casual word dropped at table or in Council were to be registered against him in its literal sense, his best friend must have failed to make a grave and coherent story of it. His enemies, while he lived, and captious critics ever since, have stumbled over whims of phrase and *equivoque* of interpretation in a manner of which not a few of his successors at the Foreign Office have been made to feel the discomfort. Chief Justice Willes, who applied to him for an appointment for one of his adherents in the law, bored him probably with the recital of credentials and testimonials, while the Secretary of State, though willing to be civil, felt far away, and at length, out of patience, he broke out with, "What is it to me who is a judge, and who a

[1] From Wolterton, 9th September, 1744.—Etough *MS.*

[2] To Birch, 6th August, 1744.

bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." His ideality in contrivance, vigour in the use of means, eloquence of tongue and pen, and undoubting confidence in himself, carried him over all common difficulties for a time; and he counted with reason on the support of Bath, Sandys, Winchilsea, Tweeddale, and Gower. But from the first they were outnumbered by the remains of the old Cabinet, who had held on after Walpole and Wager retired. If Newcastle was not already casting into the deep of intrigue for a new draft, he was busy mending his nets; and while Walpole lived the minority in the Cabinet could never feel secure that his personal influence might not be exerted effectually against them.

Discontent at the employment of Electoral troops in Flanders did not subside, and in the Upper House Lord Stanhope, son of the once popular Minister, but himself inexperienced in affairs, was put forward to move an Address to the Crown, that, considering the burthens of the nation, the foreign mercenaries lately taken into pay should be disbanded. The French were too strong to be kept out of the Low Countries by a group of Hessians and Hanoverians in British pay, and, the constitution of the German Empire forbidding them to take such service, they ought not, in fact, to be so employed. Carteret, from his knowledge of the code of the Empire, which, he said, he had studied as a diplomatist before his critic was in being, undertook to show how greatly he had been misled. For the rest, it was time, he thought for England to cast off the reproach that we feared, in a just cause, to face the power of both branches of the House of Bourbon. The cause of the Empress-Queen was that of the liberty of Europe, and he trusted they would show that in the defence of our rights and interests they did not shrink from the whole power of France. The Duke of Bedford and the ex-Privy Seal supported the motion on the broad ground that Hanover—said to be in danger—was no justifying cause for extended war. Bath, for the first time, addressed the Lords reluctantly; but he could not reconcile it to himself to float down the stream of popularity in silence, or shrink from defending in Parliament what he had approved in Cabinet. The Queen of Hungary, pressed on every side, declared herself unable to support the garrisons of the barrier towns, and must recall her troops to defend her cen-

tral States. Either, then, these strong places must fall again into the hands of the French, and we should be obliged to recover them at the cost of another ten years' war, or we and the Dutch must promptly send a sufficient force to retain them. The duty lay, indeed, pre-eminently on the States-General; but a single province of the Federal Republic might hesitate, or might, perhaps, be tampered with by an artful enemy. Was the common safety to be neglected, therefore; and if it was for their sake, not for our own, we were called upon to act, the excuse would be valid; but the imminence of the common danger admitted not of delay. If, indeed, the Dutch were content to forsake the stand they once occupied as the general watch of the world, let us not give way to the same infatuation; let us not look with neglect on the deluge that rolled towards us till it was too near to be repelled. Let us show mankind that we were neither afraid to stand up alone in defence of justice and of freedom, nor unable to maintain the cause that we had undertaken to assert. On a division ninety Peers rallied to this trumpet-call, and but thirty-five voted for the motion.

Little legislative energy appeared to survive in the diminished ranks of Opposition to realise the promises of organic reform. A Place Bill, indeed, was brought in, as it had so often been before, but it met with scant furtherance, and was speedily laid aside. A serious conflict arose upon a very different theme. Jekyll's Act, which was to have put down excessive drinking by expensive licences and heavy penalties, had not only broken down, but the evils it was meant to check notoriously increased. Low public-houses traded without paying victualler's licences, and the town overflowed with drunkenness and vice of every description. Some change had become absolutely necessary in the provisions of the law, not only for the sake of public morals, but for the sake of the revenue; and, reverting to the forecast of Walpole, who had anticipated the failure of extreme measures, Sandys introduced and carried rapidly through the Lower House a Bill framed in a more temporising spirit, but easier to be enforced by an Executive who had at their command no organised police. In the Upper House too much stress was laid on the recommendation by the First Lord of the Treasury that under the proposed enactment an improved excise would afford means for raising at moderate rates the loans which Government re-

quired for the prosecution of the war. This was taken as a virtual admission of mercenary and immoral motives for the Bill, and warm denunciations followed from Hervey, Lonsdale, Talbot, Sandwich, and Chesterfield. All the Bishops present voted in the minority, but the measure was carried by nearly two to one. The Archbishop and Gower differed from their colleagues, but the rest of the Cabinet held together.

The taking of the Hanover troops into pay by the new Ministers, notwithstanding all they had said when out of place, confounded simple-minded followers throughout the country. In the outcry against Walpole, measures, it was said, would be changed with men; and when it grew clear that the old policy was not only taken over, but justified as necessary and on principle, simple-minded men woke as from a fleeting dream. Even personal obligations and attachments were forgotten in the first flush of disappointment. A Whig prelate owned in confidence to a friend that though he had come up late in the Session, he felt he had come too soon; finding some points so doubtful that he did not know how to vote at all, and others so clear that he was grieved to be under the necessity of voting against friends of whom when out of place he had a good opinion. There was indeed "a necessity for doing something to prevent the drinking of that poison called gin; but unhappily the increasing of the vice was found to be a way to increase the revenue; and this was the fund chosen on which to borrow the millions wanted."

George II. had been too long used to rely on his old Ministers easily to reconcile himself to the want of their advice. He still sought their counsel, but furtively, and as though he feared to give umbrage to those whom he had been compelled to accept instead. Through Cholmondeley, he asked Walpole's opinion on several occasions; Colonel Selwyn, who had been Treasurer to the Queen, and Dr. Ranby, Physician to the Household, likewise lent their aid when required. It was difficult for them to perform this service without being observed, and resort was had to an expedient of a novel kind. Mr. Fowle, who had married the niece of Walpole, and who had been made by him a Commissioner of Excise, lived in Golden Square. The ex-Minister spent many evenings there; and often as late as midnight, when the servants had been on various pretexts sent out of the way, and the family had retired, the street door was opened by Fowle himself, a

sedan-chair admitted into the hall, and a little man came out who went upstairs and remained in the drawing-room for some time. It was Livry, the King's favourite page, who was thus employed to learn secretly Lord Orford's sentiments and views. To the man who for fifteen years had exercised supreme control over the highest and lowest in the land, it was no doubt a source of pleasure and pride to think that his counsel, after all, was thus anxiously sought.

George II. was impatient to put himself at the head of his troops, Carteret having filled him with confidence that the martial hopes of his youth were at length about to be realised. He himself tarried by the way at the Hague, in order to ratify the agreement he had successfully made for an alliance, offensive and defensive, against France. The hesitation of the Dutch, which had outlasted Walpole's irresolution, was removed by a Convention with Prussia in November, and a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Russia in the following month. Their reviving courage was still more strengthened by the recent votes in Parliament of men and money. When George II., accompanied by Carteret, reached the army under the command of Lord Stair, they were encamped between Mount Spessart and the Main, greatly in want of provisions, and preparing to fall back, expecting to be reinforced from Hanover. They were considerably outnumbered by the army under Noailles, who on the first symptom of their movement detached his nephew, the Duc de Grammont, with a corps of 23,000 men to cut off their retreat through the defile of Dettingen, while he himself pressed with the main body of his forces on their rear. From this critical position they were relieved by the rashness of the youthful officer in command of their foes, who, without orders, provoked a conflict with the English advancing column, led in person by the King. A conflict of several hours ended in complete victory, and George II. became the hero of the day.

Carteret, who had been on the ground all day, describes the action with the coolness and clearness of a soldier. He gives the King full credit for personal courage and judicious direction of the troops under his command. Prince William and other officers of distinction were wounded.[1] George II. and his Minister sought to turn the victory to account in hastening

[1] To Newcastle, 20th June, 1743.—*MS.*

negotiations for peace. The labour these entailed lasted from seven in the morning till nine at night, but the *eclat* gained afforded an opportunity that could not otherwise have been had, and no pains must be spared in putting it to good use.

Uplifted from the melancholy of his situation by an event so signal and sudden, the deposed Minister offered an untsinted measure of sympathy and commendation to his successor. "I am very much obliged for the early account you gave me of this great and important news from the army. I do not remember any event that ever more sensibly transported me, and the more I think of the happy consequences that must attend this success and the great advantages that may be drawn from it, which I make no doubt will be properly applied, I cannot enough rejoice, at least cannot enough express the infinite satisfaction which the fate of this great and glorious day has filled my heart. . . . Let it at present suffice to rejoice with the King for the glorious part he has had in this first essay, to rejoice with my country at this check which is given to the ambitious views and enterprises of France, and rejoice with the King's servants at the great turn which is given in support of the measures of the Government, and which, if not interrupted by any cross and unhappy accident, must make opposition fall before them. There is nothing that I can contribute towards this desirable end that shall not be most readily exerted with all the zeal and sincerity which can be expected from me."[1]

It reads as if he had not read it over before impressing the wax with his new coronet; but who would jar its true ring of earnestness to mend the blemishes of style that rather add to its value?

King George was advised to be contens with what had been done at Dettingen, and the army fell back to the frontier of Hanover. The English regiments, with their German auxiliaries under d'Aremberg, were suffered to take rest in Flanders, and Prince Charles, having cantoned his troops in Suabia and Bavaria, betook himself to Vienna for his nuptials with the sister of Maria Theresa. How many of the English Cabinet indulged in half-stifled satisfaction, that the showy march of triumph had thus come to an end for the year, and looked

[1] Orford to Newcastle, 25th June, 1743.—*MS.*

forward enviously to the nearer return of the colleague who had invented alliances and organised victory.

Carteret floated on the top of the tide, and for the moment he looked irresistible; but he must be resisted, and his power gnawed away if it could not be suddenly broken. The perplexed condition in which Imperial interests had been left had led the Emperor to make overtures to England for a separate accommodation, and George II., for the sake of Hanover, was not unwilling to come to terms with the Federal Head of the Empire. The Pelhams demurred to any deviation from the letter of our engagements with the Queen of Hungary, and Newcastle, with seeming frankness—writing to Carteret "as freely as he would have talked to him at Stone's"—dilated on the dangerous complications that would arise should we become peace-makers among the Powers of Germany, and be left alone to contend with France and Spain. But Carteret, conscious of the weakness of the position, and knowing the undercurrent of Hanoverianism that rendered unstable the Royal boast in unexpected success in arms, believed he could render no better service to his own country, or to Germany, than to facilitate an accommodation of differences between the Powers of the Empire without the humiliation or, what he feared still more, the mutilation of any of them; and while negotiating preliminaries for the treaty soon afterwards concluded at Worms, he endeavoured to bring his colleagues in London to revert to the views imperfectly developed some time before for the pacification of central Europe, even though the Maritime States might still remain in conflict. The Emperor held back, insisting upon reparation for his losses and territorial concessions that to his allies seemed too humiliating. The position was in every way critical, and they well knew what party advantage would be taken at home of any seeming error committed at a distance in diplomacy. A private letter from Carteret defined more accurately than dissertation could the nicety of the relations subsisting between King and Cabinet. "His Majesty thinks the gaining of the Emperor, or even keeping him in suspense, of such importance that, though he will make no stipulations without the combined sense of his servants, nor engage absolutely to pay three hundred thousand crowns; yet he thinks it proper that the affair should not, in this great crisis, fall at once to

pieces; and therefore thinks it proper to hazard one hundred thousand crowns under the head of secret service for the Emperor, for which a warrant is signed according to the form which Mr. Pelham and I agreed upon. If the Emperor accept it, we may insensibly carry him into all our measures; then, as more money will be stipulated for publicly, this warrant may be taken up and brought to public account, and if he does not accept it, it shall be cancelled and never heard of. I confess to you that I think everything is in our hands, both as to honour and security, if we can but know how to make a good use of it."[1]

In reply, the Duke wrote that the Chancellor, the Lord President, his brother, and he himself strongly deprecated any engagement to support the Emperor with subsidies to which they believed the Queen of Hungary was in no condition to contribute, and which a communication in cypher from Paris convinced them that the Court of Versailles would counterbid. Parliament could not be expected to incur such an obligation. They therefore advised his Majesty to discourage any hopes of the kind.[2] On receipt of this communication, the Secretary anxiously disclaimed any idea of permanently subsidising the Emperor, but he again urged his colleagues to consider whether it might not be worth while to purchase his formal repudiation of the French alliance by granting three hundred thousand crowns for his immediate needs. The allies were preparing to pursue their retreating adversaries across the frontier stream. Eventually the Emperor refused the offer, and the project came to nought.

A despatch announcing the victory of Dettingen, and another rendering the result without any account of the negotiations with the Emperor and Prince Charles, were all that the self-reliant Secretary had sent from Hanover. His excuse was that he feared his messengers might fall into the hands of the enemy, on which his colleague observed that he had with him a cypher had he chosen to use it, which it was next to impossible they could read. Carteret's reticence came of no fear of free-booting. But for his daring, and, it must be owned, patriotic council, George II. might not have risked his crown and life in

[1] To Newcastle, 5th July, 1743.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Carteret, 15th July, 1743.—*MS.*

battle, and thereby won for his house in the minds of his people a title to rule they could better understand than his hereditary reversion. The fearless and far-sighted proposal by which Carteret endeavoured to separate Austria from France was a stroke of genius which he well knew his pottering colleagues in London, had they been consulted beforehand, would never have allowed him to play; and of personal consequences on the morrow of two such triumphs he thought he could afford to be reckless. But the feline jealousy of Newcastle was stirred, and the constitutional caution of Hardwicke naturally shrank from sanctioning a precedent so full of danger; while Henry Pelham, whose personal position was more dependent on retention of office than that of either, viewed with misgiving the bold assertion of the isolated Minister to ascendancy in the Cabinet. The Duke was therefore allowed to send a remonstrance to their tantalising colleague in their joint names. It expressed much concern at their being often so long without any accounts from his Majesty and his army. It was thought the greatest slight and disregard to those who had the honour to be in the King's service at home, and who he intended should be in his confidence. The accounts, when they did come, were usually short, from whence no judgment could be made, either as to the situation and condition of the army or the enemy; or any confidential communication as to what were the King's real intentions, or what were apprehended to be the views and designs of the Duc de Noailles. They had hitherto been very cautious in suggesting any opinion at this critical time, and would be more so from the little notice taken of the few they had made. The Emperor's declaration that he would act no longer against the Queen of Hungary was thought to be in consequence of a negotiation with the English Court, of which they were ignorant. "A good peace, to be sure, was, and ought to be, their sole view, and the sooner it could be procured the better. But unless the affair of Dunkirk was absolutely terminated to their satisfaction, peace with Spain and with Italy, made upon advantageous terms, and France tied up in the strongest manner not to give any assistance to Spain, it would not be thought a good peace; and they were not sure that the restoration of Lorraine might not be expected."[1]

[1] Newcastle Papers, 1743.—*MS.*

The English army crossed the Rhine at Mayence, and took up their quarters at Worms. Distracted councils paralysed their further movement, and Lord Stair, out of patience at being continually thwarted by German generals, in a memorial full of complaint, asked permission to retire to his plough. George II. was angry at his tone, and what he deemed his desertion at a critical juncture, and granted his request. The Duke of Marlborough, who was second in command, did likewise, and other officers, declaring themselves humbled by the partialities shown to Hanoverians, followed the example. The campaign terminated by the withdrawal of the army to its former position in Flanders, and the return of the King to England, after signing a Treaty of Peace at Worms.

On the death of Lord Wilmington an inter-ministerium of several weeks succeeded, during which the friends of Bath would fain have had him chosen to fill the vacant place; Carteret himself undertaking so to advise the King. But Walpole from his retirement recommended Pelham; and to the astonishment of all but a few he became head of the Treasury. Can anyone believe that in the zenith of triumph Carteret would have acquiesced in so secondary a colleague being put over his head if the first place in the Financial Department implied, as some have supposed, the dignity and precedence of Prime Minister? He frankly explained to the fortunate First Lord how he had acted in the affair.[1] "I told his Majesty that you had acted very fairly and kindly by me, for which I thought myself obliged to you. If I had not stood by Lord Bath, who could ever value my friendship? and you must have despised me. However, as the affair is decided in your favour, I wish you joy of it, and I will endeavour to support you as much as I can. I have no jealousies of you and your brother; but if you will have jealousies of me without foundation, it will disgust me to such a degree that I shall not be able to bear it, and as I mean to cement a union with you, I speak thus plainly. His Majesty certainly makes a very great figure, and the reputation of the country is at its highest pitch, and it would be a deplorable fatality if disputes at home should spoil the great work." Trying to bridge over his past differences on foreign policy with Newcastle, he wrote him by the same post a reply to all his recent questions; and, as

[1] From Mentz, 16th Aug., 1743.

if to rally him out of his captious pragmatism, he added, "I desire the Stone Club shall read this." The Duke bid Scrope carry the warrant for the new Commission of Treasury through forthwith; but it instantly occurred to him that "Sandys might resign, and there might not be a Board, except Gibbon and Compton remained," if Rushout with Sandys quitted.[1] Newcastle pretended even to Hardwicke that he was surprised at his brother's promotion, though he could not expect that astutest of men not to see, what to everybody else on reflection was palpable, that the choice was a reassertion of the predominance in the Cabinet of the territorial connection without whom the Administration could not subsist. The disappointment of Bath was only equalled by the mortification of Sandys, who would cheerfully have filled the second chair at the Board, his old friend and leader taking the first; but who could not brook the Paymaster of the Forces being put over his head. He asked, accordingly, permission to retire with a peerage. Pelham thereupon was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as First Lord, and Winnington was appointed Paymaster-General without a seat in the Cabinet. Sir T. Winnington was said by an unfriendly critic to have more wit than any man he ever knew, though his facility in repartee shone more in private than in public life. Bred a Tory, he attorned to Walpole when at the height of his power, and was made Lord of the Admiralty in 1733, and of the Treasury in 1736; but when his patron's star declined he was thought to waver in his fidelity.

Sir W. Yonge, having served eight years as Secretary at War, hoped he would not be forgotten in the day of promotions. "He hated soliciting, and wished to avoid complaining, but he felt, not without reason, that he had done his part efficiently and faithfully."[2] In debate he was thought by his contemporaries to have few equals, and Pulteney had often given him unstinted praise.

Even now, when his name has nearly faded out of recollection, the reports of his speeches are very good reading. He was tired of secondary rank in office, but he was a poor man, had married a plebeian wife, and had no rotten boroughs. How could he expect a seat in the Cabinet?

[1] To Hardwicke, 23rd Aug., 1743.
[2] To Newcastle, 5th July, 1743.—*MS.*

Each of the Ministerial sections was numerically lessened by one; but the proportion borne by the minority was obviously rendered still weaker. The fear of Carteret's influence, far from being appeased by the possession of three great offices by the Pelhams, showed itself more irritable every day in consultation upon measures of detail and questions of patronage. The Chancellor vainly strove to smoothe over affronts, to adjourn points in dispute, and to prevail upon his ducal friend to restrain exuberant petulance, at least in Council. The arbitrament of Orford seemed at one time to be the easiest and best resource to avert an actual schism. His early attendance in town for the benefit of his advice on matters of grave exigency was requested confidentially in letters from Cholmondeley.

Orford had been keeping carnival at Houghton. Every autumn he had for many years surrounded himself with a strange medley of guests, high-born and ill-bred, profligate and pharisaical, faded leaders of fashion who had younger sons to provide for, and bold beauties of rank, in whose loud laughter he never ceased to take delight.

Even in earlier days, Townshend used to get away from Rainham in September rather than mingle with the noisy and discordant throng. Later on we find Pelham, not daring to refuse invitation, muttering between his teeth confidentially to his brother his regret at the company he found there. But Orford was himself to the end insensible and incorrigible. He wrote to say he was still suffering so much from a fall downstairs after dinner—the consequence, he supposed, of dining out with Tories, —that he was quite unable to undertake an ordinary journey to town; nothing serious had happened; but if he could be of any use later on he was always ready to attend his Majesty. Meanwhile, he hoped that nothing he could add to the counsels of his present Ministers could be of any importance.

Dwelling apart, he was gratified by continually being consulted by Henry Pelham, who avowed himself to be his Administrative disciple. The defection of Stair, and the evidently widening estrangement of Pulteney and Carteret, led him to suggest the possibility of what he called taking in the Cobham party, for whom, hitherto, room had not been made. It seemed, however, to be fraught with the old difficulty of all coalitions, that any increase of the coveted ingredient would inevitably re-

quire a counter addition of the opposite material; and the Pelhams could not see their way to either without the other. Incompatibility of prejudice or opinions was not thought worth mentioning, the only matter of consideration was of which sort of timber the new wheels should be made to replace those likely to break down. The Duke does not appear to have contemplated an open breach with Carteret, if "on his return his behaviour should make it practicable for them to go on with him"; but it was otherwise with respect to the Privy Seal. His Lordship was accordingly allowed to go to Bath without any premonitory hint that the Seal might be wanted for somebody else by Christmas. In private society during the autumn, Pitt, disappointed and impatient, sneered at Carteret as the new sole Minister responsible for bad measures. Winnington fairly reminded him that if there were a sole Minister, few had helped more to make him than the person who now assailed him. The Duke of Marlborough, finding "old Sarah" implacable against all who had parted among them only to put on the garments of Walpole, suddenly resigned everything to reinstate himself in her will. Her comment was eminently characteristic: "It is very natural; he 'listed as soldiers do when they are drunk, and repented when he was sober." Gower, dissatisfied with the small share Tories had in the Administration, soon afterwards resigned; and the Privy Seal was given to Cholmondeley.

Carteret looked anxiously to making preparations for the next campaign. Knowing the tardiness of the States-General, he visited the Hague towards the end of November. Fagel describes with great *naïveté* their frank and friendly colloquies, wherein he made the most of his country's inability, by reason of its federal jealousies, and the want of money owing to the prolongation of the war. The Secretary was emphatic on the need of making an early show of combined vigour in order to bring France to terms, for, as before, his paramount desire was peace.[1]

It was natural that Orford should exult in the success of his intervention in the choice of his successor in the Treasury. "I most sincerely rejoice with you at this first event. It puts you in possession, and gives you time to turn yourself, and the defeat of Lord Bath is more decisive against him than a battle of Dettingen. You have taken post, and will be able to maintain

[1] Fagel to M. Hop, 22nd Nov., 1743.—*MS.*

it ; for, whether your colleagues go on awkwardly, or do not go on at all, either behaviour will, upon the King's return, give you both pretence and power to fix the scheme upon your own model. But surely for you it is rather to be wished that they will hold on. It will avoid your contending for new alterations absent from the King, when every occasion will give your *dear friend*[1] an opportunity of crossing or delaying your purposes. It is too certain what advantage presence has against absence with *somebody*. The boobies must be managed. The worst that could happen to you is for two months to bear the disagreeable part borne by Lord Wilmington, with a majority of the Board against you. Gibbon and Compton, I should think, may be made reasonable when they see you there ; the other two are not worth having, or they must be bought at too dear a rate, considering what a bargain you have to make with other people who will not come cheap. Write to the King, full of duty and acknowledgment ; without reserve, approve what he has done for the present, because he has done it. You will treat the great man abroad, too, in his own way ; give him as good as he brings, and desire him, as an earnest of that *cordial affection* which he bears to you and your brother, and as a proof that he *will endeavour to support you as much as he can*, to prevent any changes or engagements to be made in the province where you now preside detrimental or disagreeable to you and your interests. Bath, in his disappointment, may write over to protect his creatures in their present possessions, and encourage them to hold together. If they would purchase their peace of you, it will be false and deceitful. Your strength must be formed of your own friends, the old corps, and recruits from the Cobham squadron, who should be persuaded, now Bath is beaten, it makes room for them, if they will not crowd the door when the house is on fire and nobody can get in or out. Pitt is thought able and formidable. Try him or show him. Fox you cannot do without. Winnington must be had in the way that he can or will be had. Your Solicitor[2] is your own, and surely will be useful. Hold up the Attorney General,[3] he is very able and very honest. It is your business now to forgive and gain. Broad bottom cannot be made for anything that has a zest of Hanover. Whig it with all opponents that will parley, but 'ware Tory. I never mean to a

[1] Lord Carteret. [2] Murray. [3] Sir Dudley Ryder.

person or so; but what they can bring with them will prove a broken reed. Dear Harry, I am very personal and very free, and put myself in your power."[1]

The changes in the Cabinet, wisely improved, opened to Hardwicke's ruminating mind the prospect of firmer and more lasting power. He gave himself up to the Pelhams, in constant and unreserved consultation, and believed that with them power might be permanently secured. Did he know how far the health of their Lord Protector at Houghton was sinking? Or was the knowledge the unconfessed reason why he said nothing about him in writing to Newcastle? Not a word either of the five ducal cyphers in Cabinet, whose adhesion gave the complete preponderance therein. It seems as though, aware of the yearning of Newcastle for the inclusion of Tories in the Administration, he was not disposed to encourage that sentiment over-much. Pelham had no doubt been sent to Houghton in July to break the design of what was called a broad-bottomed Ministry; and it is evident, from Walpole's letter already given, that he had wholly failed to shake the ineradicable distrust of his host in everybody and everything that was not Whig. But Hardwicke, who had the faculty of looking intimates through and through, was cautious not to weaken his own influence at Claremont by the expression of any opinion that would be unwelcome: and he required no reminding that what was so to-day might be just the reverse to-morrow. Throughout the whole of the Chancellor's correspondence of twenty years, nothing is more notable than his astute abstention from giving an opinion unnecessarily soon on any question. Again and again we have Newcastle complaining, like a neglected old maid, of his reserve; but he was not to be moved thereby into anything more than a double dose of sedatives, sweetened *ad nauseam* with confections of respect and regard. The Pelhams went on their way during the autumn and winter, holding out hopes and lures to individual malcontents of both sections of Opposition: but unable or afraid to go very far in realising schemes of fusion. Orford was content to tell the man at the helm how to steer, without any longer touching the tiller himself. He wished, if possible, that even his hints should be unknown. "The secrecy of correspondence with Houghton will become every day more necessary.

[1] From Houghton, 25th August, 1743.

For your sake and for mine, it must not be known that I enter at all into your affairs. Bath, from the moment he was disappointed, turned his eyes upon me. He thinks he shall be stronger upon stirring old questions and re-uniting numbers personally against me than in any other light. He will try to fling my weight into your scale in order to sink it. I write not out of any apprehensions; but my indiscretion will be thought very great if it should be known that I begin to provoke valour."[1] Late in October, the King being still abroad, Orford repeated his adjurations that Pelham should not mistake Carteret's friendly tone as indicating more than his wish to keep things quiet for the time. "I cannot conceive what measure this old adventurer forms to himself to secure success. To stick at nothing to gain the King, to indulge him in all his unhappy foibles, and not to see his way through a labyrinth of expectations which he must have raised, deserves no better title than infatuation. He suffers not the King to doubt, but promises him success in all his undertakings. He gains him by giving in to all his foreign views, and you show the King that what is reasonable and practicable can only be obtained by the Whigs, and can never be hoped for by any assistance from the Tories. He promises and you must perform. A dissolution in the midst of war might give Carteret and his friends a majority; but its spirit would be Tory, and hostile to the German policy of the King."[2] Newcastle's jealousy of Carteret's personal influence had eaten up his recent zeal for maintaining the Hanover troops, and he actually proposed to the Chancellor, without confiding the change to his brother, that they should deprecate a Vote in Supply for the unpopular corps. A majority of the Cabinet were ready to agree to this change of front, and it would probably have been resolved on but for Orford's interference for the last time. He vehemently took the opposite side in secret council. Pelham made himself acceptable at Court, arranged that Sandys should have his peerage, with the Cofferership of the Household; and that he himself should have his place *in commendam* with the first seat at the Board. Sir John Rushout was promoted to the Treasurership of the Navy, and the Duke of Dorset was gratified by his eldest son being made

[1] To Pelham from Houghton, 18th Sept., 1743.
[2] To Pelham, 20th October, 1743.

a Junior Lord, with Henry Fox for his colleague, at the Treasury.

A new source of weakness begins to be traceable where it might have least been expected. The dry rot of egotism had reached even to the core of fraternal friendship ; and the Duke, jealous of Henry Pelham's personal popularity at Court and in the Commons, complained to the Chancellor that his brother took too much upon him. "There is one thing I would mention to you, relating to myself, which must be touched tenderly, if at all. My brother has been long taught to think, by Lord Orford, that he is the only person fit to succeed him, and that has a credit with the King upon that foot ; and this leads him into Lord Orford's old method of using the first person upon all occasions. This is not mere form, for I do apprehend that my brother does think that his superior interest in the Closet, and situation in the House of Commons, give him great advantages over everyone else. They are indeed great advantages, but they may be counterbalanced, especially if it is considered over whom these advantages are given."[1]

They differed in consultation about the Hanoverian troops which Carteret had promised the King and the new head of the Treasury was willing to risk a vote in Parliament to secure, but which the Duke condemned as certain to be unpopular with the army and the public at large. When Parliament reassembled, discord in the Cabinet was freely talked of at Court and elsewhere. Gower and Sandwich pressed Bedford to come to town that they might confer with their leading friends on the course it would be best to pursue. "The old and the new sections of the Ministry were upon such bad terms that there was great probability of a rupture between them, and if that happened probably one side or other must apply to Opposition for support, which would draw on a negotiation, and the fate of the nation might be decided before Parliament met."[2] The crisis was, however, deferred, though Carteret took little pains to strengthen himself or the King to conciliate the goodwill of his rivals. "All was distraction ; no union in the Court ; no certainty about the House of Commons."[3] It was resolved to move in both Houses

[1] To Hardwicke, 7th November, 1743, marked "Most secret."—*MS.*

[2] Gower to Duke of Bedford, 21st Nov., 1743.

[3] H. Walpole's Letters, Vol. I., 314.

for disbanding the Hanoverian regiments. It had indeed been expected that the general satisfaction at the course of events abroad would be placed on record with unanimity in Addresses to the Throne. The unpolitical masses of the people were agreed in being glad that they had a King who would fight on foot, and who could win a battle from their natural enemies, as they were taught to call the French; and that if his eldest son was not all they could wish, his younger son had a taste for fighting, and when wounded would not quit the field till the day was done.

They were told, moreover, that foreign Powers began once more to side with us as they used to do, and that on the whole England was regarded as better able of late to hold her own. The logic of popular felicitations might be open to endless argument as that of the best-bred politicians, but of its prevalence at the close of 1743 there could be little doubt; and of the imprudence of flouting or neglecting it there could be as little on the part of Members representing large constituencies or dependent on popular favour. It seemed strange, therefore, that the Member for Old Sarum should undertake not only to criticise disparagingly the military and diplomatic proceedings of the Government, but in the tone and attitude of one having authority to pronounce against it the protest of Opposition. Men could not forget how brief a space had elapsed since the deafening cry had been against a too peaceful Minister; and for a change of hands that would insure a spirited foreign policy, nor could they forget who were the ringleaders in revolt against national humiliation. Yet now they were told by him who assumed the right to speak in the people's name that they must expect no change for the better in their affairs. "Our former Minister betrayed the interest of his country by his pusillanimity; our present Minister sacrifices it by his Quixotism. Our former Minister was for negotiating with all the world; our present is for fighting against all. Our former Minister was for agreeing to every treaty, though never so dishonourable; our present will give ear to no treaty, though never so reasonable. Thus both appear to be extravagant, but with this difference, that by the extravagance of our present, the nation will be put to a much greater charge than ever it was by the pusillanimity of our former."[1] Without scruple or apology, misgiving or qualifica-

[1] Pitt in Debate, 1st Dec., 1743, Address. Almon, I., 125.

tion, he proceeded to treat with scorn every diplomatic act, and with ridicule every sacrifice of life and treasure which Carteret and Bath, Winchilsea and Sandys had sanctioned; and oracularly to say how each step ought to have been taken and each peril avoided. An entire want of sympathy with the feelings and predilections, sentiments and passions of the public at large, and the weaknesses, interests, and prejudices of those to whom he spoke, singularly contrasted with the tact and versatility that had made Stanhope and Wyndham, and Pulteney and Walpole masters of debate. From being at first suspected, it grew evident to the discerning ere it was done that he was attempting to commit his party without previous consultation to a new line of policy; and he believed in his individual power of splendid eloquence and intrepid assertion to overbear all resistance or hesitation. Ending as he began, he exclaimed, "It is a new doctrine to pretend that we ought in our Address to return a favourable answer to everything mentioned in his Majesty's Speech. It is a doctrine that has prevailed only since our Parliament began to be as acquiescent as a French Parliament. If we put a negative upon this Address, it may awaken Ministers out of their deceitful dream. If they stop now the nation may recover; but if by such a flattering Address we encourage them to go on, it may soon become impossible for them to retreat; and therefore for the sake of Europe and my country I shall most heartily join in putting a negative upon it."[1] Winnington and Henry Fox replied to him; Lyttelton and Cotton feebly maintained his argument, and 278 to 149 voted the Address. It was carried without amendment. In the Lords Bedford denounced exchange of troops as hateful in the nation's sight; and Chesterfield was yet more unmeasured in philippic, and unscrupulous in his choice of topics. Deceptive muster-rolls, disposition to plunder their English comrades, desire to prolong the war for the sake of pay, and to leave the brunt to be borne by others; supposed enjoyment of invidious favour, and failure to earn by length of service the character of veterans, had contributed to breed such enmity between them and our fellow-countrymen in the camp that collisions were constant, and a speedy and successful end of the war was hopeless. Popular impatience had come to such a pass, he said, that the growth of

[1] Pitt in Debate, 1st Dec., 1743, Address. Almon, I., 125.

disaffection might be actually feared; but the Peers would not be moved by a coxcomb, however fluent and scholarly, who they did not believe altogether believed his own story. The King was supposed to be dissatisfied with Carteret "because he had not communicated several affairs he was acquainted with, and which he ought to have done."[1] A sanguine temper prevailed and was encouraged by most of those in office as to the ease with which the strength of France might be reduced and her projects baffled. Carteret and Fagel viewed matters very differently; and if the former was more outspoken in Court and Cabinet, it accounts for his loss of popularity in both. The French Army crossed the Rhine in mid-winter, and at Versailles great activity was observable for the next campaign. On the last day of the year the sagacious head of the Dutch Executive wrote: "According to my opinion it is not good that in England they are so much taken up with Party business and ordering things at home that little care is taken as yet to provide for what is necessary in order to be ready early against the ensuing campaign. It gives me great grief that I see also that they have let precious time slip, while all advices from France say that with the greatest eagerness they are putting themselves in a condition to act with vigour in the spring." He owned that the States were still unmoved if not irresolute, and augured ill for the result.[2]

[1] M. Hop to Fagel, 3rd Dec., 1743.—*MS.*
[2] Fagel to Hop, 31st Dec., 1743.—*MS.*

## CHAPTER II.

### THE PELHAMS.

1744.

Pelham's Finance—Fraternal Jealousy—Resolved to get rid of Carteret—Fear of a Highland Revolt—Enforcement of Penal Laws—France Declares War—Carteret, Driven to Resign, Retains his Influence—His Policy Readopted—Chesterfield Viceroy—Eight Dukes in the Cabinet—Concession of Minor Offices—"In England, Ministers are the King"—Fontenoy.

GEORGE II. wished to retain his sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay, which Carteret engaged should be done. The Pelhams, scared by the denunciations of Chesterfield and Pitt, who made the employment of German troops a subject of their most brilliant attacks in Parliament, would fain have given them up. But the Foreign Minister, with Orford's help, made good his promise to the King, and got decisive majorities in both Houses on the question. The strength of the Pelham Party in the Cabinet, however, was shown as often as they assembled at the Cockpit. The Chancellor refused to put the Seal to a Convention with the King of Sardinia explanatory of the Treaty of Worms, which bound England to a payment of £200,000 a year for an indefinite time, and when Carteret averred the King might affix it himself, various alterations proposed by the Pelhams were carried by a majority of five. Hardwicke, Harrington, Newcastle, Dorset, Richmond, Montagu, Argyll,[1] Grafton, and Pelham were for the alterations, Carteret, Winchilsea, Tweeddale, and Bolton against.

To provide the interest on a new loan for the war, Pelham proposed, in Ways and Means, to put a further duty of 2s. 6d. a cwt. on sugar. Sir John Barnard led a combination of in-

[1] Late Islay.

terests against it; and men of various shades of opinion contributed objections and arguments to prove that besides being an additional burthen on the consumer, it would ensure the already apprehended transfer of production from our own to the Dutch colonies. If extra funds were really wanted, Lord Limerick asked, why not put a penny a yard on linens brought from abroad? a proposal which warmed the hearts of all who were connected with Irish and Scotch industry. The First Lord of the Treasury argued that this would defeat the Commercial Treaty negotiating with Austria, whereof one of the preliminaries engaged that no further import duties should be imposed on the products of the Empire. It was contended that our merchants had rather incur the risk of retaliation to an equal amount on our fabrics than that one of the few comforts of life should be turned into a luxury unenjoyable by the people. Why not apply the surplus revenue already arising from the Gin Tax, or borrow once more from that never-failing friend in need, the Sinking Fund? Divisions ran close, and Government was at last beaten on the recommittal of their Bill. Sugars and molasses for the time escaped; the Cabinet were too far pledged to risk the Commercial Treaty with Austria by an additional charge on linen, and the First Lord of the Treasury was obliged to come down with a reluctant admission that he hoped to make both ends meet by reliance on some of the other means proposed.

Careful in observing the temper of the House, and sedulous in endeavouring to adapt the harness of taxation to the galled jade of popular toil, Pelham prepared to follow up the increased duty on gin by an augmentation on foreign wine, the bulk of which was still imported from France. To tax the indulgence of the working man without proportionately taxing that of the rich, would sooner or later stir up fresh and formidable complaint. In his next Budget, therefore, he proposed to lay an additional impost of £8 a tun on foreign wine and £4 a tun on foreign vinegar, in order to provide for the payment of interest on further loans for support of the war; and no party, however disposed to find fault, cavilled at this mode of replenishing the military chest.

More than one circumstantial account had reached the Foreign Office of Prince Charles Edward having quitted Rome in disguise, to hunt, as some reported; and, as others said, to take command of the Irish Legion in King Louis's service, hoping thereby

to draw fresh recruits to its standard from home. The knowledge of his departure was concealed from his father and from the Pope until after he was gone, and the rumour seems to have gained credence that his destination in reality was Scotland, where he hoped to rally sufficient adherents to challenge the possession of his regal heritage. All knowledge or even belief in the design would, of course, be disclaimed at Versailles; but on the convoy of the French fleet, then lying at Brest, the hopes of the adventure confessedly turned. If the other maritime Powers were upon their guard no need existed for any apprehension, as the squadron there was ill-prepared for sea; and France was not likely to devote sufficient means to render it formidable.[1]

At the beginning of February came tidings that the squadron from Brest had passed the Scilly Isles, and was sighted midway in the Irish Channel. The news spread no little alarm at Whitehall. Some uneasiness was felt as to the temper of the army. Lord A. Hamilton and other officers were looked on by the Whigs as untrustworthy, and the Master of the Horse reminded the Secretary of State that half the forces in Ireland were Catholics,[2] yet no sign of disaffection was manifested there; and when the stability of the Government was really threatened in the following year Ireland did not stir.

But it was thought useful, from a party point of view, to affect, in the spring of 1744, distrust of the loyalty of the Catholics in both kingdoms; and the provisions of the Abjuration Act, enabling magistrates to call upon all persons of the suspected creed to take the oaths of abjuration and allegiance under pain of fine or imprisonment, were suddenly put in operation. The Duke of Norfolk expostulated earnestly with the Secretary of State against the hardship of the proceeding.

"The tranquillity the Roman Catholics had ever enjoyed under his Majesty flattered them that they might still continue under the same gracious influence, unless interrupted by their own indiscreet behaviour." The tendering of the oaths at York had caused the greatest apprehension, and it was increased by the orders which were sent down to the Justices in Norfolk to do the same. This naturally put him upon having recourse to Newcastle's good offices to obtain his Majesty's favour and protec-

[1] Secret intelligence to M. de Wasner, 25th January, 1744.—*MS.*

[2] Richmond to Newcastle, 3rd February, 1744.—*MS.*

tion. The request by no means implied any desire for exemption from giving such security for personal behaviour as might be thought necessary by the Government.[1]

Still vague rumours of sedition were heard now and then. As Custos Rotulorum of Notts, the Secretary of State had called on the Deputy-Lieutenants and the Justices of the county to assemble and take counsel, who, finding nothing better to do for their defence, asked for a warrant to search the Duke of Norfolk's house, which, they were told, was not necessary. Thus the whole country was kept simmering, to the no small amusement of the disloyal few, as they proved to be eventually; but who, no doubt, duly reported the bustle of administrative misgiving to their friends in France, and thereby helped to foster the belief in the practicability of a revolution, which led to trouble in the following year. At St. James's it all tended to create a belief that never had King such vigilant guardians of the throne. Instructions were sent to the Lords Justices of Ireland to issue a Proclamation closing all places of Catholic worship. The names of Archbishop Hoadly, who professed to know better on religious feeling, and of Speaker Boyle, who certainly knew better on political grounds, were, with that of the Chancellor Jocelyn, appended.

To this last fling of intolerance no open resistance was offered, and the numerous congregations, who found their chapels closed, were obliged to resort to various obscure and humiliating expedients for participation in the rights of their communion.

After a time the vigour of the interdict was relaxed, and no one seemed to be interested in calling for its enforcement.

In an humble building, situated in one of the poorest portions of Dublin, a priest named Gerald celebrated Mass without interruption, until at length, having drawn to his ministry too numerous a flock, the ruinous building suddenly gave way, and many of them were buried in its fall. For very shame the local Executive hastened to recall their proclamation, and it was never more renewed.

George Grenville opposed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for two months as a mere proof of weakness on the part of those in authority, who were unjustified in impugning the loyalty of the people at large. Chesterfield, in the Upper

[1] From Worksop, 7th February, 1744.—*MS.*

House, commended the moderation of Government in limiting the measure to so short a period, but he subsequently objected to a Bill, introduced by Mr. Fazakerly, making it treason to correspond with sons or descendants of the exiled Sovereign. Dissensions in the Cabinet were hushed for a time by the threat of invasion. About the middle of March a fleet of eighteen ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, having the Young Pretender and Marshal Saxe, with 14,000 troops, on board, appeared off the Isle of Wight, where no force lay to resist them. But before they made any attempt to land a violent gale blew the whole of the squadron out to sea; and it was not without difficulty the ships composing it reached the French harbours. The immediate danger past, Government gave an account of it the utmost publicity. In the City subscription lists were opened, and a loyal address voted to support the Constitution and the Protestant religion. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord Stair, whose recent resignations had failed of their intended effect, offered to take office again in order to give strength, as they said, to the established order of things; and as it was not a time to be nice, the tender was accepted. A hubbub of perturbation and patriotism was kept up for some weeks, and in the midst of it the sum of £10,000,000 was voted to provide additional means of national defence. The panic had served its turn, and was already snoring drowsily. Devonshire was able, without boasting, to terminate his seven years' trust with the report that public order had not been disturbed in Ireland, and that party spirit had, for a time at least, given way to passive contentment. At length France declared war. Instead of dynastic invasion, the campaign of 1744 was fought in Flanders and on the Rhine. The Young Pretender's letters to his father complained that their party in England were thinking much more of amusement than ought else; and two or three Catholic gentlemen, who had been arrested on suspicion, were liberated by the Council of Regency, there being no evidence against them. Carteret accompanied George II. to Hanover, where they remained throughout the summer. Chesterfield was rewarded for his aid in the Lords with the Viceroyalty of Ireland; and Stair, for similar help energetically afforded, was once more made Commander-in-Chief. The magistrates in Northumberland grew ashamed of the seizures of arms and horses they had made, and requested Tankerville to

ask for further instructions. They desired an order for restitution to their Catholic neighbours, as there was not a man in the county who had the least intention to stir.[1]

A letter from Goodwood relates to a variety of topics domestic and foreign, but there is not a whiff of smoke about invasion. And so on throughout the wearisome mass of correspondence from all parts of the Kingdom, from persons of various classes about places, promotions, pensions, reversions, and the other stock-in-trade of official importunity, there was no more allusion to Charles Edward, a French landing, or possible change of dynasty than to the want of rain in Arabia Felix.

Matthews reported that the fleet under his command was in urgent need of reinforcement, and the Cabinet met to consider what was to be done. There were present: Lord President, Privy Seal, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Bolton, Devonshire, Argyll, Tweeddale, Winchilsea, Carteret, H. Pelham, and Newcastle. They could only agree to call upon the Board of Admiralty to report without delay what naval strength was available.[2]

Carteret's habitual spurn of the vermiculate questionings and cavils of his colleagues tormented Newcastle more than others. At intervals he ruminated the possibility of getting rid of his supercilious coadjutor, who would think and act for himself, and daily exercised more and more complete sway over the mind of the King. From Claremont the head of the Pelhams appealed to his brother whether they ought to endure such contumely any longer: "I have, you know, long thought that it was not possible to go on with my Lord Carteret with any satisfaction to ourselves, or prospect of doing service to our country. This opinion chiefly arose from the nature of the man; who never will have any fixed scheme of acting; lives upon events; and has such a contempt for everybody else that he will not so much as vouchsafe to communicate his thoughts to those with whom he acts, whoever they are. But that which particularly at this time makes it unsafe to go on with him is that his chief view in all that he does, or proposes to do, is the making court to the King, by preferring Hanoverian considerations to all others. By this method he secures the Closet,

[1] Tankerville to Newcastle from Chillingham, 13th May, 1744.—*MS.*

[2] Mem. 15th May, 1744.—*MS.*

whether his schemes succeed or not. Hitherto we have defeated many, and if we were all equally determined to take and share the weight of so doing we might hope to get the better of him, upon the only solid foot, namely, that of prosecuting the war or making peace, if practicable, upon an English principle. My present resolution is to content myself with having contributed to set aside those onerous engagements actually taken by the declarations and secret articles of the Treaty of Worms, which were not ratified, a treaty calculated (as Mr. Shippen said) for the Meridian of Germany. I shall not upon this immediately resign my employment, which, I am sensible, would be distinguishing myself from the rest of my friends, and turn the criticism of the world upon my immediate conduct, rather than upon that of my Lord Carteret. My intention, therefore, is to remain until the rest of my friends think they can go on no longer, and then most heartily and cheerfully to go with them, and whilst I do remain to confine myself only to the business of the Southern Province, now confined to the Court of Turin; never on any account to promote any meeting of the King's servants; to come, however, when it is desired by others, and to give my opinion, *pro re natâ*, to go into the King's Closet as seldom as possible, to avoid being there with Lord Carteret whenever I can, and to take an opportunity to explain to the King the reasons of my particular conduct. But one thing I am more determined on than any other. If the King would remove Lord Carteret to-morrow, and make an Administration just as we ourselves would have it, I would not, on any account, take a part in it without having it first explained that this Hanover complaisance is no longer to influence all our conduct. There is the sore,—there the grievance. If the King goes abroad I take it for granted things will then be brought to a decision."[1]

Had a majority of the Cabinet been asked their opinion it would probably have been given against the King's leaving England. They still occasionally tried to persuade one another that they were afraid of the Pretender, and with better reason they were haunted with the fear that any civil commotion would disclose their weakness and how little hold they had upon the respect and confidence of the work-a-day community.

In a paroxysm of candour, the Master of the Horse wrote: "I

[1] To H. Pelham, 10th June, 1744.—*MS.*

am shocked at the King's going abroad the more I think of it, it being not only a rash undertaking, but I know and am sure that it must be attended with very bad consequences abroad, and in all likelihood fatal at home, for I am very sure we shall have all the old Hanoverian quarrels over again, get worse, rather than improve in the ill-will of the army, which is at present the only thing we have to trust to, be beat very likely by the French abroad, and, what is still more likely, be invaded by them at home, for which considerations I think that no means can be too strong or even violent to stop it. If entreaties won't prevail, and if Parliament had been sitting, I think he would and ought to be addressed in the strongest terms."[1] His correspondent had not the courage to reiterate such rhodomontade, and, if he had, he would only have been snubbed by his Majesty, who was never easily frightened, and who might well have asked what had become of the millions voted by Parliament to make the Kingdom safe a few months before. Carteret might have suppressed a rising laugh till after dinner, and called for an extra flask of Burgundy to aid him in forgetting for an hour to what impotents the executive power must be left in his absence. But George II. had ever since Dettingen been possessed with the devil of battle, and to Herrenhausen he would go; while his favourite son, then just out of his teens, should have a chance of distinction. Carteret, who had a European policy in his head, whereof one of the conditions was that the reigning family by Act of Parliament should vindicate their preferential title to the Throne by showing that they were not unworthy of their feudal lineage, rejoiced at rather than lamented his obstinacy. Had there been any real danger to the realm he must have known it, and he would have been insane, for his own sake, to have quitted Whitehall. He would have stuck at no device or difficulty to obtain a postponement of the Royal journey; and expostulation from such a man would have prevailed, as it had done when Walpole dissuaded George I. from quitting England on the eve of the revolt of Mar.

But on the 23rd of June he received through Lord Stair a despatch from General Reid regarding 500 transports which had suddenly assembled at Dunkirk, in consequence of which the Cabinet was summoned; and in a long audience, his Majesty,

[1] Richmond to Newcastle, from Goodwood, 20th June, 1744.—*MS.*

in consideration, "did change his resolution and countermand his orders, so that difficulty was over." [1]

But torpor soon overspread both Court and Cabinet, and Newcastle found nothing more important to write about to Houghton than the next presentation to Frimingham, a little parish wanted for a friend, as worth no more than £10 a year. The next time Newcastle went to Kensington, he took care to mention it. But the King said he had promised the first living to a *protégé* of Lady Yarmouth. His Grace argued that the Suffolk parish was not worth that gentleman's taking, but George II., grown experienced in the art and mystery of patronage, replied that he found livings were said to be only £10 a year when they were worth £200; and the Duke could only console Lord Orford by reminding him that these things happen at first sometimes, but are soon afterwards got over.[2]

If he could not go himself into Germany, his Majesty wished to do something there in aid of the Allies that would be recognised by them. The King of Poland was engaged to furnish, as Elector of Saxony, a contingent of 30,000 men. The force was organised, but could not move without money, and Carteret was ready to assent to a moderate subsidy, but what would other Ministers say? The Chancellor, when consulted, could only hope that our army in Flanders would be able to make their superiority felt over that of the French. The sinister attitude of Prussia was ascribed to our refusal the preceding year to sanction a separate negotiation for active alliance, and "the inaction of the army in Flanders to the King having been forced to stay at home. Whatever the cause, he was now in more indecent ill-humour, after things were partly over, than he had been during the time of their opposition to what was proposed: and Newcastle thought he could see by the air of the Court and the courtiers towards them, or at least towards himself, a greater shyness than he had yet observed. The King probably thought that he had nothing more to hope for from them, and nothing to fear; that they would go on with his favourite Minister, and he would use them accordingly. If any joint resolution could be taken by all their friends, to show him that he must choose between the different parties in his Administra-

[1] Carteret to Newcastle, 24th June, 1744.—*MS.*
[2] 23rd August, 1744.—*MS.*

tion, his Grace would leave the time of doing it to them. But if not, he was determined to let the King know that his having had the misfortune to differ in some points from Carteret had made him so disagreeable to his Majesty, that out of duty to him and regard for himself he must resign his employments : for no man could bear what he went through every day at their joint audiences in the Closet." [1]

Anxious as the old Ministers were, as well they might be, to keep in touch with the Master of Houghton, he was not always as careful of their susceptibilities. Memory would sometimes bring back the time when he could fling little favours around him without asking leave or pausing to think, for he never cared what might be said about them. He wrote to Hardwicke, asking if he would make one, Courtville, Justice of the Peace for Westminster. There was nothing to be said against the man's character, and possibly he had as much sense in ordinary affairs, and knew as little of the law as their existing worships of the quorum. But the Keeper of the Great Seal was troubled with administrative qualms. Come of nothing himself, he had now a reputation for full-dress dignity to support; and without venturing actually to refuse he filed a special demurrer : " I beg your lordship will be assured that no person in the world can have more zeal than I have to obey your commands, nor can think himself more interested where you or your friends are concerned. If the question was concerning anything that ought to be made lucrative I would contribute to it all in my little power, but the true and real reason why I have not yet put him into the commission for Westminster is, the low employment of organist of St. James's Church, which he is now in the actual possession of. This has made some persons of that Parish, who are Justices of the Peace, object against him : they consider him only as their organist, and whether from a certain *hauteur* or other considerations, they think it improper that he should be brought upon the Bench with them. Neither can I find that any person in that situation has ever been put into the commission. These are the grounds why I have hitherto delayed complying with your request in this little affair, and I beg your lordship will be assured that when I do so, I do a thing much more disagreeable to myself than it can be to you." [2]

[1] Newcastle to Pelham, 25th August, 1744.

[2] To Orford, 4th August, 1744.

Was it a tardy impulse of compunction on the part of the fallen Minister for a wrong done in times gone by that prompted the request? Courtville was said to be the disappointed lover of Maria Skerritt, whom Walpole beguiled from her home several years before, and for the loss of whose services her father made him pay five hundred pounds. Sir Robert was induced by his mistress to whom he became much attached, to have Courtville made organist of the parish church; and now that the grave had closed over her remains he bethought him of the strange device by way of reparation to which the Chancellor could not be induced to lend his sanction.

In the autumn of 1744, to the amazement and perplexity of Hardwicke, a feud suddenly broke out between the Pelhams regarding certain rights of private property, about which he had been consulted as their common adviser. His arbitration of their contending claims was upon the whole favourable to the younger brother, on which the Duke gave vent to his mortification in terms of unbridled spleen. His nephew, Henry Earl of Lincoln, and heir-presumptive of his estates and honours, had long been a cause of solicitude and concern to his family. Sinecures and dignities heaped upon him failed to kindle political ambition in one whose only boast was that of fabulous excess in every kind of sensual indulgence. Hoping to wean him from his worthless ways, a match had been proposed for him with Lady Pomfret's daughter, the acknowledged queen of beauty of her time, but "Juno," as her adorers called her, listened only to laugh at his foppish and foolish tenders of admiration, and when her hand was given to a worthier suitor, the Duke persuaded him to marry his cousin, daughter of Lady Catherine Pelham. In framing settlements, differences unexpectedly arose that threatened to mar the engagement. The First Lord, naturally anxious that a suitable provision should, under all circumstances, be secured for his beloved, instructed counsel to provide, amongst other things, a rent charge of four thousand pounds on the ancestral estate. The warmth of Newcastle's professions of affection suddenly cooled on the suggestion of the new liability: for do not shallow waters freeze in temperature that does not even seem to chill those of deeper flow? In an outbreak of ill-temper he exclaimed: "Every deed, every transaction, every thought that arises, convinces me more and more that no man

ever was so hardly, so unkindly, so cruelly used as I am by my brother, but he puts a pistol to my breast and I must yield. To tear a power from me when it is not pretended that any friend or adviser ever proposed or talked to me upon it, or had my previous consent to it, is unheard of. But it is over; I sign to-night, to show how little I was to be suspected, and that I am not what others are, nor as my brother—without a heart. I have ordered Mr. Murray to prepare the document for me to sign."[1] Hardwicke, being consulted, expostulated to such purpose that the point was conceded without further reproach, and the world was left in ignorance how near the unity of the family had been to snapping asunder.[2]

In the Low Countries the war languished, and the Dutch, angry at the withdrawal of some of the English troops, and distrustful of the intentions of the Cabinet, refused to be drawn into more active measures. Austria, unsustained by her old allies, was glad to take into pay a motley host of Croats, Pandours, and condottièri. The victory of Dettingen had realised the life dream of George II., but it had realised little else. The French arms everywhere prevailed, and the hopes of the Pretender daily rose. People grumbled at the mismanagement of the war, which they ascribed to what they called the rashness and levity of Carteret; and his colleagues, who resented his impulsive and inconsiderate demeanour, threw all the blame on him.

Newcastle, his brother, the Chancellor, and Harrington made up their minds to drive him from the helm. He still believed himself supreme, and too strong to be moved. He treated his contemned associates in council with provoking candour and the King with sleepless attention. Could we know all that passed in his long audiences, we should probably find not a few touches of ridicule and perhaps of caricature in his versatile relation of his hindrances and difficulties with Newcastle; but, too well-bred to allow outsiders a share of the amusement he gave himself and his master at the expense of a colleague, he kept his laugh for occasional opening in the Cabinet, where he could be brusque and blunt. At the end of the session of 1744, the ill-yoked Secretaries had grown tired of the stifled conflict so long

[1] To Hardwicke.—*MS.*

[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 15th Oct., 1744.—*MS.*

going on. The freedom of speech used in their altercations at the Cockpit and elsewhere left Carteret in no doubt as to the purpose which we now know was expressed in the Duke's letters to the Chancellor. By his mother's death he had succeeded to the title and estate of Granville, and we read of him by his old name no more.

The event, long awaited, conferred a step in rank at which his wife was said to be elated more than him; and though in mourning, she continued to receive without political distinction the best and wittiest of the political world. Horace Walpole the younger was welcomed as though his father had never been an enemy.

Carteret ruffled too often and too openly his official way-layers. His intellectual superiority to most of them would have been hard enough to bear even though he had not unnecessarily made them feel it. George II. might get out of temper, might be sullen, wayward, and rude to those who would have him throw over his chief confidant in German affairs, but it could matter little if they held together and stood firm; for Granville had no following in the Lower House capable of wrestling with the trained and tried adherents of the Muster-Master-General. Pitt and Cotton might have been kept, perhaps, on his side by Leicester House, but while the Cabinet remained as then constituted, it would avail nothing. Early in June he exclaimed in an altercation at the Palace: "Things cannot go on as they are; they must be brought to some decision. I will not submit to be overruled and out-voted on every point by four to one. If you will take the Government you may; if you cannot, or will not, there must be some direction, and I will do it." Next day he went further: "There is anarchy in Holland and anarchy at home. The first may be removed by a Stadtholder; but, to remove the latter, things must be brought to an immediate decision." He believed that the reins would fall into his hands through the weakness of the Pelhams and the necessity that was felt for a firm hand in the conduct of the war. The Pelhams continued to cast all the blame of failure on their hated rival and his friends in Council, the leading features of whose policy they had acquiesced in, but whose executive capacity they affected to contemn. Newcastle repeated intermittently his proposal to resign, but without being able apparently to convince

any of his colleagues of the probability of that step. Sending a sheaf of despatches to the Chancellor, he urged that the only means to act effectually for the public and honourably for themselves was to remove the cause and author of all mischances and misfortunes, and to continue no longer answerable for the general conduct of affairs. In the first case, they might carry on the war or put an end to it as they thought best; in the other, they would be answerable for nothing. This way of thinking was not agreeable to their friends. They would have liked better to put it upon measures. What he most feared was that this difference of opinion, this uneasiness, and this indecision with regard to going out, would draw them on next Session as it did the last blaming, cavilling, but still going on; to prevent which he depended on Hardwicke's friendship and weight in their deliberations.[1]

When the time for the meeting of Parliament approached, the Duke made the Chancellor draw up a memorial to the King setting forth in gloomy terms the condition of affairs, and attributing to the Foreign Secretary all the failures and mischiefs that had occurred.[2] This was first agreed to by the four confederates, and subsequently by several others. Harrington praised it highly, and it was next day sent by special messenger to Euston. All agreed that it should not be presented until its learned author returned from Hertfordshire. News meantime arrived that the Prussian King had suddenly broken through all his engagements, and reduced Prague after a fortnight's siege, making its numerous garrison prisoners of war. Wade, though a brave soldier and an honest man, remained motionless in Flanders; the Dutch were discouraged by his inaction; and autumn wore away.

Too late awakened to the want of reliable support, Granville tried by various means to abate the personal antipathies arrayed against him. A curious instance is described by Andrew Stone in a letter to his chief. Pelham told him that the Earl had made him a visit ostensibly of compliment on the recent marriage in his family, and then, as if he had just recollected it, said he had had something to mention for near a month past, but had always forgotten when they met. The King had long had an

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 14th September, 1744.

[2] Mem., 20th Sept., 1744.—*MS.*

intention to do something for Mr. Edward Finch,[1] had been thinking of granting him the reversion of some office, had fixed on the auditorship of the Exchequer; and, therefore, directed him to speak to Pelham for that purpose. These matters had sometimes passed through the hands of the Secretary of State, of which he had a proof in the warrant which he drew from his pocket, signed by Sunderland when Secretary, granting the same office to its then possessor; but he himself thought the more natural course was that it should go through the Treasury. The First Lord asked if he had the King's orders to deliver this message to him, to which Granville replied that he had: on which Pelham said he would not fail to let the King know that he had been thus told of the orders of his Majesty, adding, with great plainness and firmness, his sentiments upon this manner of treating him in the office he bore: and which he had undertaken by express Royal command, and not by any solicitation or desire on his part. Granville, seeing his mistake, said that he might very naturally think that this thing came from him, but that it did not *singly* arise from him. To which Pelham replied that he understood his meaning, and supposed that Lady Yarmouth was employed, but he could not allow that that made any difference. It rested there; and they then talked of foreign affairs. The speech must be thought of without delay. They were all embarked in the same ship, and must sink or swim together, Opposition certainly thought so. On which Pelham rejoined that they were indeed, as far as the kingdom was concerned, and so were the Opposition themselves. It might possibly be thought that he would not be able to raise the requisite supplies for next year; but that was a mistake; he was confident of being able to do so, but he certainly would not attempt it, unless he knew and approved of the services for which they were wanted, for this was no time for walking by faith and not by sight. His visitor went away without betraying any ill-humour or disappointment at the reception his maladroit effort of treating had met with.[2]

The effect produced upon the King by the joint memorial was "sullenness, ill-humour, fear"; a disposition to acquiesce, if it could be done, with Lord Granville's administration (of Foreign

[1] M.P. for Cambridge University and Groom-in-Waiting.

[2] A. Stone to Newcastle, 4th November, 1744. From Whitehall.—*MS.*

Affairs), for that was the whole. This appeared plainly by his Majesty's looks and discourse. Addressing Granville, he said: "It is time to think of a Speech; we must speak plainly, and lay the whole before Parliament."

"I conclude this day the scheme of conduct will be settled between the King and Lord Granville, which will, I believe, be what I always foresaw: a seeming acquiescence, depending upon Lord Granville's *savoir* to draw us on. This is what I most dread; and I own I think nothing will prevent it but a *concert intime* in a proper manner with Lord Chesterfield. I have delivered the paper (to the Chancellor) in the manner you all like, my brother has well supported it; you will be so good as to do it to-morrow or Monday, and I beg you will explain it to the King; but firmness is beyond all argument. Lord Harrington must soon follow, and I think the Dukes of Dorset and Argyll."[1] The document sent was a round-robin for the dismissal of Granville. The King returned it without any comment, and the ostracised Secretary sore beset looked anxiously on every side for succour.

Through Lord Cholmondeley he sought a reconciliation with his ancient foe, now a lonely invalid at Houghton. Were it possible to bring about an alliance with him, damaged in reputation and enfeebled in strength though he was, Granville believed that he might still be able to break the cabal of disaffected colleagues, if he could not set them at defiance.

The Pelhams divined or had some inkling of this attempt, and confidentially advised Walpole to wrap himself in silence, and not to come to town.

Old Horace wrote to his brother that the contest going on was evidently one for a change of men and not of measures. But the veteran statesman, more weary of idleness and of neglect than of bodily pain, grasped eagerly at the reins which he fancied were once more within his reach, and, against the desire of his physician, undertook the journey that was destined to hasten his end.

Meanwhile his reply to his son-in-law held out little hope of his sharing the views of Ministers; and certain negotiations with the Tories for a junction having failed, "the great but hunted statesman," to use the words of one of his

[1] Newcastle, 3rd November, 1744.

pursuers: "an outcast from all parties, was at length obliged to resign."

Granville still retained the confidence of the King, who he freely acknowledged had stood by him as long as it was possible. His sense of commanding ability as a debater had made him too sanguine and reckless in his personal demeanour. It was said of him by Winnington that had he studied Parliament more and Demosthenes less, he would have been a more successful Minister. Without borough influence in the one House or powerful connections in the other, he needed all the coolness and beguiling talk of Walpole to follow in his footsteps or make head against the jealousy which his talents were certain to engender. He lacked both, and took little pains to affect either. Given to pleasure, his fine intellect was often clouded and his temper ruffled by indulgence, and he had sometimes been imprudent enough to appear in public when heated with wine.

Opposition was sounded as to what share of office was expected as the price of support. Negotiations of this kind are naturally carried on with continual disclaimers of authority to bind anyone to anything, but in their progress caution is sometimes forgotten, and patriotic impatience is tempted on a pinch to make free with that most unsafe of political implements—the pen. While the terms of coalition were still unsettled, Chesterfield wrote to the remaining Secretary of State: "When I had the honour of seeing your Grace last, you seemed desirous to know the numbers and names of our necessary people; in consequence of which Lord Cobham, Lord Gower, and myself have prepared such a list, which we are ready to give you whenever you please to command us."[1] Newcastle replied: "If you, Lord Cobham, and Lord Gower will be so good as to come to my Lord Chancellor's house at eight o'clock, Lord Harrington, my brother, and I will not fail to meet you there."[2] Protracted comparison of personal merits and egregious protestations of private esteem ended for the time only in promises to meet again, but by degrees the force of gravity in votes overcame obstacles and softened difficulties.

Harrington resumed the Seals of Secretary of State; Dorset became Lord President, and was succeeded by Devonshire as

[1] To Newcastle, 1st December, 1744.—*MS.*

[2] To Chesterfield, 3rd December, 1744.—*MS.*

Lord Steward; Bedford was made First Lord of the Admiralty instead of Winchilsea, Gower displacing Cholmondeley as Privy Seal. Newcastle wished to be considered Chief Minister. He told Chesterfield that he had tried to bring him into the Cabinet, but found the obstacles insurmountable. He was, however, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and at the same time Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General, in the hope of inducing them to form an offensive and defensive alliance against France. George II. had been nettled at some liberties Chesterfield had taken in criticising the strategy before the battle of Dettingen: and when, at his audience of leave, the Earl, with his best grimace of humility, asked to be acquainted with his Majesty's final wishes, the impatient reply was, "You have already received your instructions."

The new Cabinet stood thus:—

| | |
|---|---|
| POTTER ... ... ... ... | *Archbishop of Canterbury* |
| DUKE OF DORSET ... .. | *Lord President* |
| EARL GOWER ... ... ... | *Privy Seal* |
| HARDWICKE ... ... ... | *Lord Chancellor* |
| DUKE OF NEWCASTLE AND LORD HARRINGTON ... | *Secretaries of State* |
| DUKE OF GRAFTON ... ... | *Lord Chamberlain* |
| DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE... .... | *Lord Steward* |
| DUKE OF RICHMOND ... ... | *Master of the Horse* |
| DUKE OF MONTAGU ... ... | *Master of Ordnance* |
| DUKE OF BEDFORD ... ... | *Admiralty* |
| DUKE OF ARGYLL ... ... | *Gt. Seal of Scotland* |
| MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE ... | *Secretary for Scotland* |
| HENRY PELHAM ... ... | *First Lord of the Treasury* |

Stair was satisfied with the Command of the Forces, without being called into Council. But Sandwich would hardly have taken a Junior Lordship of the Admiralty, under anyone but his Grace of Bedford, or a Junior Lordship of the Treasury under anyone with whom he was less intimate than Pelham.

Opposition in the Lords had in 1732 gained a highly-prized recruit in the head of the house of Russell. For a few months he had sat in the Lower House for Brackley, when the death of his brother made him the unexpected possessor of Woburn. Venturing somewhat prematurely into the lists, his bright little Grace, as Chesterfield called him, with his small voice, clear blue eye, and brow unruffled as a boy's, moved the Lords, That

the engaging any Peer by threats or gratuities to vote for a representative of the Scottish Peerage should be pronounced a high insult to the justice of the Crown, an encroachment on the freedom of elections, and an injury inflicted on the honour of the Peerage. Defeated at first, he returned to the attack, and when out-voted found half-a-dozen young Whigs to join him in putting his accusation of Government corruption on record in the form of a protest. In 1739, he supported the cry for war with Spain, presenting the petition of the London merchants for better compensation than was held out to them, and accusing Ministers of pusillanimity in negotiation. He took an active part in the culminating cabal that drove Walpole from power, and was no doubt mortified at not being included in the Privy Council of victors, who made terms with Newcastle and Hardwicke regarding the first coalition, now come to an end.

John, fourth Earl of Sandwich, was an adherent of the Duke. Energy of character and love of notoriety rendered him distinguished equally in business and in vice. Subtle, ready and adroit, he easily fell in with the wants and wishes of his political allies, and rendered them considerable service by his activity and zeal, both in and out of office. He did not grudge the hours devoted to administrative work as long as he had mental and bodily vigour left for midnight wassail. Current belief invested him with the character of *ame damné* of the first Lord.

Although eight out of the thirteen members of the Cabinet were of ducal rank, they were not agreed as to one another's pretensions. The lord of Goodwood, in his own outspoken way, questioned the fitness of the new First Lord of the Admiralty. Sorry for his being at the head of that department, he looked upon him as vain, proud, and wrongheaded, and he feared they would have "a great deal of plague with him. He was very glad to hear that Opposition were reasonable upon the article of Tories; but the only real difficulty of Ministers was in the Closet, where the King must be spoken to in the same manner he had been; in other words, that he might do without Supplies if he did not submit to be governed as they should dictate."[1]

Sir John Hynde Cotton, M.P. for Cambridgeshire, where he possessed a good estate, was named Treasurer of the Household.

[1] To Newcastle, 11th December, 1744.—*MS.*

George II., who hated him as a foremost leader of the Jacobites, objected passionately to having such a man forced into daily communication with him, but he pleaded in vain.

Hardwicke, who had just completed his new house at Wimpole, had his own reasons for conciliating the proprietor of Maddingley. A caricature of the day represented Ministers cramming the corpulent Baronet down his Majesty's throat, and the only marvel is why Sir John, who had hitherto acted very independently, and who possessed sufficient talents to make him very troublesome in Parliament, should have agreed to be placed in such a position. Waller became Cofferer of the Household, though peculiarly obnoxious to the King for the part he had taken against the Hanoverian troops. George Grenville and Lyttelton were appointed Lords of the Treasury and Admiralty to please Cobham, whose regiment was restored, and a promise was held out to Pitt of his being early brought in. Bubb Dodington was made Treasurer of the Navy; Lord Pembroke was made Groom of the Stole; Lord Monson, First Commissioner of Trade; Winnington, Paymaster of the Forces; Sir W. Yonge, Secretary at War; Lord Edgcumbe, Chancellor of the Duchy; Lords A. Hamilton, Vere Beauclerk, and Baltimore, and Admiral Anson, Lords of the Admiralty; Lord Cholmondeley, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; Lord Hobart, Captain of the Band of Pensioners; Lord Halifax, Master of the Buckhounds. For Pitt no place was found. Since Wyndham's death and the retirement of Pulteney to the Peers, he had become chief orator in Opposition, and still kept his post in the Prince's household. He wished to be Secretary at War, but an occupant of that office was too valuable and complaisant an ally to be exchanged by the Pelhams for an ambitious demagogue without administrative experience or freehold estate. The usual confluence of discontents encompassed the Coalition; all vigorous life and current of thought for the time had ceased. The rank and file of neither of the great political parties were satisfied, the sense prevailing on both sides that they had been sold by their noble chiefs. When George II. complained of having his bitterest opponents forced upon him, the Keeper of the Great Seal replied that it would have been no use to take any who were less conspicuous into the new combination, and if his Majesty looked round the House of Commons, he would find no man

of business, or even of weight, left capable of heading or conducting an Opposition.[1]

George II. made no effort to conceal his chagrin at having been compelled to abandon those whom he liked best and trusted most. His demeanour towards the Ministry was so cold and reserved as to attract observation, and their uneasiness increased day by day. Before the Christmas holidays expired, Hardwicke asked an audience, and undertook to read his Majesty a lecture on his past conduct, and to admonish him as to what it should be in future. The King received him standing, and during the interview said little. It began with deferential expressions of desire to know the Royal pleasure, and of concern at the critical position of affairs. If those who had gone out had represented the readjusted Cabinet as opposed to the vigorous prosecution of the war, they had greatly belied them. Far from such being the case, Ministers were ready to call on Parliament for a renewed subsidy to the Queen of Hungary, who would engage the services of the Hanoverians for the preservation of the Electorate; and in addition to take thirty thousand Russians into pay: in short, everything ought and would be done to prosecute the war with vigour. But for this, something more was indispensable than the mere grants of money from a manageable Parliament.

The King interrupted him: "I have done all you asked of me. I have put all power into your hands, and I suppose you will make the most of it."

The Chancellor rejoined: "This disposition of places is not enough if your Majesty takes pains to show the world that you disapprove of your own work."

The King: "My work! I was forced; I was threatened."

The Chancellor: "I am sorry to hear your Majesty use those expressions. I know of no force; I know of no threats. No means were used but what have been used in all times, the humble advice of your servants, supported by such reasons as convinced them that the measure was necessary for your service."

The King: "Yes, I was told that I should be opposed."

The Chancellor: "Never by me, sir; nor by any of my friends. How others might represent us I do not pretend to know."

[1] Conference with the King, 5th January, 1745.

He then proceeded to dilate on the advantage which a Coalition of the heads of parties gave if it were properly used, not only in carrying legislative measures, but in exercising a freer choice between candidates for Administrative office; and, trying what a stroke of flattery might do, he added: "Your Ministers, sir, are only your instruments of government." This was too much for Royal patience. The King smiled and said bitterly, "Ministers are the King in this country."[1]

No debates of any interest occurred during the Session. In the Lords there was hardly any discussion worth remembering, and in the Commons Pitt was wondering when his turn would come. Rumours arose, indeed, from time to time, that the "Cobham Squadron" grew impatient, and if not better looked after, might desert. Some curious hints pointing this way were thrown out by Bolingbroke in confidential letters; and schism was to be apprehended, that it was in the power of Ministers to prevent easily and cheaply enough if thought of in time.[2] George II. persisted in his ungracious manner towards Ministers, and to their remonstrances refused to give any answer.

He could neither forgive nor forget the unceremonious dictation to which he had been subjected, and he lost no opportunity of making Newcastle feel that he knew him to be the chief promoter of the recent change. The costliest designs of Granville were adopted without scruple as unavoidable; £500,000 was agreed to for the Queen of Hungary instead of £300,000; and the subsidy of £100,000 to the King of Poland was adopted by the united Cabinet as no longer unjust, but, in fact, indispensable. Granville failed to rally any serious opposition in the Upper House, and Pitt figured in the new character of apologist of the martial policy developed by the Ministerial proselytes from the heresy of peace. Newcastle had got rid of Walpole and Carteret successively, but there yet remained one who fed his envy—his own brother. Undiscerning followers continually talked as if the younger and not the elder member of the family was chief. This was intolerable. To get himself endued with the title of Premier might be impossible; but he would at least insist on co-ordinate authority without reserve. If fraternal dualism came not spontaneously, it must be enforced. A formal proposal in writing to

[1] Account of an interview with the King by Lord Hardwicke, 5th January, 1745.

[2] From Bolingbroke, 14th Jan., 1745.

this effect bears date 19th January, 1745, "I know my own present situation at Court as well as anybody. I can bear a good deal, but can't bear that any of my colleagues, especially those who are become considerable only by this (late) measure, should take advantage of the ill-will and resentment that I have drawn upon myself by it. This you, and you alone, can prevent. I am sure you will not think unreasonable what I now propose that everything, as far as possible, should be first talked over by you and I, (*sic*) before it is either flung out in the closet, or communicated to *any* of our colleagues; I always except the Chancellor who, I know, is a third brother; that we should have no reserve, either public or private, with each other; and that in our transactions with the other Ministers, or with other persons who may be negotiated with, we should always let it be understood that we speak in the name of both, or in the name of neither. This conduct, once established, will grow easy and natural, and will effectually prevent any jealousies on the one side; or any disagreeable warmth, occasioned by them, on the other. I will call every morning at your house, as regularly as I once did at Sir Robert's. There the scheme of the day shall be settled, to be handed out to others afterwards, as shall be thought necessary, and frequent intercourse at each other's houses, at all hours and times, will also make this very easy to us. You must take an opportunity to let the King see that I feel his behaviour, that I don't deserve it, and that I am, and must be always, a principal part of this present scheme. It would be very unjust that I should be the object of the resentment of all our enemies, and be destroyed by my own Bull."[1]

The new Cabinet adopted without scruple the Foreign Policy for which Granville had been hustled from power. "Truth," says Hardwicke, who had borne an active part in the transaction, "obliges me to say that the war was not better conducted on the Continent after he was turned out, nor did Chesterfield bring the Dutch up to our propositions, and the Duke of Newcastle grew as fond of the war abroad as Granville himself."[2]

The Secretary-at-War moved that 7,000 additional British troops should be sent to reinforce the 21,000 already in Flanders. Lord Powlett's brother would have had the service limited to a

[1] To Pelham, 19th January, 1745.—*MS.*

[2] Note of the Chancellor on one of the Duke's confidential letters.

period of two months, and some disappointed Tories were disposed to fetter the action of Government by a condition that was generally felt to be unreasonable, calling this an old measure from a new Ministry. Sir Watkin Wynn declared that for the first time in his life he would vote with the Treasury against old friends, and a more important sanction came from Pitt, who appeared in the House on crutches to avow himself of but one idea, that of the dangerous condition of the realm, to which all other considerations should be made subsidiary. When the question was put no negative voice was audible but that of Lord Strange.[1]

In the lull that ensued before Lent the re-established members of the Ministry had little to do but wait in their country houses impatiently for the frost to give, that they might resume their business of fox-hunting.

The Emperor's death and the birth of another son to Maria Theresa are noticed; but for the rest nothing in Parliament or in the country seems to have been thought worth a line of correspondence.[2]

Pelham's duty was to inform the Sovereign of such news as came from abroad requiring any modification in the estimates. His reception at St. James's was more disagreeable than usual. Left to himself since the fall of his favourite adviser, to suggest what should be done abroad, George II. talked warmly of attacking his brother-in-law of Prussia, which the First Lord argued against by saying that it would be impracticable to enter into new engagements of that kind; but he did not think that what he said made any impression, and though he had nothing to complain of personally, he had never had a more unpleasant conversation. The King spoke with great dislike and acrimony of Harrington on the occasion of his having got Mr. Rich to be made a lieutenant-colonel by General Wade; "he was always getting something for his dirty relations, and had views on all manner of things, letting nobody else have them." Pelham mentioned nothing of what passed at the next meeting of Cabinet. The new Secretary came himself late, and said he had no difficulty in the points he went through with the King except the Hanover troops and the Command-in-Chief. He

[1] 23rd January, 1745. Yorke's "Parliamentary Journal."

[2] Richmond to Newcastle, 10th February, 1745.—*MS.*

showed that a commission could not legally be granted to Konigseg to command English troops. The King immediately answered that he saw what was meant; that he himself had not been thought worthy to command, yet now it was to be given to his second son,—"a youth of but four-and-twenty." Upon Harrington disclaiming such a motive for opposing his Majesty's going abroad the previous year, he said, "It must either have been that, or a resolution to get rid of Granville, and in that case he was sacrificed, and his honour given up for their cabals. Granville was a man of the greatest abilities this country had ever bred. They had forced him from Him, and He was weary of them all."[1] This was said with great heat and passion, notwithstanding which, Harrington thought he left him with an understanding that the command of the whole combined army was for the Duke of Cumberland.[2] The disastrous issue of this decision was destined to become memorable ere long. Prince William was gazetted Captain-General of the Forces at home and abroad. His personal courage at Dettingen was pardonably made the most of at Court, and was made a pretext by the Cabinet for his appointment to command the army in Flanders.

His lack of age ought not to have stood in the way of his gradual promotion, if at four-and-twenty he had had experience, or had displayed qualifications of strategic lead that have sometimes though early justified a Government in committing the lives of a numerous host and the credit of their country to youthful discretion.

But Pelham and his colleagues could not plead misconception or affect ignorance of the Prince's incapacity; and the sanguinary event speedily branded with reproach their grave dereliction of duty.

For many weeks Walpole lay at his house in Arlington Street suffering intensely from the malady that had long afflicted him, and with which no skill of surgery at the time ventured to deal. Day by day he lost what remained of faith in the soothing promise of amendment, and even the hope of mitigation grew vain. He was seldom able to leave his chamber, and whole

[1] See the different colour which the biographer of Pelham seeks to give to the transaction. Coxe, I., page 230.

[2] A. Stone (recounting what Pelham and Harrington had told him immediately after their audiences) at Whitehall, 16th February, 1745.—*MS.*

days and sleepless nights were passed in pain, only assuaged by opium. He still communicated constantly with the King, whom he counselled to accept a situation which he said was inevitable. By the time he was told that Granville had resigned he was too ill to be troubled further with public affairs. Against the entreaty of his family he resorted in a frenzy of pain to the specific which a quack had gained notoriety by advertising, and which it was pretended would dissolve the internal impediment that tortured him; but the effects were fatal, and on the 18th of March he sank to rest.

The campaign in Germany went so ill that all the hopes of Ministers centred in the event of the war in Flanders.

The feeble efforts at negotiations for peace having failed, the Queen of Hungary and the King of Great Britain prepared to renew a struggle with the help of their allies at the head of 248,000 men; while the King of France and his auxiliaries boasted of 355,000 troops fully equipped for war. In the councils of Versailles the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands was resolved on as the primary object of the campaign, and the best regiments, both horse and foot, were concentrated near Valenciennes with an adequate force of artillery.

Louis XV. resolved to witness in person the *succès destine* of his arms, and, accompanied by the Dauphin and the chief nobles of his court possessing military experience, prepared to make his home in camp when the season opened. To Marshal Saxe was confided the fortunes of France, and when he took the command there were no fewer than 76,000 disciplined troops while against them were arrayed of combined English, Dutch, and German levies about 51,000 all told.

Divided command, however, was said to have heretofore proved unsatisfactory and unsafe. The Cabinet therefore resolved on stipulating at the Hague and at Vienna that the sole direction of allies in the field should be entrusted to the Duke of Cumberland. The veteran Lord Crawford expressed his regret that reinforcements of at least 5,000 each were not provided to sustain the impending encounter.

Suddenly, as a bolt from the summer sky, the intelligence reached Whitehall, that the allied armies had been engaged for many hours on the 11th May near Fontenoy, and had been driven from their camping-ground with dreadful slaughter.

The memorable tale has been often told, but after a century and a half it remains a reproach to the Ministers of 1745, who, in the pursuit of their own aims, risked, without a scruple or a qualm, the reputation and the fate of the only British army serving abroad.

Parliament had already risen; many persons of consequence had left town, and the King, dejected and disgusted at his more than ever helpless position, was at Hanover when the disastrous news arrived. Hardwicke's stifled muttering of dismay was characteristic of the man. Everything seemed out of order, method, and reason. Little or nothing was said about the army, or the juvenile commander, or Marshal Saxe, or the Irish Brigade; but much about the inevitable ignominy into which Ministers were doomed to fall unless something could be done, which he owned his incapacity to compass. "If we do not try to retrieve either misfortunes or mistakes, and if we do not do it *now* with discretion and with the utmost vigour and application, and perhaps with the appearance of even more than we can effectually exert, we shall be thought inexcusable. Recruits can't be raised in time, and yet the British troops, who have suffered abundantly the most, must be recruited. I know our weak condition, but might not draughts be made from the regiments here and sent immediately, and their strength replaced in Great Britain by troops from Ireland? The talk of the town seems to be that there were not above 12,000 Dutch in the army. If that be so, 'tis abominable, but the next thing seems to be to compel them to send up the rest of their stipulated quota. I have said five hundred times this winter that we should have no sufficient army in Flanders. For God's sake, my dear Lord, consider whether there ought not to be some appearance at least of the Ministers meeting to deliberate upon these things at such a crisis. Though nothing effectual can be done, the world at such a time expects such appearances. I hope my Lord Chesterfield has not yet left Holland; and, if he has not, I should hope he would stop a little. That might be of use, and there might be more utility in my Lord Harrington's conferring with the Pensionary and his Lordship there, than with us here."[1]

[1] From Powis House to Newcastle, 16th May, 1745.—*MS.*

# CHAPTER III.

## IN QUEST OF A CROWN.

### 1745.

Charles Edward at Holyrood—Perplexity at Whitehall—Absence of the King—Chesterfield in Ireland—Celts at Carlisle, Manchester, and Derby—No Quarter in Repression—Failure of Granville and Bath—Pitt at the Pay Office—Stamping out Disaffection—Culloden and After.

CHARLES EDWARD was the guest of the Duc de Bouillon in Normandy, when he heard of Fontenoy. Hastening to Paris, he was told by his partisans that his longed-for opportunity was come, that the English army was demoralised by their great disaster; and that if supported promptly by Louis he might now recover Scotland without a blow, and cause his Hanoverian cousin to tremble on his English Throne.

Early in July he set out on his memorable quest of a Crown; and there were not wanting generals and politicians at the Court of Versailles who were struck by the daring and plausibility of his venture. Week after week the great fortresses of the Netherlands surrendered, and the remains of the allied army were obliged to fall back to Antwerp. Andrew Fletcher, a staunch friend of the Government, wrote to Secretary Tweeddale: "Ever since the battle of Fontenoy, I have been dreading an invasion; and I am sorry to find by your Lordship's letter that there is great reason to apprehend that one is near at hand, while we continue to be so ill provided to resist any powerful attempt."[1] The first rumbling of the storm which was destined to sweep over half the Kingdom came from a confidential source in the Highlands on the eve of Walpole's death; but it made

[1] Campbell-Maclachlan General Orders, Cumberland Campaigns.

apparently little, if any, impression at Whitehall; and preparations continued to be made for sending every available corps to encounter the French before Tournay. At Edinburgh it was openly said that as soon as Parliament was up the young Chevalier would appear in the Highlands with such a force as one ship could carry, and the Irish troops in the French service were to follow as soon as possible. This daring scheme, though but partially bruited, threw Ministers into perplexity. News had come that four thousand Hanoverians on their way to reinforce the Garrison of Ghent had been cut to pieces, or made prisoners; Moltke, who commanded them, having only escaped with a shattered party of horse to Ostend, said to be destitute of any adequate means of defence. The Cabinet was hastily summoned to meet at Lincoln's Inn Fields on the 3rd of July to consult with Sandwich, V. Beauclerk, and Anson, how a fleet might without delay be got ready for sea to defend the South Eastern coast. It was hoped that in a week or ten days six or seven 90-gun ships and as many frigates might be assembled in the Downs, without recalling too many from the pressing service of convoy. An Admiral was required to command; and it was proposed to name Vernon, as Sir J. Norris would certainly decline. Government had no account of the Duke of Cumberland, or his army, and they feared the worst.[1]

Newcastle lost no time in consulting with Stair and Sir J. Wade, how temporary succour should be send to Ostend; and the tidings of the reduction of Sonnenburg and Cape Breton by volunteers from New England, supported by Admiral Warren's fleet, rallied his energy for National defence.

The state of public feeling towards the established order of things is vividly portrayed in the private letters of those who were identified by interest and feeling with the stability of the Government. Fifty-seven years after the expulsion of James II., his grandson, encouraged by promises of aid from France and Spain, landed in Scotland,[2] and reasserted his hereditary claim to the Throne. He was joined by several of the Highland clans, and not a few men of rank rallied to his standard. Edinburgh opened her gates to him, and in the ancient palace of Holyrood he held his Court for several weeks. But the Castle of Edin-

[1] Sandwich to Bedford, 4th July, 1745.

[2] 25th July, 1745.

burgh held out for King George, and the Lowlands sullenly refused to acknowledge James III. as their King. It was a revolt of the Celts against Constitutional Union.

The Cabinet agreed to send for military aid to Holland. As every day the aspect of matters became more grave, Newcastle grew more fussy, and Pelham more alarmed; but the King, at Hanover, was told there was no danger, and his fears were calmed by the assurance that the coasts of England were well guarded against any attempt at landing by the French. The English regiments in Flanders, and the Dutch succours were certain to arrive before the Scotch could cross the Border; and if need were, three thousand Hessian troops might be obtained, and a brigade of Danes.

A gradual sense of the infirmity of purpose and sterility of resource in administration crept through the community. Chief Justice Willes, on circuit, struck by the mutterings of misgiving and complaint, reported confidentially what he heard. "Whereever he had been, he found those who were disaffected to the Government elated to the highest degree, and those who were best affected under distressing apprehensions. He endeavoured to encourage them as much as he could, but it was difficult to give spirit to another when one had little of one's own. For God's sake, what were they doing? Would not his Majesty come home to them, when his presence was so much wanted? Should we continue to send men and horses abroad when threatened with invasion at home?"[1]

On the news of the Chevalier landing, orders were given *ex abundantia cautelæ*, though no alarm was felt by the Secretary of State. "It would have had an odd appearance, however, for my brother and I (*sic*) to go to horse races fifty miles off upon receipt of this news, though we are under no new alarms upon it. I have sent to Jimmy (Pelham) to make our excuses and do as if we were there. I have also ordered Sam Bush to send back the Cooks and the Butler, but to keep the *Baron* with him."

Misgivings daily spread. The Chancellor proposed to arrest the publishers of papers of an inflammatory kind. Urgent despatches were forwarded to Hanover, praying the King's immediate return, and to the camp at Ostend for the transport of troops to England.

[1] From Hereford, to Secretary of State, 5th August, 1745.—*MS.*

The Postmaster-General desired a warrant to open all suspected letters, as he had formerly done, but feared to enter upon afresh without explicit authority.

On the King's return sooner than was expected, Granville was admitted to audience, and his communications, it was thought, did not add to his Majesty's alarm. He could not be expected to own that his continental policy, which had been adopted by others after he had been driven out, was substantially wrong, though they had blundered in their copy: but from first to last he was incredulous and contemptuous of alleged dangers to the dynasty. The King was not easily frightened at any time; and his late advisers continued to feed his confidence in his own security with sarcasm and scoff at the perturbation and feebleness of their rivals. The latter complained of its being said that they had had the game in their own hands in the Low Countries if they had known how to play it. France, after all, was making pitiful use of her success in America, whereas England had made a very good figure. Both the Pelhams had very unkind receptions at St. James's.[1]

From Powis House were sent various signals of distress. Lady Hardwicke wrote to her son, Philip Yorke, on the 1st of August, describing the state of feeling in the Metropolis. "In the meanwhile we are marrying and giving in marriage; even our patriot Bishops of seventy are consoling themselves with young wives. In short, all ranks, all orders of men, think of nothing but pleasure or profit." To her son, Joseph, then in Flanders, she said: "The town is full of fears, and which way soever I look I see little comfort." The Chancellor himself represented the state of affairs in language still more desponding To Lord Glenorchy he wrote: "When I look around me, and consider our whole situation, our all appears to be at stake;" and to his son, Colonel Yorke: "How weak we are at home is too well known to everybody, and was so when we sent that fruitless reinforcement to Ostend"; and to Archbishop Herring: "We are threatened with having the Kingdom wrenched out of our hands; in the North the storm is gathering; Archbishops of York have before now drawn the secular as well as the spiritual sword, and I hope your Grace will stand between us and danger. That the Pretender's son is actually joined by some of the clans

[1] Newcastle to Chesterfield, 5th Sept., 1745.—*MS.*

of Macdonald and the Camerons, mostly Papists, I take to be very certain. Incredulity has much prevailed here concerning this fact, though I think it is something attested; but I cannot help agreeing with your brother of Canterbury that in this case our want of faith proceeds greatly from want of zeal, which in politics is the worst sort. The spirit of the nation wants to be roused and animated. The success at Cape Breton is very considerable, a vast loss to France, and it may be a very great advantage to this country. I wish we had more of these articles to balance the account. Is it not time for the pulpits to sound the trumpets against Popery and the Pretender?"

Prussia just then wished for breathing time after her exhausting efforts; and proposals of peace were welcomed by the Chancellor, the Duke, and others of the Cabinet; but viewed with averted eyes by Pelham and Harrington, who studied more closely the wishes of the King. Newcastle distrusted the Courts of Vienna and Dresden. He could not but be uneasy, when he plainly perceived in his brother rather a dissatisfaction than otherwise, at the near prospect of a conclusion of the quarrel, which he attributed first to an apprehension that they should feel the resentment of the King, for having forced him to this disagreeable measure, and secondly, that a peace would not be likely to be generally regarded with favour. He was thoroughly convinced that the fear of offending Hanover was the sole cause of all their misfortunes, and that his brother had sucked in that poison from his late governor (Walpole), from whom for some years he learned nothing that either tended to his honour or to his interest.[1]

Pelham, writing to Argyll, says: "I am not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as I am fearful of the inability and languor of our friends. I see the contagion spreads in all parts, and if your Grace was here, you would scarce in common conversation meet with one man who thinks there is any danger; scarce truth, in an invasion at this time. For my part, I have long dreaded it, and I am now as much convinced as my late friend, Lord Orford, was, that this country will be fought for some time before this year is over."[2] Ere September had arrived, those in Government who were least wanting in pluck or discern-

[1] To Hardwicke, 11th Aug., 1745.—*MS.*

[2] 20th August, 1745.

ment, became seriously alarmed. Henry Fox, in a fit of ill-humour or recklessness, magnified the danger.

"England, Wade says, and I believe it, is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the six thousand Dutch, and the ten battalions of English, or five thousand French or Spaniards will be here first you know our fate. The French are not come, God be thanked.—But had five thousand landed in any part of this Island a week ago I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle."[1]

A meeting was held in the City which voted a loyal address, and several of the wealthy merchants headed a subscription to raise a Volunteer Corps. But their example does not seem to have proved contagious. Rumours were current of plots, but either they rested on vague surmise or Ministers deemed it more prudent to affect unconcern, and no one of note was taken up.

Whatever disaffection there might be to the reigning family, it apparently did not proceed from love to the other.

A despatch from Whitehall announced the threatened movement of the Scotch insurgents southwards, and directed the immediate transport of two regiments from Dublin to Chester to overawe any movement of disaffection. Government was sensible how small a force would in that case remain in Ireland, and they would have the Lord-Lieutenant consider whether it might not be expedient to raise some new corps in the northern parts of the Kingdom.[2] Chesterfield replied that he had no doubt of being able to recruit numerously among respectable classes of Protestants in Ulster should the emergency really arise, but he hesitated to broach the subject to any of his staff. The country was indeed in a wretched state of defence, the regular troops but few, the forts and barracks long neglected and extremely out of repair, and the Catholics throughout the Kingdom four to one Protestant. He further depicted the state of things without party divisions, and "no formed opposition, but every connection, nay, almost every family, expecting to govern, and meaning to distress the Lord-Lieutenant, if they couldn't govern. Anything proposed by one was, for that very reason, opposed by twenty."[3] He earnestly recommended his Grace to try all means to keep together the majority in Parliament. It was more necessary now

[1] To Sir C. H. Williams, 5th and 9th Sept., 1745.

[2] Sept., 1745.—*MS.*

[3] To Newcastle, 9-12th Sept., 1745.—*MS.*

than ever. He was sensible there would be great difficulty in doing it, but necessity knew no law. "If he could not show a very great majority in the Irish Parliament, and hinder the forming of a party of various denominations, which would then be called a National Party, he need not mention the obvious consequences of such a situation. Some public brand should surely be put upon Lord Granville and his followers that people might know where power at least, if not favour, was lodged. Finches turned out, Garters properly disposed of would be the true signs where power was to be found: and the same methods that turned out the master, would turn out the men." [1]

He was rather for declining the offers of the noblemen who would raise new regiments. Lord Kildare, though his estate was extensive, and his income large, would probably gather most of his recruits in Dublin and the neighbourhood, which were not the best to be relied on. Lord Southwell could only recruit among the Palatines, who had immigrated in his father's time; and Lord Clanricarde could not enlist a dozen Protestants in Galway. Both men and officers in these corps would be raw and inexperienced, and the whole more expensive and less serviceable than the regular military. The prevalent feeling among the Protestants of the community of loyalty and spirit was universal.[2] But he grieved to own that the peasantry were used worse than negroes by their lords and masters, and their deputies of deputies of deputies. He refused absolutely to put in force the statutes still existing for closing Catholic places of worship, and said that the beautiful Miss Ambrose was the only dangerous Papist that he had found. But he comforted his colleagues in the Cabinet and his acquaintances in society with the assurance that the penal law by which Catholic estates were to be divided according to the rule of *Gavel-kind* unless the eldest son professed Anglicanism, and the operation of the Charter-schools might perhaps some time or other reduce the disproportion between the privileged communion and the out-lawed multitude.

Government received assurances from various quarters of enlisting zeal. The peers and gentry of Yorkshire assembled to organise companies and battalions of Volunteers. In Derbyshire the Militia and Yeomanry answered the appeal from Chatsworth

[1] Chesterfield to Newcastle, 12th September, 1745.—*MS.*

[2] Chesterfield to Newcastle, 14th September, 1745.—*MS*

to muster and arm ; in Notts and Northamptonshire there was a lively response to similar calls : and General Oglethorpe asked for rifles and ammunition for a Regiment of Hunters which the gentlemen in his district had undertaken to raise. The merchants of Bristol subscribed for the pay and keep of the City contingent, and Lord Berkeley reported that the working-men of the Forest of Dean would be ready to move at three days' notice. Circulars were issued by the various Nonconformist bodies in London to their brethren throughout the Kingdom to lose not an hour or miss an opportunity in rendering effective aid in resisting the Pretender. From Knowsley there was intelligence that though they had many Catholics in those parts, " they were perfectly quiet ; how far things might alter when they saw their friends amongst them his Grace would be the best judge ; for the rest of the county there never was less appearance of an intention or a desire to disturb the Government."[1]

Charles Wesley's diary records the unanimous loyalty of his people. The Dissenters everywhere offered their support to Government. In Northamptonshire, Halifax was busily engaged in raising recruits, and found zealous aid in their distinguished pastor Doddridge, who boasted that he had brought him twenty-four brave soldiers ; and his congregation joined in weekly contributions for supporting them.

Not knowing what to believe, and the atmosphere being full of threatening tales, the King listened to the spurn bestowed by Granville on the panic of Ministers, and met their suggestions by crying, " Bah, don't talk to me of that stuff." Pelham threatened to resign, and his more tenacious brother wrote to his scattered colleagues urging their presence in town. Richmond refused to come, as they knew his mind already. He thought all of them were bound in duty to bear with anything, even with such foul language as no one gentleman could take from another, at that critical time, rather than give up their employments ; for this single reason, that their master was so blind to his own interest that he would put his whole Government into the hands of Granville and others, who would bring about immediate destruction, to him and them. He thought they ought to save him whether he would or not, but if the Pelhams and the Chancellor quitted their employment, he would resign his. He

[1] Earl of Derby to Sec. of State, 22nd Sept., 1745.

had hitherto pinned his faith upon these three. The behaviour of the Dutch was the most treacherous and astonishing thing ever heard of, and as it was Harrington's measure, he would be torn to pieces in Parliament for it; and the whole nation would be in a flame. There was no retrieving it without the Duke of Cumberland and the whole English army being sent for home immediately to defend them against the French, and send all the Dutch against the rebels. But he was so tired of advising of late, seeing so plainly that he had never been listened to (and he believed laughed at), that he did not care to trouble them or himself any more. Though each of his colleagues singly seemed to be of his opinion, when they were all together, advising the King, instead of sending for the army home, it had never been thought expedient. It gave him a great deal of uneasiness, for he owned he thought destruction was at their door. All he had was at stake, but he did not come to town, for he knew that was of no use." [1]

George II. in a fit of impatience asked the Chancellor if he would undertake to reform the Ministry, replacing the Pelhams with Winchilsea and Cholmondeley, and assuming that there need be no other removals. Hardwicke at once refused, showing the impracticability of the scheme, and desired Granville might be tried. Objections were made that Granville had no following or any means of getting any, but still he might be sent for. [2]

Official hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness were stunned into silence for a time by the intelligence of Sir John Cope's defeat near Edinburgh with the loss of several hundred men, and his rapid retreat southward, with the remainder of his shattered corps.

Before the news of Preston Pans arrived, the Secretary of State had the weakness to write to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland that "they had for the present lost one kingdom, and he was afraid that the proper methods would not be taken to save the other. He meant to follow such advice, and countenance such persons as were most capable. But the ill-humour and jealousies of part of the Administration increased every day; and a new method was now taken, to cajole and flatter almost every other member of the Cabinet at the expense of the Two Brothers.

[1] From Goodwood, 16th Sept., 1745.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to his wife, 18th Sept., 1745.—*MS.*

They had spoke out very plainly; but that plainness had embarrassed, not convinced. They had at last directly and plainly declared that in case the Queen of Hungary did not consent to the proposed treaty of peace, either through her own obstinacy or any other motive, they could not undertake to support her any longer, or to open Parliament upon that foot." This declaration had been strongly backed by the Chancellor, Harrington, Bedford, and Gower, with whom they acted in perfect concert and friendship in everything. The objection made was, would they abandon their allies? If they would not support the Queen of Hungary, would they abandon the Dutch in Flanders? To all which they gave the answer that it was impracticable and impossible to go on with the war upon the old footing; that the Dutch would make their separate peace and the King of Sardinia too; and Hungary and the Empire be overrun by France and Prussia. This made some, but very little impression. Nothing but a rebellion in the heart of the Kingdom would or should hinder them from retiring from the most disagreeable and perhaps the most dangerous situation that ever Ministers were in; and as soon as the rebellion was in effect over that would be their measure.[1] The Duke of Cumberland had been early advised of the peril that had arisen, and was pressed for detachments from his army to defend the Capital. No adequate force could be immediately mustered for its protection; and had not these arrived the day before the news of Cope's defeat the confusion in the city would not have been describable. Some weeks later General Wade was enabled to cross the Trent at the head of several thousand men: yet this was not enough to deter Charles Edward from resolving to pass the Border. The irresolute Minister wrote to Prince William:

"If France, who has set this young gentleman to work, should support him we have no way to save this country and the King's Crown but by further reinforcements from your Royal Highness's army. We have endeavoured to prevent the misfortunes that have happened, and to extricate his Majesty from them as well as we could, and yet we are far from having the satisfaction of being approved or supported."[2] At length the youthful General was recalled to England, and, notwithstanding his proofs of incapacity

[1] To Chesterfield, 21st Sept., 1745.—*MS.*

[2] 25th Sept., 1745.

in Flanders, was named to take command against the invaders. In the Press and in Parliament his personal bravery was deemed more than compensation for his faults as a strategist; and he was hailed by the unpolitical many as a deliverer from civil war.

In the panic of the hour, the price of recruits for the Guards rose from forty shillings to six pounds: and it took some months to restore the normal price of physical securities.[1]

Amid his military preparations, Chesterfield found time to tell Andrew Stone what he thought of Ministerial prospects. Why he preferred unbosoming his viceregal mind to him rather than to his chief does not exactly appear; but he desired his own thoroughness and devotion to the Pelhams not to be mistaken. The Two Brothers had the game in their hands. "How could Somebody help himself if he couldn't get others to undertake the Administration? The present public situation and the private distress in the Royal closet should be made proper use of immediately. The Brothers could never expect favour; but they had strength, and should exert it without loss of time; they had friends who would stand or fall with them, and if they would now give the law—he was convinced they might—why should their continuance at their posts be put singly upon the Queen of Hungary's acquiescence? And why should not domestic regulations be made at the same time another condition, *sine quâ non?* If a public brand were not put upon Granville and his adherents before the meeting of Parliament, they would have the strength before the ending of it. *Delenda est Carthago*, and this was the moment in which it might be done. For himself, he was already half-tired of office, and when he gave up Ireland he would be tempted to look for leisure."[2]

To Newcastle himself he was still less reserved.

"After the late defeat, which could only have happened from ill-conduct or cowardice, some particular acts of rigour and severity were absolutely necessary. The rebels were no doubt in spirits on the occasion, which spirits ought as soon as possible to be taken down by some act of rigour. If any officers had not done their duty, he hoped they were by this time broke, be they who they might, and he hoped, too, that the regiment of dragoons

[1] *Gazette* of 7th September, 1745.

[2] 30th Sept., 1745.—*MS.*

that did not stand one fire was at least decimated. If the severest examples were not made upon such an occasion, cowardice and treachery would promise themselves impunity upon every other. As Scotland had hitherto been constantly the nursery of rebellion, he hoped it would now be made the grave of it. Favour and leniency to that country had, he was sure, run their length. The collusion was too gross between the avowed enemies and many of the pretended friends of his Majesty's Government, and if regard for the latter was to produce management for the former, the seeds of rebellion would ever remain in that country, and germinate upon every seemingly favourable opportunity. He made no difficulty, therefore, in declaring his opinion that the Commander-in-Chief should be ordered to give no quarter, but to pursue and destroy the rebels wherever he found them, without regard to the inconveniences that might result for the time to others who might call themselves loyal. And he was fully convinced that if the Castle of Edinburgh had battered the town about the ears of the rebels, not five of the King's real friends would have suffered by it."[1] He had taken on himself to order the immediate recruiting of four additional regiments in Ulster to supply the want of those withdrawn. He had given strictest orders that no man should be enlisted without a certificate that he was a Protestant, from the parson of the parish, and he had declared that he would break any officers who disobeyed. He had further mustered all the troops within reach into cantonments to be ready to repel any attempt at invasion in Galway or Cork, where if anywhere it was sure to be, but where, as the event proved, it was not made. "He had left the north of Ireland to take care of itself, which it was able and willing to do." And for Dublin he had two regiments of horse and three of foot which he had sent for from Ulster; he had besides 300 pensioners and the City militia. Government might be sure that no attempted insurrection would gather strength. Finally, with the advice of the Primate, Chancellor, and Speaker, the Militia had been called out in every Irish county without waiting for legal authority. He could make nothing of the few suspected Catholics that had been taken up, and on the whole he did not think they were in the secret.[2] "You remember how

[1] 29th Sept., 1745.—*MS.*

[2] To Newcastle, 29th September, 1745.—*MS.*

you got Lord Granville out of place. *Somebody* was then a prisoner, was ill-used, had the law imposed upon him; the Two Brothers were the jailers, the usurpers, the Devil and what not; but you persisted and you prevailed. The same means will and alone can give you the power, and take it from Lord Granville, who will always have the favour. I consider the rebellion in Scotland is crushed as soon as our army gets there; the Highlanders will then return to their dens and trust to their damned country for security. But were I to direct, I would have a short Act of Parliament for the transporting to the West Indies every man concerned in the rebellion, and give a reward for every one that should be apprehended and brought to transportation. This, I think, would be a better way than hanging some of the rascals and letting the others go home for another rebellion. All my good subjects here are unanimously zealous, but unanimously frightened too, which I confess I am not. I take all the proper precautions, but without encouraging any of the million projects offered me every day."[1] George II. was delighted with the martial schemes of his Lord Deputy, and said more than once, "Chesterfield is right"; and he desired all his recommendations to be honoured and countersigned. The contrast presented was but too striking between the viceregal vigour and the irresolute wrangling of Ministers as to what should be done. The nobility were raising regiments rather too fast, for they would be of great expense and create confusion among military men.[2]

Tweeddale, Granville, and Stair persisted throughout in treating the outbreak in Scotland as an affair of little consequence. And the adherents of Government comforted themselves with the reflection that comparatively few men of quality or fortune had joined the Invader. Without foreign aid they did not believe that he could eventually prevail. On the 7th of October a Parliament was summoned in the name of King James to meet in Edinburgh, and ten days later the United Parliament was convened at Westminster by King George. Each assembly pledged lives and fortunes in support of the dynasty it preferred; and left the battle to be fought out by a few thousand troops on either side. Fourteen Peers of note had offered at the beginning of the panic to raise each a regiment of his own on condition that

[1] To Newcastle, 5th October, 1745.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Chesterfield, 9th October, 1745.—*MS.*

he should have the appointment of the officers; but when the offer had been accepted, all, with the exception of Lord Kildare, insisted upon the regiments being paid for by the Treasury, and threatened to throw up if their terms were not complied with.

The victory gained by Frederick over the Queen of Hungary seemed to facilitate the chance of peace between the German powers, and Chesterfield did not scruple to say to Stone that he hoped that victory would give a very favourable opportunity for another victory *somewhere.*

During the most critical period of Charles Edward's insurrection, the course of post between London and Dublin varied from five to twenty days.

On the 24th of October we find the Lord-Lieutenant acknowledging a Home Office despatch of the 9th "six posts from England being due." But whatever lack of facilities for communication there may have been, cessations there were none. Chesterfield's thirst for the show of personal power had led him to covet the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and as he had a notion that his predecessors had neglected their duties and opportunities, he would do the work himself with his own hand and set an example for the future of activity, diligence and impartiality, toleration and executive vigour. To those who trafficked in Church patronage on the old pretence of maintaining the English interest and spreading the growth of Protestantism by importing time-servers, he was rather a marplot; and when he allowed himself to be driven by a Popish coachman, they muttered audibly that the cause was lost. Beyond the tacit assumption, however, of a certain species of dispensing power, whereby he mitigated the iniquity of some of the laws he had undertaken to administer—(none of which, however, he advised should be repealed)—his philosophic justice did not go. His former connections gave him access to leading men of the Jacobite party, whom he treated with marked hospitality, and strove to conciliate by assurances that under him they had no molestation to fear. But he was too keen an observer of his time to entertain any respect for the intellectual capacity of men who clung to a cause that had been lost half a century before: and he gave them to understand that if the credit of his Pro-consulate were dimmed by plots or disturbances, he would be as ruthless in repression as Black Tom had been. What precise effect his mingled blandishments and menaces had, or how

far they contributed to keep Ireland tranquil during the memorable autumn and winter of 1745, it is not very easy to say. The fact remains that not a ripple of revolt broke the still surface of Irish submission during the whole of that critical period.

Ministers in London were aghast at the Pretender's advance to Carlisle,[1] whose castle and open town submitted without a blow. Parliament refused nothing that was asked in Supply; but its temper was languid and unbelieving. If Government could get some infusion of new blood, it might, perhaps, do better: Pitt and Cobham had not been factious recently; why should they not come in? The Prince of Wales was moved to press the question; and they agreed to meet the brothers to discuss a modified line of policy with the substitution of some other friends of Leicester House for those who had been last time absorbed. His recent affliction, it was understood, precluded Granville's name being mentioned. The Duke's account of the interview occupies ten sheets of foolscap, dull and diffuse as usual, and inconclusive, save that peace was not easily attainable with the Dutch; and without them it was impossible to carry on the war. The tone taken by Pitt throughout the Session, as well as by Lord Strange, was defensive of the Cabinet, and many of his party co-operated ostensibly in all the measures to repel the Highland in-break. Bath and Granville, as well as Chesterfield, had held throughout that the revolt could accomplish nothing. England had more disciplined troops at home than she was again likely to have at ordinary times, and if these could not give an account of the Pretender's adherents, they could be of little use in war.

Newcastle looked more and more to Chesterfield, and kept him well-advised of the throbbings of the Ministerial pulse. "Mr. Pitt continues cold and reserved, and frequents none of us; G. Lyttelton is warm, eager, well-inclined, but partial in the greatest degree to Mr. Pitt and his opinion. The Duke of Bedford and Lord Gower have all the good dispositions we can wish; act entirely in concert with us, approve of all we do, and we do nothing without them."[2] Lyttelton soon after was made a Lord of the Treasury. Chesterfield, elated more than ever with his administrative success, was ready to go all lengths for the Pel-

[1] 17th Nov., 1745.

[2] Newcastle to Chesterfield, 30th Nov., 1745.—*MS.*

hams, to whom he now professed devotion. He did not expect regular letters from the Duke; Mr. Stone's head and hand under his chief's direction would quite suffice for him. His dislike of the Scotch amounted to fanaticism. He was all against raising loyal Highlanders. He hoped and believed that those to whom money was given for that purpose might put it in their pockets and not raise a man. If they gave way to importunities and jobs upon this occasion, they would have a rebellion every seven years. "The French would feed the rebellion only to hinder it from dying of hunger, not enough to make it thrive." It was only to incline us to a negotiation from which at present they thought us wholly averse.

At the head of less than 5,000 men, Charles Edward began his venturous march southwards, confiding in numerous promises that the English Jacobites would rise in arms to join him; and by the end of the month Manchester received him with demonstrations of joy. The army under Marshal Wade was still in the north of Yorkshire; the Duke of Richmond, with some squadrons of cavalry, waited for orders at Lichfield; and the Duke of Cumberland, with the main body of English and Dutch troops, lay encamped at Stone. On the 1st of December the invaders crossed the Mersey and, under the command of Lord George Murray, out-manœuvred their antagonists, and reached Derby without losing a man. The fact, known in London early on the 6th, spread general consternation, for few believed in the capability of the Guards and Militia stationed at Finchley, to offer any effectual resistance. A run upon the Bank, and a rumour that the King had sent his plate and jewels on board the yacht lying at Tower Stairs, heightened the alarm; and no one in Government having the self-possession or spirit to give orders, signs of confusion speedily began to spread. Unless overtaken on their forward march by Prince William's army, everyone believed that the Capital must fall. No one dreamed that once within little more than one hundred miles the enemy would retire. Already, however, that decision had been taken, against the wishes equally of the Chevalier and his kilted soldiery. In a council of war the chieftains declared that they had been deceived and deserted by their English allies: and that they would never have come thus far had they not been led to reckon on a general rising of all classes to sustain them. Half incredulous

of their retreat, the inhabitants of London once more breathed freely and tried to forget their fears; the King declared that he was ready to take command of his Finchley Corps; and the Secretary of State resumed his official lucubrations on all manner of ordinary affairs as if nothing perilous had happened. By Christmas Day the misguided Celts had recrossed the Solway and made their way back to Glasgow, where they were ill-received.

Confidence in the summary repression of revolt was staggered once more by the sanguinary defeat of Hawley's numerous and well-appointed force at Falkirk. Regiments honoured for their courage at Dettingen, and endurance at Fontenoy, turned and fled before the fierce onrush of the Highlanders, leaving half their wounded officers on the field. The whole of the baggage, stores, and guns fell into the hands of the rebels, and the luckless General was only able to palliate the shame of his discomfiture by ascribing it to the tempest and darkness which prevailed during the brief encounter.[1]

Attempts were made to represent the affair as a drawn battle, confirmed by the fact that while Hawley fell back on Linlithgow, the Chevalier, instead of re-entering Edinburgh, withdrew towards Stirling, still held for King George. His faith in his fortune was already giving way. Help from France was more than ever doubtful; succours being intercepted by the vigilance of the English cruisers; and adhesions from the chiefs who had wavered which side they would join, ceased from the day he had been compelled to recross the Border.

The Duke of Cumberland, Commanding-in-Chief, was reinforced at Holyrood by the regiments from Holland, and he marched without delay to relieve Stirling. Perth was likewise occupied, and the disheartened Clans continued their retreat northwards. The Pretender was joined at Inverness by new levies: Lady Macintosh and Lady Seaforth leading their devoted bands, while their husbands were professing fidelity to King George in the quarters of Lord Loudoun and President Forbes. It is a fair wind, however, that ruffles nobody's hair. After recounting the items of news that gladdened the end of the year, the fretful Secretary of State complained in folio to his cheerful correspondent at Dublin that, notwithstanding all this, they

[1] 17th January, 1746.

had their doubts and difficulties. During the heat of the rebellion, he was most graciously received at Court. But whether from the danger being more remote, or from whatever other cause he knew not, during the last week there was a visible alteration. He had had some few conferences upon the state of Scotland, the impracticability of things going on with no Cabinet Minister there. Wisely for himself, Lord Tweeddale had lately resigned the Seals. The King had told them it would be so; but he had since relapsed into the grievances of the past year. The Prince of Wales was dissatisfied that he was not suffered to command in Scotland, and he had expressed his resentment strongly. But Granville and Bath had sent a message to the King that they would not go into Opposition, though the Prince did. This had evidently made an impression. Their young hero, Prince William, had just returned, highly pleased and satisfied with having driven the rebels into their own hill country, and having retaken Carlisle. All the world was in love with him, and he richly deserved it. They expected warm opposition when the Parliament met. Bedford and Gower acted hand and heart with them, and the latter said the other day that he really thought, they could form an Administration, if the King desired they should, exclusively of those whom they wished to have, though they could not have Mr. Pitt. With this the King seemed pleased. Newcastle told him that he believed Lord Chesterfield, when he came over, would not hurt this scheme. To which he answered that he had done very well in Ireland, that his notions were very right as to England, and should be followed. The Duke must beg of him to come over as soon as he could finish affairs on the other side of the water. They wanted his assistance and support. For his own part, he had the utmost reliance upon his opinion and judgment.[1]

Chesterfield replied, exulting at the fulfilment of his prophecies, and scouting the fear of a French landing. He wished affairs at St. James's and Westminster were in as good a way; but there, he confessed, he was bewildered. He was astonished and grieved at the conduct of Pitt, who he heard was reconnected with the Prince of Wales, and seemed to announce opposition. Let him give one piece of advice, to avail themselves to the utmost, in the closet, of his opposition, and to have no other regard or

[1] January, 1746.—*MS.*

managements for him than what mere decency required. "I know him better than you do, and I know he has neither love nor hatred in his temper; and those who are the worst with him to-day are likely to be well with him to-morrow." The messages of Lords Granville and Bath, that they would not oppose, were a gross delusion; and he hoped no necessity whatsoever would induce Newcastle even to temporise with them. He knew the insolence, the perfidy, the wildness of both, in their different ways; they could bring him no friends, for they had not one in the world, but they could lose him many. He was glad Gower thought that an Administration might be formed without Pitt; he thought it possible too, but it must be by breaking considerably into the Opposition, and hindering it from being thought national. He hoped Lyttelton might be kept after some convulsions, and a Grenville or two, and Barrington got, which would considerably cripple Pitt's opposition. They could not get one more useful nor more to be depended on than Harry Furnese. His Grace was quite right to tell the King that he would not disavow them, if Gower and Bedford continued in; and if they did not he should be concerned in no scheme and disturb none, but be quiet for the rest of his life.[1]

George II. was more out of humour than ever, and was more easily persuaded that he ran no risk in practically giving proof of it. He had been made to say from the Throne that the interests of England and Holland were one, and that nothing should be wanting on his part to secure it; but when nothing was suggested by the Cabinet to make good the Royal word, he felt that his lips had been used merely to palaver an old ally with promises of support which he was not enabled to render. Indecisive measures of repression in Scotland fanned these discontents into flame, and Ministers had no better expedient to suggest than the strengthening of their hands by the admission to office of the chief assailant of their past policy.

Bath frequently now appeared at Court and was constantly favoured with separate audience. It was surmised and put about with care that he used his opportunities to keep alive preference for Granville and to foster his discontent with their rivals in office for want of energy in the contest with France, and for their slackness and inefficiency in extinguishing the

[1] 11th January, 1746.—*MS.*

Highland revolt. His Majesty readily listened to sentiments in accordance with his own. The minority in the Cabinet began to cherish hopes of ascendancy, if they could only re-enlist the landed and commercial partisans who had once followed their lead, but whom their short-sighted self-seeking had dispersed.

Of these the most prominent, and in the Lower House the most important, were Pitt and the Grenvilles. Cobham, their ostensible head, was consequently approached by the Pulteney of former days,—Pulteney in influence and name no more. Against the monopolising system of the Pelhams, the promise was held out of an Administration on a broad bottom that should comprehend men of various hues of opinion and of various walks in life, from the listless sinecurists at Leicester House to busy men on 'Change: Pitt and Cobham, having Cabinet rank, which was confessedly their due. But his lordship, who was neither a dissembler nor a diplomatist, refused to treat, bluntly declaring that Bath had deceived him once, and should not deceive him again. He thought it but fair, however, to make a merit of the refusal at Claremont, where his self-denying patriotism was of course extolled, and pronounced worthy of reward. The Pelhams, too, had their designs for a Broad-bottomed Administration, in which the "Cobham Cousins" would naturally form a part. Plausible professions did for a while, but as time went on without any ostensible movement being made, signs were shown of impatience, and to quench distrust Newcastle laid a list of changes and secondary appointments before the King.

He recommended that Pitt should be made Secretary-at-War and that others of his section should have office, but George II. had not forgotten Pitt's early diatribes against the Hanover troops, or accepted his recent tenders of atonement; and danger from his Scottish rival being dissipated, his Majesty was persuaded to persist in his refusal. Meeting Harrington at the door of the Royal Closet on the 6th of February, Bath told him plainly that he had advised the exclusion of Pitt, but counselled more energetic measures abroad, to which Harrington replied, "They who dictate in private should be employed in public." The next day the King, perceiving his attempts to gain Harrington fruitless, reproached him with obstinacy and ingratitude.

His irritation was increased by a strong remonstrance from

the Chancellor on his want of confidence in his servants, which he heard in silence and disgust.

The friends of Granville now asserted that an Administration on a wider basis, and relying more truly on national spirit, was worthy the position of the Kingdom and the emancipation of the Sovereign from the thraldom in which he was held. Granville himself insisted on the necessity of the most vigorous measures, and proposed to revive the spirit of the Grand Alliance which had animated the European States during the reigns of William and Anne. England he wished to become the soul of the confederacy, and by means of large subsidies to obtain the co-operation of the Austrian Court, induce the Dutch to declare war against France, and concur in the support of the common cause. The King approved this plan, which was what he meant in his Speech from the Throne, written for him by Hardwicke. But the majority of his Ministers, unwilling, as they said, to involve the country in Continental engagements while the finances were depressed by the continuance of the rebellion, opposed the plan. When Newcastle recommended that Yonge should retire on the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, and that Pitt should be Secretary at War, George II., advised by Granville and Bath, made difficulties. This was regarded by Ministers as an intimation, not only that the reins were slipping from their hands, but that they were to be taken to be so. Newcastle, Pelham, and Harrington met at the Chancellor's on the evening of the 8th of February, and relying on the concurrence of Bedford and Gower, Richmond and Dorset, resolved forthwith to threaten resignation.[1] The First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor next day tendered their seals of office, and Newcastle undertook to acquaint those who were absent with what was taking place. "Their resolution was taken," he wrote, "upon a firm conviction that the King's dislike and disapprobation made it impracticable for them to carry on his affairs with success. Bath had lately had frequent access to the Closet, and a preferable reception there, as they had reason to think, to those who were to be responsible for affairs. Their situation, therefore, became as dangerous as it was disagreable, and as the young Marcellus had by his bare appearance, drove the rebels to their mountains; they thought the state of public affairs could not suffer, and

[1] Hardwicke to Chas. Yorke, February 9th, 1746.

the intended invasion from France was for the present laid aside.

From Richmond he received a prompt reply of approval, and an avowal of his purpose to follow their example as soon as he came to town. Bedford, Gower, and Pembroke offered to retire, and thereupon Devonshire, Grafton, and Winnington did the same.

What was exactly expected to ensue from this concerted demonstration is unknown; perhaps no two of those engaged in it were quite agreed as to the probable results. But if refusal of their scheme to tack on certain patches of fresh colour to the hem of power was to be held forth as a cause of its abandonment, would it not be well to make sure of all the credit and benefit derivable from such a proceeding?[1] The Pelhams clearly thought so; and accordingly Harrington was authorised to arrange a meeting at his house on the following day for the ratification of a compact with the Pitt and Grenville section, theretofore understood rather than definitely reduced to form. Newcastle lamented his inability to realise the expectations hitherto held out, but offered to engage for himself and colleagues not to retain or reaccept office without the friends of Cobham, if a pledge were distinctly given on their part to stand by their allies in or out of place. The Chancellor, he said, was decidedly of that opinion, and had both suggested and warmly recommended the measure of a general resignation. He then put the question, "Will Lord Cobham and his friends adhere to us in and out of Court, if we engage never to negotiate with the Court without including him and all his friends?" Cobham confessed the proposition was so handsome, he could not as a man of honour refuse giving it his hearty assent. The compact thus made, and the union cemented between the Parliamentary parties, no further cause for hesitation existed about breaking up the Administration; and to the probable surprise of their antagonists, two-thirds of the Cabinet resigned. The threat of withdrawal by the Pelhams had not dismayed the King, nor that of Hardwicke his favourite advisers; that of Harrington and Richmond gave him no concern. Devonshire and Chesterfield, it was believed, would remain, and Bedford, if promoted, might be beguiled into staying, with Sandwich and Gower as adherents. A general defection of rank and talent from Whitehall was a

[1] 10th February, 1746, from Goodwood.

contingency not provided for; and the next two days were consequently spent in excited conference and alternate adoption and abandonment of rash resolves.[1]

Bath kissed hands as First Lord of the Treasury, and both seals of Secretary of State were given to Granville, one for himself, and the other for whom he would. Carlisle became Privy Seal, and Winchilsea was reappointed to the Admiralty. Chief Justice Wells declined the Great Seal, and Sir John Barnard the Exchequer, which was offered to Sir John Rushout.

In the premature flush of triumph Granville and Bath threw away the opportunity of regaining the Cobham party, and enlisting the ability and ambition of Pitt. Had they offered him the seals of the Northern Department before the lesser bidding had been accepted on his behalf by Cobham, while Lyttelton and George Granville were appropriately placed, it is possible that Chesterfield also would have joined the new combination; and whatever doubt might have existed as to the number of votes they could count on in one or two critical divisions in a moribund Parliament, they would clearly have had the advantage of better and brighter resources in debate than their rivals. Chesterfield loved Pitt as little as they did; but he was a Stanhope, and Pitt's aunt Lucy was the wife of his cousin, the victor of Almenara, the Statesman whose repute almost alone had survived the troubles and disasters of the previous reign. With all his pretension to elevated motives, it is clear that constancy in party ties was with him, as with most of his contemporaries, an unknown quality. On receipt of the first intimation of important changes, Chesterfield was unable to make up his mind whether to hold on or to resign. He had already suggested both the policy of taking in Pitt and the policy of having nothing to do with him. Had he been on the spot during the crisis, he would doubtless have offered to explain away the inconsistency. But a nine day course of post between London and Dublin saved him the trouble. Left to themselves, the would-be Cabinet-makers were blinded by their resentment at the ruthless attacks of Pitt when he was dropped by them in 1742, and even in forgiving mood they looked upon him as rather desirable than essential in Coalition. In their overweening self-importance they allowed the occasion to slip, with-

[1] Almon, I., Chapter VII.

out paying him the compliment of saying he must be a Cabinet Minister. Whatever their immediate purpose had come to, it may be taken for granted that after such an offer the most self-worshipping of men would never have listened to anything less, and the whole course of Ministerial life during the next ten years would have been different. If? But what is the use of ifs? Folly and fate will have their way, and the historian can only gather and chronicle their doings.

Pembroke, in giving up his key as Groom of the Stole, assigned for reason his want of confidence in the new Ministers, and drew, it was said, very unfavourable portraits of both, dwelling on their personal unpopularity. When Winnington came to resign the Pay Office, he was offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer with the Leadership of the Commons, for which his experience and facility in debate were said to qualify him; but his health was already giving way; his faith in party combination was dead; and, despite many flattering assurances, he told the King that the proposed Ministry could neither support him or themselves. It grew hourly more and more clear that on the new lines the ship of State could not be constructed; and next morning Granville waited on his Majesty, and told him that they were able to count on but eighty votes certain in the Lower House, and half that number in the Upper; in short, it would not do. Surprised and disappointed, George II. was unable to conceal his alarm. For the first time, in words not obscurely traceable to one deeply concerned in the issue, "the King had discovered his own insignificancy. He found that the assurances of men without alliances were no support to a Sovereign, and that if a Prince would be maintained in Royalty he must take those into his service who have the greatest influence amongst his subjects: for a King without his people is either more than he ought to be or less than he should be."[1]

The words in print are the words of Almon, but the voice unmistakable is that of Pitt.

After some deliberation, his Majesty sent again for Winnington, and told him he should have the honour of the reconciliation, and sent him to Pelham to say he wished him to resume office. Cholmondeley was to have been the other Secretary,

[1] Almon, I., Chapter VII.

and Bolton, as his father had been, Governor of Ireland, Portland being made Master of the Horse.

During the brief interruption it was a joke that one could not safely walk the streets at night for fear of being pressed for the Cabinet.[1]

Bath was much chagrined at his failure, but Granville was not to be disconcerted, and laughed on.

The Secretaryship for Scotland was again suppressed, and Pitt was made Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, which gave him no political influence whatever. It was felt, however, that this would accomplish nothing. Soon after, on the death of Winnington, he was made Postmaster-General, without a seat in the Cabinet.

When he knelt to kiss hands on his first appointment, the King was observed to shed tears of mortification at being obliged to recognise the tribune who had for years sought popularity in season and out of season by denouncing the name of Hanover. George II. submitted sullenly. How could he suppose that the orator would in a few months endeavour to efface the recollection of his invectives, and that in a few years he would become the most daring and devoted advocate of offensive and defensive identity of England with Hanover? Pitt set himself to vindicate his appointment by retrenching abuses that had grown up in the Department. It had been customary at the Pay Office to invest the money provided by the Treasury for current expenses in the name of the Chief of the Department in public securities, and to lodge the dividends accruing therefrom to his personal account. This often made a very considerable addition to his emolument, but hitherto it had never been publicly acknowledged. One of the first official acts of Pitt was to make an order that the cash balances should, as they accrued, be paid into the Bank of England, and from time to time be drawn against, without deduction, for the public service. Another usage long existing in the office was to charge, as a perquisite of the Paymaster-General, half per cent. on all subsidies to be transmitted through him to foreign Courts.

These had of late been greatly increased, and the deduction, especially in time of war, amounted to several thousands a year;

[1] Sir J. Grey, in Grantham Papers.

but these likewise the new Paymaster declined to appropriate as his predecessors had done, and remitted the grants of Parliament, without diminution, to the Governments of the allies. When the King of Sardinia was told this, he desired his Minister in England to pay him an equivalent sum in acknowledgment of conduct so disinterested. Pitt consistently declined acceptance, with the expression of a hope that his refusal would not be misunderstood, but he could not think himself justified in alienating any portion of the grants in question from the purpose for which they were intended. Unused to such forbearance, Charles Emmanuel is said to have exclaimed: "England has got a Minister who is more or less than a man." Excuses are sometimes made for the "Great Commoner," as he wished to be called, taking a subordinate place while refused a share in the direction of affairs. The truth seems to be that he had grown weary of equerry functions at Leicester House, and disenchanted with the illusion of heading an effective Opposition. The legacy of the Duchess of Marlborough was not enough to tempt him to marry, because not enough to support the social obligations it entailed. The collapse of the Jacobite revolt, and the attempt to form an alternative Cabinet, admonished him against peremptorily exacting the recognition of his due; but the King had no longer a rival for the Crown, and the Pelhams had no longer competitors for the Government.

The former Ministry resumed its duties with some alterations. Pitt, as Paymaster-General, was made a Privy Councillor; Yonge Joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland with Lord Cholmondeley, and Henry Fox became Secretary-at-War. In Scotland, Lord Stair was given the command, and in the Netherlands it was conferred on Sir J. Ligonier, the son of a French refugee. Greater vigour was promised in the prosecution of the war; and much greater had palpably become indispensable if Holland was to be saved from the fate of Flanders and Brabant, for while these had been drained of their garrisons to quench rebellion in Scotland, town after town had been forced to surrender, and Marshal Saxe was able to boast that he had provided his numerous army with the best of quarters all through the winter and spring in the neighbourhood of Brussels, Bruges, and Antwerp.

Pelham asked Parliament once more for liberal votes in taxes and loans, to which no serious objection was made, increasing

the total charge for the year to £7,063,250, the permanent debt being £56,000,000. But when the new Secretary-at-War proposed to augment the Hanoverian troops in British pay from sixteen to eighteen thousand men, and the new Paymaster-General, who had first made himself formidable by denouncing that unpatriotic force, was found supporting it, the faith of the most credulous adherents of Opposition died within them ; and Bath more than ever repented that he had left the House of Commons. Chesterfield set about sowing distrust between the brothers and their new adherents. Prefacing his Machiavellian hints to the Duke by insisting that what he was about to say should go to no mortal living but his brother, he proceeded to discount the value of the new auxiliaries, and to discuss how they might be dealt with : " I am far from thinking your difficulties are at an end, by your taking in the persons you mention. You will find they will not cement well with your old people, who are in truth jealous of them and not of the Tories. They were never alarmed really at the Tories, whose inefficiency and insignificancy in business they well knew, but only dreaded the talents and efficiency of Pitt and that set, who, they knew, if joined with you, would either have the lead given them or would take it. In that they judged right, and you will find that will be the case. They will be for directing ; Cobham will put them upon it ; and if there is any considerable party left for them to retreat to, they will be eternally threatening you with such a retreat. What convinces me the more of this intention is Cobham's cheerful and willing exclusion of the Tories, for whom he was always the great stickler. Consider therefore whether you should leave them this resource, or whether you should not rather engage as many of the Tories on your side as to leave the rest only a fraction, or, if you will, a faction. You will find your own people much easier about the Tories when Pitt, the Tory they feared, is not in. But I promise you he will not be easy till he is Secretary-at-War, and Dick Grenville of the Treasury. Jemmy Grenville's £1,000 a year was dirtily asked and prudently granted, but that won't do, and Dick's Treasury is the tender and favourite point. Should you not, in these difficulties, strengthen Gower's hands to assist you as much as ever you can ? You may depend on him, and I would be bound for him, which in these times I would be for very few people."

Might not Argyll and Marchmont be drawn into connection by place or the promise of it; and as "Somebody had been indulged with his two Finches," had they not better be transferred from the backstairs to posts equally good at Whitehall, where they could not overhear and see all that was said and done? "Whatsoever disagreeable things have to be done ought to be done while victory is fresh, and Somebody as sore as he could be. Tearing open an old sore a year hence will be much more disagreeable to both. When that work is once over, would it be amiss for you to cultivate Lady Yarmouth more than you have hitherto done? She certainly can give good or bad impressions in the many hours' conversation she has; for even the wisest man is like the Chameleon. You need not invite me to England; I have had enough of Royalty, God knows; and your return of my Bills from the Council determined mine to England. I will hurry them through the Parliament as soon as possible, and then in a most gracious speech prorogue it."[1]

Trouble was not yet over in Scotland. Prince William still shrank from indiscriminate acts of repression. In remote glens the people were still Jacobites, but south of Clyde and Forth they were predominantly loyal. Disaffection lingered where the partisans of Government were few, and how to deal with the state of things Newcastle knew not. The cynical Governor of Ireland had no such hesitation: "Why not put a price upon their heads, and then they would bring in and destroy one another. There is already a price on the Pretender's head, who is the only one amongst them to be pitied. I would forbid provisions of any kind being sent upon any pretence, unless directly to the Duke's army, and I would starve the loyal with the disloyal, if the former thought proper to remain with the latter. I have flatly refused permission to ship provisions from Ireland, and have taken effectual care that the loyalist Highlander shall not have an oat-cake from hence. While that favourable distinction remains of loyal and disloyal, the Rebellion will never be extinguished. Recall your Scotch heroes; starve the whole country indiscriminately by your ships; put a price upon the heads of the chiefs, and let the Duke put all to fire and sword."[2]

To keep the King in tolerable humour, the Earl had no

[1] From Dublin Castle, 27th February, 1746.—*MS.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 11th, 20th March, 1746.—*MS.*

scruple in framing what he called ostensible despatches, which omitted what he most wished to say. On a matter of some importance he tells Newcastle that he "sent an ostensible letter, such as it was, to lay before Somebody; he had calculated it as well as he could for the purpose, though possibly he might have failed. He was very sorry that the custom had prevailed for some time of showing that Person all the intercepted letters; it must frequently have very ill effects, and he should think that upon some occasions they might be sunk, and couriers might be supposed to have lost them."[1] Newcastle did not venture to publicly endorse his Excellency's murderous counsels, and his official instructions to the Duke were as usual verbose and vague, but a curious letter of even date was evidently meant as a qualifying interpretation.

"To be opened by H.R.H. (most private).

"The apprehension I am under that the answer I have the honour to send your Royal Highness by the King's commands to your letter of the 15th may not be so satisfactory as I could wish everything to be that passes through my hands obliges me to give you this trouble, to acquaint you that upon the most mature consideration it has been found impracticable to give any more particular direction than is therein contained. Your Royal Highness knows how delicate the point is, and consequently how difficult it is to give any general order upon it. I know your zeal for the King, devotion to his service, and detestation of this Rebellion will not suffer you to omit anything that may be necessary for putting a speedy end to it. At the same time, I should be wanting in my duty did not I equally depend that you will not give any just cause of complaint to a country so ill-disposed to the King, and so willing to find fault with everything that is done for his Majesty's service. I hope you will take this hint, as the effect of my duty and regard to you.

"I put myself entirely in your power, and write in my own illegible hand for the greater secrecy."[2]

His Royal Highness thanked the Secretary of State for his private prompting, and though he could have wished that the King's order had been fuller, yet he took the hint, and would do all in his power to put an end to the insurrection. He believed

[1] 20th March, 1746.—*MS.*

[2] March, 1746.—*MS*

the *éclat* of it was over, but really thought that there was such seed left of it that God knew how soon it might break out again. For the reassurance of his Ministerial prompters, he proceeds to sharpen the axe of vengeance. "He was sorry to say that though all the country was as ill-inclined as possible, the managers of that part of the Kingdom had made it, if possible, worse, by putting all the power of the Crown into the most disaffected hands for the sake of elections. Were he to enumerate all the villains and villainies the country abounded in, he should never have done; in short, there did not remain the least vestiges of any government throughout the whole. The Hessians behaved sadly, which was all owing to Crawford and the Scotch, who had their ear. He made his compliments to Mr. Pelham; and did not imagine that threatening military executions and many other such things was pleasing to do, but nothing would go down without it in that part of the world."[1] There were not wanting many advocates of unsparing retribution, even amongst those whose standard of moral and social duty differed in almost every respect from that professed by men in executive power. "Might not the escape of the rebels unchastised be attended with inconceivable mischief? Would it not encourage the nation in general, which must be much discouraged if these few sons of rapine be not strenuously hunted down?" . . . . "Might not some good use be made of the zeal of thousands of able-bodied men in different stations, who would gladly learn discipline and serve on occasion near home, if properly authorised under gentlemen of approved attachment to the Government? Perhaps ten thousand such might be raised in this country, who, though not to be depended upon as regular forces, might, on an exigence, do something, and by their numbers greatly discourage an enemy, without any expense to the public. . . . The signs of the times seem to call loudly for the exertion of the Supreme Power to suppress vice and profaneness, and for the public counsels to find out a more effectual method of doing it. This, I am sorry to say, makes the British forces infamous beyond most in the world."[2] But the day of a

[1] H.R.H. Duke of Cumberland to Secretary of State, from Aberdeen, 4th April, 1746.—*MS.*

[2] Dr. Doddridge to Secretary of State, 8th December, 1745, quoted by Warrington.—"Hist. Nonconformist."

national defensive force combining all classes of volunteers had not come, and even the substitution of militia for regiments of the line was looked upon as a dangerous alternative.

At length the decisive news arrived of Culloden, and the *Gazette* of the 23rd of April announced the defeat and dispersion of the clans. The tenacity with which to the last they clung to the cause of the banished dynasty, and, when the issue was no longer doubtful, continued to engage their better fed, better armed, and better officered antagonists, caused a passing shudder, less of pity than of anger. Sandwich, writing from the Admiralty to his chief at Woburn, dwells only on the circumstance as remarkable that the havoc made among the rebels was not by keeping them off by our fire, but by receiving them with the bayonets, which did great execution. The butchery of carnage in pursuit was yet to come, but Government already knew on the 24th of April that after the battle the vanquished had scattered and fled to their homes, throwing down their arms; "our men giving little quarter, so that upwards of a thousand were killed."[1]

Two days later brought further particulars of the ghastly tale. Two thousand five hundred perished on the field and a thousand more in the pursuit.[2] Others who were more or less in the secret divulged by degrees more of the truth. A Junior Lord of the Admiralty, writing to his chief at Bath, says, "An express has just come from the Duke of C., the contents will be in the *Gazette*, only that the loss of the rebels is more than will be published, for what reason I cannot tell. It amounts to near four thousand men."[3]

Great exultation burst forth at the news of Culloden. The Archbishop issued a thanksgiving to be used in the churches, and on subsequent tidings of the numbers slain in the pursuit, the Master of the Horse gave vent to his joy "that so many villains were destroyed; indeed, the rope must finish those that had escaped with their lives, else they would deserve to have all this over again."[4]

The young commander may not have been given to the study

[1] Sandwich to Bedford from Admiralty, 24th April, 1746.
[2] Stone to Bedford, 26th April, 1746.
[3] Barrington from the Admiralty, 26th April, 1746.
[4] Richmond, 27th April, 1746.—*MS.*

of Judaic maxims in war, but he was resolved to keep clear of the sin of Saul. Ere the dead in fight were hid beneath the sod, he was preparing to realise the fruits of victory, and sought to prepare the Cabinet for the exercise of the discretion with which they had clothed him. On the 30th April he wrote to Newcastle, "I now hope this affair is almost over with regard to the military operations, but the Jacobite rebellious principle is so rooted that the present generation must be pretty well wore out before the country will be quiet." He hoped that members of both Houses would put up with the inconveniences of a summer Session, which would be absolutely necessary for the almost total change of the constitution of Scotland. "Lord President has joined me (on the morrow of Culloden), and as yet we are vastly fond of one another, but I fear it will not last, as he is as arrant Highland mad as Lord Stair or Crawford. He wishes for lenity, if it can be with safety, which he thinks, but I don't, for he really thinks that when once they are dispersed, it is of no worse consequence than a London mob. They are now dispersed all over this kingdom at their own homes, and nobody meddles with them except I send a military force after them. I have got the Lord President to direct Sir E. Faulkner in the drawing up of a proclamation requiring of all the civil magistrates to exert themselves in order that these dispersed rebels may be brought to justice; but as one half the magistracy have been either aiders or abettors to this Rebellion, and the other dare not act through fear of offending their own chiefs or of paining their own cousins, I hope for little from them."[1]

Lest he should relax, or be troubled with compunctious visitings, his Cabinet mentor took care to tell him that "his noble notions and wise measures were, if possible, more extraordinary and more meritorious than his wonderful success over the rebel force in the field."[2]

Newcastle, as he himself boasted, had the good fortune, in a very distinguishing manner, to make his court to the King by doing what was most agreeable to himself—proposing a grant of £40,000 a-year, £15,000 from the Privy Purse, to the Duke and his heirs male. Their new paymaster, Mr. Pitt, had distinguished himself by his forwardness upon this occasion, and had been of

[1] To Secretary of State from Inverness. Received 30th April, 1746.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Cumberland, 30th April, 1746.—*MS.*

great use to them. The King insisted on his moving the vote in the Commons, which he readily agreed to do. But Pelham thought the honour should be his.[1]

[1] To H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, 30th April, 1746.—*MS.*

# CHAPTER IV.

## TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

Plan to Annex Canada—Byng Unwilling to take Command—Attack on Rochelle—The Stanhopes Exchange Places—War Estimate Nine Millions—Suppression of Heritable Jurisdictions—Prince William to Command in Flanders—General Election—Purchasing Votes—Newcastle Commands in Person at Seaford—Eight Pitts Returned—Conference with Lady Yarmouth—Failure of the Prince's Party—Aix-la-Chapelle.

A WAR policy was now advocated by Ministers with the help of their newly-retained advocate, Pitt, who won from Pelham the praise that he "had the dignity of Sir W. Wyndham, the wit of Pulteney, and the judgment of Walpole." Opposition laboured to show the inconsistency of great armaments with the boasted retrenchments the previous year, as if the logic of consistency really weighed with either side. The House, by a large majority, voted £400,000 for fifty thousand Austrians, £300,000 for Hanoverians, and as much more for the Sardinian contingent. But fresh misunderstandings arose at the Cockpit, and a new fracture threatened to break up the lately repaired Cabinet. Chesterfield was sorry for what he learned about the discontent of Gower and Halifax, and he would not take any engagements with them until after he had seen Newcastle, but he urged that the disagreement should be made up quietly, because their resigning certainly would bring on that of Bedford and Sandwich, in which case he should himself be in a situation incompatible with character or quiet.[1] Instead of hastening to town, he took to his bed at Shelford, and when at length he made his appearance at Court, he affected to be surprised to learn that he had been thought of for Secretary of State.

Sir W. Yonge had been Secretary-at-War for many years, and rendered good service to his party in debate. His health now

[1] Chesterfield to Newcastle, 1st May, 1746.—*MS.*

visibly broke down, and it was thought he could not much longer bear the fatigues of his office. He was given his choice of holding on some time longer or accepting the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, the duties of which he could perform by deputy. Henry Fox, now rapidly rising into note, claimed the War Office by the equitable right of promotion, and nobody else was thought to have equal pretensions. But the breach was unhealed between him and Richmond, whose daughter he had clandestinely espoused, and his Grace, it was feared, would resent his elevation. Contrary to what was expected, the Duke frankly consented, if the convenience of the party required it. Fox would have probably preferred the Irish place, but as the business of the department would undoubtedly suffer, it was hoped that Yonge would subside into it.[1]

No press of official business prevented Newcastle holding in hand the strings by which the puppet show of his close boroughs was kept in working order. On the death of Mr. Gregory, in April, 1746, his Grace lost no time in telling the burgesses of Aldborough, under his own hand, that he wished them to set in his room Lord Dalkeith, as a firm friend to the Government; and the heir of Buccleuch was returned accordingly.[2]

His Grace was jealous of everyone, not excepting his own brother, whose better and more compatible temper bid fair to render him more influential in Council. Relieved from any fear of Granville's return to power, he sought to exercise an unlimited oversight in foreign affairs. Pelham, who had to answer for all in the House of Commons, shrank from the humiliation of defending a series of failures in the field, and after the disastrous issue of the fight at Fontenoy, he grew every day more averse from the continuance of a wasteful struggle. He complained that costly measures were decided on without his consent, as head of the Treasury, and an open rupture had nearly taken place between the brothers. Pelham wrote confidentially to old Horace, ridiculing the Duke for taking the "promissory notes of an Austrian Minister for true sterling, as Granville used to put it, though he knew it was arrant brass," and he declared that the other Secretary of State had been mystified and slighted. The whole scheme of the campaign was, he said, a disastrous and

[1] Correspondence between Newcastle and Richmond, May 1st, 1746.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Burgesses of Aldborough.—*MS.*

disgraceful repetition of the system of hiring an army of Hessian, Muscovite, Hanoverian, Hungarian, Sardinian, and Bavarian mercenaries. Friends, however, interposed, and Pelham continued to be First Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer till his death. The Duke used to call Lord Hardwicke "our brother," and as he had two or three times as many reasons for clinging to office, and knew that the term of his Patent was during ducal power, he was given to see things in Council in the same light as his potential friend.

When foreign prospects brightened, a project was matured and adopted, which was destined ere long to carry the flag of Empire into regions of the West, where venturous missionaries rarely wandered. To Bedford, eager to make his mark in office, his colleagues gave the credit of conceiving a plan for driving the French from their settlements on the St. Lawrence, and founding new colonies there. From the time he assumed the first place at the Board of Admiralty, he had been occupied with a scheme of conquest on a greater scale than had ever fired the ambition of an English Minister, and after working out the details with considerable care, assisted by men of geographical and military knowledge, he formally laid it before the Cabinet, and asked for their decision as to making the attempt.

This was nothing less than the acquisition of America north of the St. Lawrence. In a report from the Lords of the Admiralty, of the means and resources necessary to launch and sustain the enterprise, a fleet of twenty sail, with due accompaniment of bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and vessels of light draft, was said to be indispensable. Five thousand regular troops would suffice for a first detachment, but they must be supported by the militia of New York and Massachusetts. The Indian nations in alliance with us might be of great use in scouring the woods and reducing the open country, the Colonial Governors inviting them with promises of spoil, and some presents of powder, ball, and firearms. Time, however, was to be economised. Daring enterprise must not be risked with unready hands; but George II. was told, in language not to be mistaken, that though the "arrival of the armament at Quebec must greatly depend on the contingencies of wind and weather, they could not in any probability be retarded beyond the middle of July; even in that case there would be more than sufficient time to complete

the reduction of Canada before the commencement of the winter."[1] Through the chink of an ominous word of misgiving, one might almost anticipate the delays and frustrations that were to follow Newcastle's jealousy of any undertaking likely to redound to the credit of a colleague which did not originate with him. Anxious solicitude, then exhaustive inquiries, subsequently asking time to consider more maturely subordinate details, and at last the suggestion of an alternative expedition easier and safer, while the project of driving the French out of neighbouring settlements in America would be good for a more convenient season, successively furnished pretexts for delay.

At length, however, these demurrers were overruled, and the fleet that bore the expedition set sail before midsummer day, amply equipped and manned. Nothing could be more propitious than the omens; but in spite of all the speed that had been made in preparation, there were fears by those who saw it sail that it had set out too late.[2] The expedition was ultimately countermanded, on reports from various hands that it would be dangerous for so large a squadron to venture to the North American coast in September, and the attempt was consequently deferred till the following year.[3] Meantime Admiral Lestock and General Sinclair were directed to consider what might be done to attack some western port of France, in order to create a diversion from the army invading the Low Countries.

Pelham, being in Sussex, excused himself from coming to town to confer as to what should be done with Sinclair's force, and a Cabinet at Harrington's rediscussed the question, whether it should attack Rochelle or Rochefort, or should be sent to Flanders as a reinforcement of the allies there. The Duke of Cumberland, it was known, sustained Harrington in advocating the latter, but yielded to the arguments of his colleagues, and orders were given accordingly. Pelham thought he could have been of little use in consultation, and acquiesced in what was done, but owned he expected little from the enterprise undertaken by a General and Admiral who, when asked to give an opinion, said they knew nothing about it.[4]

[1] Bedford Correspondence, 1-65.
[2] Richmond to Newcastle, 24th June, 1746.—*MS.*
[3] H. Pelham to his brother, 21st August, 1746.—*MS.*
[4] To Newcastle, from Hills in Sussex, 27th August, 1746.—*MS.*

The waters were no doubt tolerably tranquil; still it is somewhat curious to find the helmsman off from the ship boating, and only wishing to be signalled back if he should be wanted, especially when he sometimes thought her course pointed to windward: "I received the letters from Claremont this morning, and joining to those of yesterday, must own I think they have a bad aspect. Sandwich is too peremptory with the French Minister, but I conclude he has orders for what he does. As Lord Chancellor does not come to town till this evening, I conclude I shall not be wanted till to-morrow."

The name of John Byng, whose subsequent fate occupies a tragic place in naval history, now first demands our notice. Had Byng lived in other days he would certainly have been said to have been born under an unlucky star. His family connection secured him a commission in the cradle; and his father's name lent a presage of early promotion, if not of distinction. But nature was not in the plot, and if his temper was yielding and generous, he was singularly wanting in the faculties of command. Brave with his back to the wall and incapable of shabbiness, he did not know the meaning of dash, and when action was imperative it only occurred to him that he ought to confer. His cousin, when First Lord of the Admiralty in 1746, sought to give him an opportunity of distinction, and thereby tempted him into the path that ended in his ruin. Government had received a pressing request from the King of Sardinia that a senior officer should be sent to take command of the Squadron off Toulon, meant to co-operate with his troops invading Provence; and the First Lord of the Admiralty took Byng from a court-martial, on which he was sitting at Greenwich, and sent him at a few hours' notice over land to join the Mediterranean fleet. The benefit of a relative in office could no further go. But a private letter of acknowledgment from the ill-fated victim of Ministerial favour unfolds the sad secret of his doom. In the agony of a great war, chosen above his fellows to hold aloft the flag of his country, uncompetitive valetudinarian Byng could only say, "I am greatly obliged to your Grace for this honour, and the confidence you have put in me; and I hope I shall behave in such a manner, that you will not repent the choice you have made. I do not think myself equal to the task I am going to undertake. I can only assure your

Grace that nothing shall be wanting in me to forward his Majesty's service all that lays in my power. The only difficulty that I have at present is the being sent away at so short a warning, to find my way to Genoa by land, a road I have never been; and I am told I shall find it extremely cold before I get to my journey's end; my only fear is I shall be laid up upon the road, for I have now upon me the remains of the gout I brought with me from Scotland."[1] Had Bedford been a true friend he would have been warned by this confession of helplessness to leave the Admiral in peace in Mayfair, and to appoint Saumarez, who had captured a French frigate off Plymouth, or Commodore Osborn, who was actually suggested for the post by one of the Junior Lords.

Pelham had more conscience than courage. No deeper, but more calm than his brother's, his mind reflected with more provoking clearness the blunders and jobs which the petulance and paltriness of the Duke obscured from himself but not from others; the old fraternal jealousy was incessantly ruffling their intercourse, nobody could tell why or for what; but the inappeasable lust of pettifogging power made Newcastle continually usurp the initiative that properly belonged to the head of the Treasury; and when he could not do so, led him perversely to withhold his executive aid in matters of inferior or casual moment. Pelham found it useless to argue, and being by temperament averse from wrangling, let things often drift rather than prolong altercation. As a last resource, he took the strange method of expostulating by letter to Andrew Stone, who knew everything, much as an amiable, but desponding husband, would appeal to a sensible unmarried sister to bring his termagant wife to reason. There is something ineffably feeble and foolish in the following: "I won't enter into disputes and altercations as to what passed the other day at Newcastle House. You were an eye and ear witness of all. I am sorry when it happens; I do what I can to conquer my own weaknesses, but when that is known to my brother, and instead of his trying to co-operate with that resolution of mine, he is endeavouring upon every occasion to divert it, I must conclude that he does not desire it; and that it is a greater pleasure to him to put me in the wrong for an

[1] From Berkeley Square, 25th October, 1746.

hour or a day, than to be in the right himself for months and years. So it is, and so I find it to be, and you must therefore submit to be the channel of conveying any particular business we have with one another till reason, natural affection, and mutual interest convince us both of the absurdity of our present way of acting." At the end of this appeal, as if he had just remembered it, he alludes to the engrossing topic of debate in the Cabinet, whether the army and fleet, first meant for Canada, should be sent on a crazy venture against Rochelle, as Newcastle urged. "I say nothing about the Duke's plan, because he knew my sentiments before he produced it. I don't affect to convince my brother by anything I could say upon the subject, and therefore don't reason, only state the facts for my own justification."[1] On tidings of a successful descent on the coast of France, the First Lord wrote from Greenwich: "I hear the Duke is in great spirits about the swoop on France. I heartily wish it may answer his expectations; but give me leave to say it would be as prudent in his present situation not to raise the expectations of the public too high for fear of a fall."[2] Well might Chesterfield whisper in the same ear, "I wish the brothers would act less like the two brothers Dioscuri, for I would fain have them shine together."[3]

Pelham's unhappiness at the increasing sense of his helplessness, and the disregard with which he was treated in Council by the person from whom, of all others, he hoped for consideration, was no longer suppressed. He had for some time disapproved altogether of the military and naval schemes of his brother and the majority of the Cabinet, and, consequently, of the defiant tone of Sandwich as our Envoy. When returning a batch of papers on the 18th of October, he observed bitterly that he was obliged to his brother for sending him his private letters to Lord Sandwich and the other packets belonging to the office, though undoubtedly he must know they could not alter, but must confirm him in the opinion he had before. He had pride enough to be terribly hurt at the necessity he saw coming upon him to support measures that in his conscience he believed to be destructive; and at last, to appear to the world to be without

[1] 4th October, 1746.—*MS.*
[2] Pelham to A. Stone.
[3] From Bath, to A. Stone, 6th October, 1746.—*MS.*

the least influence in his Majesty's Council.[1] Well might one who sat too near him to help seeing his faults, and who was too fond of satiric point to disguise them, exclaim :—

> "Fearful of enmity, to friendship cold,
> Cautiously frank, and timorously bold;
> And so observant never to offend
> A foe, he quite forgot to fix a friend;
> Long vers'd in politics, but poor in parts,
> The Courtier's tricks, but not the Statesman's arts." [2]

And yet we are asked to remember the Administration of the day as that of Henry Pelham.

What should be done or attempted abroad divided opinions in the Cabinet, those of the joint Secretaries of State among the rest. Notwithstanding the first success of the projects for harassing the French on their western coast, Harrington adhered to the original plan of campaign, and wished to moderate the vehemence and vigour of Sandwich's diplomacy, while his colleagues, encouraged by the aggressive spirit of the Court, would have had him harden his demands on the Dutch, and were for reinforcing the allied army in Flanders. Chesterfield, tired of playing mimic monarch at Dublin, devoted all his arts to winning the favour of his Grace, in order that he might obtain a more important position in Government; and Newcastle, piqued at being thwarted by his brother and Harrington, resolved to use the first opportunity to get rid of the one, and, as he hoped, to secure the co-operation of the other. In conference at Kensington, on the 26th October, the existing differences came to issue. Harrington, as was his duty, had prepared instructions for the Envoy at the Hague, which raised the question in dispute. He had submitted the draft beforehand to the First Lord of the Treasury, but he was not summoned to confer, and the incompatibility between the two Secretaries seemed to be irreconcilable. From his refuge at Greenwich, Pelham muttered to Stone how he had foretold what had now happened. To the chief part of Harrington's draft he had assented, and he thought it calculated to break upon, for undoubtedly it would be approved of in Parliament. His notion was that it was a wise, not un-national, dexterous letter. But all this tended to the restoring the man whom they had declared they would not act with. Newcastle had successively helped to

[1] H. Pelham to A. Stone, 18th October, 1746.—*MS.*

[2] Hanbury Williams.

oust nearly every man of ability higher than his own; and now he turned upon those who, in lack of self-aggrandising energy, were his inferiors. The cyphers of the Cabinet stirred not his jealousy, and Chesterfield and Gower had shown nothing of Walpole's or Granville's staying power in the race of ambition. Harrington and Henry Pelham had been confidential like Hardwicke, but, unlike the great jurist, neither of them had attempted, and neither had the talents had he tried, to build up a distinctive position on which he could take his stand in the event of a quarrel with his ducal leader. Pitt and Henry Fox were confessedly formidable critics and obstructionists in Parliament; but the number of votes they could turn was small; and having accepted lucrative offices without the Cabinet, neither caused his Grace any immediate concern. But a Secretary of State and a First Lord of the Treasury who had in the Royal presence as in Council stood up against the would-be Dictator in argument and refused to be convinced on matters of peace or war, were objects of distrust and grudge. They must be humbled and made to feel that he who had done so much to raise them high could, when he pleased, bring them low; and when they happened to submit, there was a special satisfaction in overruling them without appealing to a full Cabinet. It would have been a public act of self-mutilation to turn a brother out of office, and he was actually left in ignorance at Greenwich of the important changes that were resolved on. Harrington was told that the Seals were wanted for Chesterfield, and that he was instead to go to Ireland. One noble Stanhope was gazetted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, while the other of his name became Secretary of State. Pelham, having had no voice in the exchange until it was completed, was thus compelled to feel less important than ever.[1]

The machinery of Government, it was said, would work more smoothly than before, without hitch or grumble or any such thing.[2] His Grace of Dorset had made a push for the Viceroyalty a second time; but it was otherwise disposed of, to the general satisfaction of his Majesty's servants, and everyone who wished them well, except the Dorset family.[3]

[1] Cholmondeley to Newcastle, 31st October, 1746.—*MS.*
[2] Gower to Bedford, 29th October, 1746.
[3] Gower to Bedford, 6th November, 1746.

The Lord Chamberlain, in a passing moment of candour, ventured to whisper his surprise to the Confessor-general, not that an alteration had happened, but that it was done without naming it to other Ministers.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, it might have been imagined, would have been told when it was about to be done, if not thought worthy of being consulted. Some days after he wrote from Bath that Chesterfield having the Seals must occasion a Cabinet vacancy, and he owned himself at a loss to guess who would be appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.[1]

Pelham declared he was as much surprised as anybody. He was endeavouring to make things easy for the Secretary of State when he heard of Harrington's removal. On coming to town Chesterfield told Gower, that he had just been asked by Newcastle if he would accept the Seals, and that he was surprised to hear at Court that Harrington had resigned and gone home, not a word of which the Privy Seal or his correspondent thought it necessary either to laugh at or believe. But Newcastle's house was the alchemist's cell where all metals precious or worthless were privily molten or mysteriously fused.

The season having been suffered to slip by without any attempt on Canada, Sinclair's troops, recalled from the coast of Brittany, were embarked for Cork and Kinsale, where they were to remain till the opening of the year. With a view to forestall their arrival, orders were sent by Newcastle to meet the transports at sea and redirect their course to Plymouth; and these instructions having missed, Stone was directed to write to the First Lord of the Admiralty to know if he should object to their being reshipped for England to guard against the hazard of invasion. The possibilities were indeed greater of a hostile descent upon the Irish coast; but on the other hand the expedition might as easily set out from an English port for North America. Bedford's equanimity was sorely tried at this new device for *in*-determination. He enumerated once more the reasons why he preferred in all respects the original design, which he would not have "postponed for twenty-four hours," as he apprehended the loss of one fair wind at that season might be the means of putting it off for another year; "thereby

[1] Bedford to Newcastle, 2nd November, 1746.—*MS.*

not only giving the enemy an opportunity of throwing succours of all kinds into their favourite colony, but also damping the ardour of our colonists, who had almost exhausted themselves by the extraordinary efforts they had made to gain the point they justly looked upon as their only security—the entire expulsion of the French from America. It would revive their ardour if strong assurances were forthwith given them that they should be supported with a strong force early in the spring to pursue their darling project." Warming as he went on, the First Lord added, "I have dwelt so long upon this, only to explain my reasons for thinking my former scheme as entire as ever, and that a proper exertion of our force early next spring will, in all probability, strike such a blow as the French may never recover." Nevertheless, the Cabinet, while he was still absent, resolved to withdraw the troops from Ireland, which thoroughly convinced Bedford that his proposed expedition was entirely laid aside.[1] George Grenville, who was becoming daily more appreciated at Whitehall, and heard a world of official talk not meant for outer circulation, told him he thought the expedition against Canada at an end.[2]

Though tranquillity was everywhere re-established at home, the demands of foreign war required further inflation of estimates, the total of which amounted to £9,425,254. To raise this sum, the Land Tax was laid at 4s. in the pound; four millions were to be raised by 4 per cent. annuities, to be issued at ninety. Next taxes were imposed on houses, windows, and carriages. A million was to be obtained by lottery; another million was to be taken from the Sinking Fund; and the license to sell spirits by retail was increased to five pounds. In Committee of Supply all passed in dismal silence. Four years had scarce gone by since the reins of thrift had fallen from the great economist's hand; not twelve months since he had sunk to rest. Was he already forgotten, or were his financial teachings superseded already? Who could tell?

No longer checked in Council, the war expenditure went on apace. Henry Fox had neither power nor care to make objection; and Chesterfield was ready to back the *Young Marcellus* with whatever he and Count Batthyani wished for to encourage

[1] Bedford to A. Stone, 10th November, 1746.

[2] To Bedford, 1st December, 1746.

the Dutch in liberality. Before Christmas, H.R.H. had on his own motion drawn for £100,000 on the Treasury for the use of the Austrians. The nerveless head of the Treasury complained as usual to Stone that these were commands he must and would obey. "But, dear Stone, where will it end, when we have neither King, General, or Minister, that thinks any more of what we can do or ought to do than the most extravagant heir who mortgages his father's estate to pay debts that he neither knows nor cares whether the creditor is entitled to the demand of it or not?"[1]

A convention having been signed, they could not think of keeping the Austrians out of this money, but he wished Stone to remind his brother that the subsidy could not be voted until the Administration determined upon what foot it was to be asked. "The mischief is already done; all we have now to think of is to bring the execution into decency and legality. If I were to have advised, I should have brought Wasner[2] to an immediate conference with the King's Ministers, that he might see and report to his Court that we were willing and desirous to assist them, but that we would not be their dupes, nor be imposed upon from year to year as we have been ever since this war began. Perhaps this may not be agreeable to others, and if so, it is better left alone; for above all things Wasner should not see publicly that there is any difference between us. Upon the whole, I am contented whatever they do, provided the separate article is disavowed, and that nothing is left for me to execute that I cannot do by law, or that is not specified in the treaty, declaration, or some public act. I hope our meeting will not be put off longer than to-morrow. I saw the King yesterday; he was in perfect good humour, and so civil to me that I am certain he designs to make me do something that he knows I don't approve of."[3]

The year 1747 opened with the surrender of Brussels with its garrison of 9,000 men, and the consequent reduction of the whole Austrian Netherlands, which for fifty years the people of England had been told it was worth any sacrifice to save from the grasp of France. The English army retired beyond the

[1] From Esher Place.—*MS.*

[2] The Austrian Ambassador.

[3] H. Pelham to A. Stone, January, 1747.—*MS.*

Meuse, Bergen-op-Zoom was beleagured and taken, and Holland lay at the mercy of Louis XIV.

Was this the end for which ten years' revenue of the nation had been spent in advance, and for the sake of which every hope of internal amelioration and progress had been laid aside! After all the French King showed little disposition to insist on the retention of his conquest, and lost no time in conveying an intimation that he was ready to retire within his ancient limits, if only the English Government would not persist in enforcing the utter destruction of the harbour of Dunkirk, but if that devoted haven was suffered to remain as it then stood, all he would demand was the restitution of Cape Breton. The Cabinet deliberated without deciding, and weighed each consideration wistfully, without coming to any agreement or ceasing to waver. "We have meeting upon meeting," wrote Pelham, "and our whole time is taken up in defending and blaming without taking any determinate measure of, for, or against."[1] The naval successes of Warren, Anson, and Hawke redeemed several disasters by land; and the overtures for peace were rejected. When some stray questioner who happened to have a constituency and a conscience asked what had become of the millions voted to subsidise foreign Courts, the old answer was repeated: that true patriotism consisted in making the best of disasters, and true constancy in persevering undismayed to the end. Nor was this mere rhetoric. Further sums of money were voted during the Session of 1747 for the old purpose, no fewer than 30,000 Russians being taken into pay.

The best thing done was the suppression, at the instance of Hardwicke, of the heritable jurisdictions in the Highlands, which gave to each chieftain practically irresponsible powers of life and death over his clan; and thereby made it possible for dynastic or religious fanaticism to kindle at any moment throughout the wide range of mountainous country the torch of civil war. Without any voice or influence worthy of the name in the united Parliament at Westminster, without the presence or protection of a numerous middle class, and without the tribuneship of journalism to make known what took place, the peasantry were absolutely at the beck and call, for good or evil, of the illiterate and needy owners of the soil. Individual grievances

[1] To H. Walpole the elder, 30th June, 1747.

and hardships were for the most part endured in silence, or casually resented in desperate crime; and if now and then the attention of a courtier or Minister was called to a state of things so barbarous, it evoked no other sentiment than one of supercilious pity or aversion. The only question discussed in Committee on the Bill was the amount of compensation to be given for the loss of privileges highly valued, though not intrinsically valuable. Scotch Peers and Members claimed for their kindred thus deprived above half a million sterling, which Government led Parliament to reduce to a third of that amount.

Unfortunately, the statute assimilating so far the principles of criminal jurisdiction was accompanied by a step in administrative centralisation, wanton and unwise in itself, and naturally hurtful to the feelings of a people whose civil wounds were hardly cold. Lord Tweeddale was forced to give up the Secretaryship for Scotland, and it was announced that no one would be named in his room. It took one hundred and forty years of intermittent grumbling to obtain once more the reappointment of a Secretary for North Britain.

If negotiations were entrusted to him, Prince William desired to have the credit of bringing to an end a struggle in which he no longer hoped to win renown, and of which he knew his father was grown tired. The Cabinet naturally shrank from confiding an issue difficult and complex to his inexperienced hand. Chesterfield and Pelham would have been willing to run the risk, relying on their means of guiding and controlling the course of affairs. Hardwicke and Newcastle reasonably demurred, and were supported by the rest of the Cabinet. The offer of his Royal Highness, though in general terms accepted, was practically qualified by the proposal to send Sandwich to act in all things with him. The Earl found himself entangled in a web of instructions, while the power to act energetically was withheld. He was discontented at the want of confidence shown him, and by the appointment of Dayrolles as a special envoy, which he regarded as the "first step towards driving him out of the Commission."[1] Newcastle said Hardwicke had done like an angel, but without avail. England was so weary of the war, and the Dutch were so willing to compromise with

[1] To Bedford, 29th August, 1747.

France in order to obtain the security of peace for their trade and the recognition of their reorganised Government under the Prince of Orange, that several of the Ministers were ready to make greater concessions than would have been thought of in Walpole's time.

Anson after long deploring his ill-luck in cruise, came up at length with a French fleet of thirty-eight sail of the line, off Cape Finisterre, which, after an engagment of many hours, he sunk, dispersed, or captured. Four rich galleons in convoy, and six line of battleships, with numerous smaller vessels, were among his trophies, the First Lord of the Admiralty in the triumph of his friend, who was forthwith gazetted a Peer, retaining his seat at the Board.

The Session closed with a Royal Proclamation absolving all who remained in custody for complicity in the Rebellion, and granting them a free pardon.

Though Parliament had not outlived its statutable term, the Cabinet resolved that it should give place to another. The undeclared motives were variously surmised, and it would not be easy now to discriminate them with accuracy, were it worth while to try. Perhaps the most probable was the absence being thought propitious of exciting questions fitted to inflame party feeling or to loosen the bonds of subserviency in which a number of constituencies were held. There was a rumour that Leicester House had raised an unusually large sum to secure an increased number of partisans at St. Stephen's, though at Twickenham it was doubted whether the greater part of the money would not be made away with by the recruiting agents, or squandered in riotous living.[1] Among Pelham's papers a confidential letter from the Prince to one of his adherents was found, hoping for success against the Ministry at the elections. "Pray God they have not a strong majority, or adieu to my children, the Constitution, and everything that is dear to me. My duty to my father calls on me to redeem him out of those hands that have sullied the Crown, and are very near to ruin all. I will endeavour it, and I hope with my friends' assistance to rescue a second time this Kingdom out of wicked hands."[2]

On the main point of Parliamentary management the brothers

[1] H. Walpole to Seymour Conway, 3rd June, 1747.

[2] To Sir Thos. Bootle, June, 1747.

were thoroughly agreed. Their ascendancy depended on the subordination of the Legislature to their variable and varying will. Distinct or even distinctive theory of Government or fixed dogma of party belief they had none, beyond the maintenance of their supremacy along with the Chancellor. Newcastle had already invested all his spare fortune in the purchase of boroughs or the acquisition of a predominant influence in counties and towns, and these furnished a bodyguard in which his own relatives, and those of other great nobles, were glad to hold commissions. Pelham undertook to keep up the strength and supply the Commissariat for another corps of more diversified origin and bearing, some of whom were not up to standard measure of weight or worth; and some of whom provoked the gibe of adversaries at not being well up in legislative training and figuring but indifferently on hustings parade. But their fire told as well as that of the best in decisive battle; and about their pay, notwithstanding all the sophisms woven to hide it, there is no room for doubt. The First Lord of the Treasury had learnt this part of his business during a long apprenticeship under a consummate master; and if less gay and garrulous in the acknowledgment of it than his fellow pupil, Henry Fox, he was not the less comprehensive and punctual in its practical application. Since Walpole's death and Granville's fall, steady voting had gone up in the market, and it has been even said that the regular pay of an independent mercenary for the sessional campaign was from £300 to £800; it was not usually paid until the work was done: but at the prorogation the Treasury Whip took post in the Court of Requests, and as the Members passed to and fro he bid them good-bye, with the expected cash and a friendly squeeze of the hand.[1]

Pitt had taken little public part since his acceptance of office. To save him the trouble of canvassing, or the annoyance of questioning, it was arranged that he should be returned for one of the Cinque Ports, and Seaford was to be honoured by having the Paymaster-General for one of its members. The nomination of the other might in some degree depend on the humour of Sir Wm. Thomas, of West Dean, a neighbouring squire, whose family had for generations exercised a certain influence in the submissive borough. It contained some one hundred and twenty

[1] Wraxall's Hist. Mem.

voters, and in ordinary circumstances it was probable that Pitt and Hay, who was assigned him as colleague, would be quietly declared to have been chosen fit and proper members of the new Parliament. But Leicester House had other views for Seaford, and other thoughts regarding the new Minister of the King. Lord Middlesex and the Honourable W. H. Gage were induced to offer themselves as competitors for the favour of the electors, and did not hesitate to stand in what was called the interest of the Prince of Wales.

Ministers were at first incredulous, then amused, and at last rather angry. It was too bad of this faction to oppose the wishes of Government, to give everybody trouble, and to add for no purpose to the general expenses. Pitt would not be expected to condescend to entertain any serious misgiving on the subject, but the fussy Master of Boroughs had a character for omnipotence in such matters to support, and having an unspeakable terror of the temper of his new colleague, he made up his mind to visit Seaford himself, and on the day of election take the command in person. To guard against the risk of mystification by an unscrupulous foe, his Grace invited most of the electors to call on him; when, after feasting them handsomely, he made them understand whom they were expected to vote for, and why. Some were easily entreated, and others who, for reasons of their own, had promised the other party, were conscience-stricken by the Secretary of State's appeal, and went away repentant. But he was not a man to leave his work half done, and accordingly he took his place on the hustings beside the returning officer, to confirm by his condescending presence favourable intentions that might be tempted to waver. He had his reward in the lively abuse of the friends of his Royal Highness, and the applause of his numerous adherents for his conduct on the occasion.

When Parliament met an indignant petition was presented against a return accomplished by means so openly unconstitutional; and many strong things were said about the safety and honour of the nation depending on the purity and independence of elections and so forth.

But the Paymaster-General treated the petition as no more than a jest, and 247 against 96 voted it unworthy of consideration.[1]

[1] "Parliamentary History," Vol. XIV.

In the majority he was able to count seven of his name and kindred for whom seats had been found.[1]

On the death of Archbishop Potter, there was some doubt as to who should succeed him. Sherlock declined on account of his age and infirmity, which he felt would render him ill-suited for the office. Herring was fifteen years his junior, and seemed to the Chancellor best fitted for the responsible charge. He, indeed, showed great unwillingness when invited to undertake the responsibilities of Lambeth. He wrote full of grateful acknowledgments, but asking permission to decline the offer were it made, and begging Hardwicke not to put him to that pain. The tone of the letter is eminently characteristic of a truthful and unworldly man, contented with his safe anchorage and troubled at the very mention of quitting it. His reluctance was, however, overborne, and he brought to Lambeth many of the feelings and convictions regarding toleration and brotherhood that animated Tillotson in days gone by. He received Chandler and Doddridge with unassuming kindness, and loved to mark in friendly communions how little stress he laid on non-essentials. In the evening of his days he spent no little labour in pouring oil on the polemic waters, but to small purpose. He had too little in common with the politicians of the time to be consulted or considered by them; his only merit in their eyes being that he disfavoured controversy and strove to live in peace and charity with all men; and he was never probably thought of for a seat in the Cabinet.

Chesterfield had become malcontent and offered to resign, because he was not invariably consulted as he had expected to be, having consented to enter the Cabinet for the assigned reason that he was indispensable for it. In Ireland he had answered for the Kingdom; in the Cockpit he only answered for a department. This was office, but not power; and the vainest of men could not endure the disappointment with equanimity. He had played the part of an ambassador, and of a pro-consul successfully; and with his pretensions to mastery in all the arts of method and of manner, who should tell him that he could not manage and govern an empire? Dublin and the Hague were dignified banishments for one of his versatile parts: Whitehall and

[1] For Dorset, Camelford, Oakhampton, Dorchester, Shaftesbury, Pontefract, and Old Sarum

Kensington were his proper sphere—thither he had come, and there only he would tarry. His own wisdom was sufficient for the one; and Lady Yarmouth's witchery, should he need help, would make all smooth in the other. Who could doubt that the fourth Earl of his line, with high connections and fair estate, a classical scholar, a man of fashion, and a patron of wits, who had married the natural daughter of one King, and made love to the mistress of another, was fit to bear rule over prince and people? How could illogical, ungrammatical, clumsy and fussy Newcastle compete with such a master of arts? Nettlesome Royalty hated the Duke; public opinion despised him; foreign courts knew they could not depend on a dozen consecutive words from him, and the "town" laughed at his paltry ways and blunders. What could the superb Chesterfield have to fear from such as he? Nevertheless, in the space of a few months, the Duke had not only distanced and discomfited him in the race of power, but he had actually convinced Chesterfield—what many other people knew beforehand—that he was no match for him in undermining and in overrule.

Taught by Lady Yarmouth, the Earl had made himself agreeable enough to the King, but the King did not govern; on the contrary, he had learned by bitter experience that the Duke of Newcastle did, and would, and could not be prevented from governing by dint of votes in Parliament. The versatile coxcomb forgot this material fact until he had backed himself in the face of all England for the cup of power, and before the course was half run, the heart of his vanity was broken. By his wit he might amuse, and on ordinary subjects admirably talk; but in matters of business the Secretary found his Royal brother-in-law dry and reserved. His colleague grew jealous of the frequent conferences between him and Lady Yarmouth, and an estrangement ensued.

Chesterfield became secondary in office. He felt himself powerless to promote his friends. On every question of patronage indefinite difficulty was raised to what he recommended, until his friends, to whom he had not the courage to tell the truth, grew inappeasable, and chafed at his deceiving and deserting them. Jokes in the shape of classical quotations at their impatience, airs of offended dignity at their suspicions, and bitterly sincere expressions of regret at having been

hitherto unable to accomplish their wishes, proved equally unavailing.

To be thought a hypocrite would, perhaps, have troubled him little; to be slowly found out to be powerless was more than he could bear. Baffled and humiliated, he fled at last from the place he had twenty years been scheming and striving to obtain, having occupied it little more than one disappointing year. The King received his resignation with words of regret, but with inward satisfaction. Chesterfield solicited and obtained a seat for his brother at the Admiralty Board, and took his leave of official life with well enacted complacency.

In the cabal for the vacant seats, Newcastle hinted that Bedford ought to be offered the Secretaryship of State. It was supposed he would decline in favour of Sandwich, but he disappointed this scheme by accepting the Seals himself, and Sandwich succeeded him as First Lord of the Admiralty.

Leicester House was as much as ever the centre of unsatisfied ambitions in Court and Parliament. The few men of ability who had formerly encouraged the Prince of Wales in making demands on his father for office or for money, and who in some instances lent their aid to carry contested elections with a view of gathering a sufficient number of adherents in Parliament to enforce his claims, had, like Gower and Pitt, joined the Administration, or, like Chesterfield, accepted office, and then thrown it aside without definitely indicating a fidelity either to Monarch or Heir Apparent. Others had not been so tempted, and were still as open to the second-rate flatteries of a minor Court. The Sovereign, growing old, indolent, and testy, took little pains to conciliate politicians or attack aspirants to fame or fashion; and so there was little to be done to gratify or delude his Royal Highness with a semblance of power. To be troublesome, sundry projects were invented for creating a wider organisation in his favour upon strong principles of patriotism likely to catch the uninitiated or unwary. A copy of one of these, dated 8th February, 1748, signed by Lord Talbot and Sir Francis Dashwood, invited well-effected persons of quality and worth to become members of a National Party, in which old jealousies of interest and faction should be obliterated, and for any and every cause effaced; as an earnest of which the Prince engaged to promote a Bill making every man by a law a Justice of the Peace who

possessed three hundred pounds a year. To establish permanently an effective militia throughout the Kingdom ; to exclude all officers in the army under the rank of Colonel, and in the navy that of Rear-Admiral, from the House of Commons ; to inquire into all official abuses, and that the Heir Apparent, on ascending the Throne, should never accept for his Civil List more than £800,000 a-year. The original terms of this paper were agreed to by the Prince in conference with Lords Baltimore and Talbot, Sir Francis Dashwood, and Dr. Lee. The leading champions of his cause in the Lower House were Lord Perceval, now Earl of Egmont, Bub Dodington, Lords Middlesex and A. Hamilton; and Sir J. Hynde Cotton, who had migrated from the old to the young Court, and Sir John Phillips, Nugent, M.P. for Bristol, and Dr. Lee. Above all, his Royal Highness had for the first time the unreserved advantage of Lord Bath's experience and thirst for retribution for his recent ostracism.

On this ill-joisted raft it was doubtless hoped to press men of uncongenial disaffections. Dr. Lee, it was imagined, would draw members of his own profession who despaired of briefs ; and Sir F. Dashwood squires from Bucks and Oxon who rode well to hounds. Baltimore would rally some of the Catholic nobility, and Talbot not a few disappointed Peers and younger brothers who were tired of waiting for their turn of Court favour. The claim of the squirearchy to be justices of the quorum as matter of right was thought to be a cunning stroke, setting up the Knightly order against the exclusive patricians, while the numerous classes that smarted under increasing taxation would readily embark in any craft, however crazy, that held out retrenchment for a flag. Through want of organisation, however, the plausible design, like others that had preceded it, remained unrealised until its authors had lost faith in one another's ability and zeal ; and there was no one in the confidence of the Heir Apparent strong enough to lead or drag subordinate agencies into persistent co-operation.

On the eve of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, all advices, civil and military, from Holland describe the plight of the exhausted Commonwealth as deplorable. Legge, on his way to Berlin, had tarried at the Hague long enough to imbibe the general conviction that the war could not go on. Effect could not have fallen shorter of expectation if we had tied ourselves

fast to a corpse, and called it our ally. Men, money, and resolution were the three trifles wanting, and barring those deficiencies, everything was in an admirable posture for making a vigorous defence.[1] The levity of tone recalls the flippancy of Craggs, who was in some sort the ante-type of Legge; and the characteristic seems to have been as abiding throughout every turn of official fortune.

The beginning of April brought despatches from Cumberland and Sandwich which filled with dismay the Members of Government remaining in town. Maestricht was invested by Saxe with eighty thousand men, while the Allies could not muster half that number for its relief; and when it fell, the confines of the Seven Provinces would lie bare to the invader. In great alarm, Newcastle betook himself to Powis House for counsel, and to St. James's for such comfort as the Duke of Dorset could afford. It was agreed to frame instructions to the hitherto hopeful plenipotentiary to come to the best terms he could get from St. Severin; and Bedford wrote privately from Woburn avowing his deep disappointment at discovering too late how unreal in all material respects had proved the boastful promises of the Dutch, and how much lower than our own was their financial condition. Between the lines it is plain enough to read how mortified the writer felt at finding how long and how far he had been blindfolded in the Cabinet, and how pressing was the need of extrication of the country from the drain and discredit of a disastrous war.

George II. would not wait for a tide to make his escape from Harwich to his ancestral home, and his nervous Secretary of State, who hated a sea voyage and dreaded bad times on the road, was obliged to accompany him. During their absence the Chancellor, First Lord of the Treasury, Privy Seal and the Junior Secretary of State, as members of the Board of Regency, exercised the whole powers of Government; but when, in July, it came to finally discussing and deciding on the *litera scripta* of a general treaty of peace, Pelham suggested that they should meet twice a week at Powis House or Downing Street, and that the Dukes of Argyll and Dorset at least should be summoned,[2] —other Members being probably at a distance from town.

[1] 17th March, 1748.

[2] H. Pelham to Bedford, July, 1748.

Preliminaries of peace on the basis of mutual restitution of all that had been gained during the war were signed by the Envoys of Great Britain, France and the United Provinces on the 30th April, 1748, but six months more were consumed in the elaboration of details before the conclusion of the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle. Its chief provisions were: The renewal in the main of former treaties; the restoration of conquests in all parts of the world; Dunkirk to remain fortified on the land side, but to be dismantled towards the sea; Parma and Placentia to be given up to Spain; Modena and Genoa to be reinstated in their former entirety. The Assiento contract for the supply of slaves to the West Indies was renewed; the Hanoverian Dynasty was recognised by France, and the Pretender excluded from her territory; the Emperor's title was acknowledged by Louis XV., and the Pragmatic Sanction made part and parcel of the public law of Europe. Finally, Silesia was annexed to Prussia.

Chesterfield exulted in the realisation of what he had foretold; and true to himself exclaimed, "My resignation made this peace, as it opened people's eyes to the dangers of this war. The Republic is saved by it from utter ruin and England from bankruptcy." George II. was not a proselyte to its necessity, but he took care to remind his too yielding Ministers that Chesterfield had told him what it was coming to six months before. The discerning public were not insensible to the relief from anxiety danger, and debt. It was hard to escape from the feeling of mortification that after nine years' bloodshed and taxation, the original *casus belli* with Spain was not even named, and all the conflicting claims of trade and privateering, smuggling and consular rights, were left very much as they were, to be the nest eggs of future quarrel. Nevertheless, it was noted by Pelham how deeply the nation yearned for peace. During the summer credit sank and the stocks fell, whenever unfavourable reports prevailed regarding the progress of negotiation. The First Lord of the Treasury incessantly urged the duty of waiving minor points of difference for the sake of an earlier return to solvent finance. He longed for leave to submit Army Estimates once more for 18,000 men in Great Britain, though an additional 4,000 for Ireland should encumber the vote as the new Viceroy, Harrington, thought necessary. The Ministers of Maria Theresa could not easily reconcile her indomitable spirit to the surrender of

territories that for centuries had been ruled over by her family; and the apprehensions of the Dutch could not be easily lulled until the fate of Flanders was definitely secured. Several members of the Cabinet do not seem to have interposed to any purpose in the protracted deliberations. But Hardwicke always found time enough for inquiry and analysis respecting subjects the most foreign to his judicial duties.

Great Britain and France had gained nothing but the experience of each other's strength of endurance and power of mischief. The wrath of Vienna and Turin, which exploded in long and loud upbraidings for having been left out of the new compact (save in so far as adhesion was provided for, if tendered within six months), did not scare England from seeking repose. But a demand by France for personal guarantees that Cape Breton should be restored touched the national pride to the quick, and when conceded stirred popular chagrin in a degree which, strange to say, appears to have been wholly unforeseen. When Lords Sussex and Cathcart were sent as hostages to Paris to ensure the surrender of the disputed possession on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, a thousand tongues and pens were ready to inveigh against such a concession, and the most comprehensive sentence that can be pronounced upon it is that from that day to the present it has never been repeated—never thought of again. With the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the curtain falls upon the unexpansive policy which Walpole inaugurated and had long maintained. For some years longer the rule of the Pelhams was unbroken. But the historian's business is with yesterday and to-day, not with to-morrow.

Sandwich returned, his diplomatic work being done, to take his seat in the Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty, elated not a little at the success of so many months' negotiation. The public in general were glad of escape from the fear of a further war, and on the whole the terms did not seem so much worse than had been apprehended in consequence of repeated shortcomings in the field. Ministers tried to look cheerful on the settlement as a whole with the exception of the secret article extorted by France, which galled the pride of Hardwicke and Pelham. But the egotism of Newcastle rose superior to all drawbacks and difficulties; and as he had toiled untiringly for months at the elaboration, taking to pieces, patching, transposing,

and turning up-side down the complicated joints and screws of the arrangement, he expected that the inner if not the outer world would acknowledge his diplomatic genius. Lest they should forget that duty, he hastened to perform it for himself. To his brother he wrote from Hanover: "I feel the joy of an honest man upon it; I have the secret comfort of thinking that I have not only greatly, nay, to say almost singly, brought it about, but that if I had not resolutely, and in a manner disapproved by you all, taken upon me to overrule my Lord Sandwich in the way he was going, things would, must have been now in the greatest confusion; perhaps no treaty signed at all, or at best, one that would have had no effect but to destroy the old alliance."

Sir T. Robinson returned to England after having been many years Minister at Vienna. He was a man much esteemed by those who employed him for his temper and tact, especially by those who disliked Sandwich and thought him over-paid. Contrasting the two plenipotentiaries, it was truly said that "the one after two years' service returned to one of the first offices in the Kingdom, the other after twenty-five long laborious years, to nothing, with a wife and seven children."

On Lord Monson's death the Chairmanship of the Board of Trade and Plantations was conferred on Dunk Halifax, and his previous sinecure of Chief Justiceship in Eyre given to the Duke of Leeds, at the instance of his brother-in-law. This made the ninth Duke in the existing Administration.

Bolingbroke had come back to England in 1736, to wind up his affairs at Dawley, which realised £26,000, and then went back to his hermitage at Chanteloup. Seven years passed away, and on the death of his father he returned to the family seat at Battersea, where he wrote the "Patriot King." He took a lively interest in the Party politics of the day; and in 1744 he had an interview with Pitt, who took such airs of leadership that the old Statesman was piqued into reminding him that neither he nor Chesterfield was entitled to the honour of forming the New Coalition, but the former Minister of Queen Anne. Again, in 1746 he was busy about the memorable 48 hours' Administration, for "he had not left off, after he came to resettle in England, advising till long after it was to no purpose" the plans and projects of his friends. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 be-

guiled him into taking up his pen for the last time as a pamphleteer, being desirous, as he said, of putting before the eyes of the nation clearly its true condition with reference to useless taxation and debt. This was his last performance. He devoted many months to the care of his wife, to whom he was deeply attached, and whom he not long after followed to the grave.

# CHAPTER V.

## RIVAL BROTHERS IN OFFICE.

### 1748-50.

Growth of Expenditure—Pitt still Kept Out—Grudge of a Younger Brother—Lady Yarmouth and the Duchess of Newcastle—Bedford's Reticence—Who should be King of the Romans?—Complaints from Göhrdt of Bedford—Should Granville be brought in?—Pitt's Flatteries—Harrington Dismissed—Two Portfolios in One Hand—Chesterfield at White's—Bishop Butler and the Minister.

EARLY in 1748 the son of Horace Walpole the elder married Lady Rachel, daughter of the third Duke of Devonshire. This union still further strengthened ties of intimacy long subsisting. After the death of Sir Robert his brother was regarded as the head of the Walpole interest, and as such was consulted frequently on affairs of moment by politicians in and out of office. Devonshire often disapproved of the measures of Government, and old Horace was more than once relied on to soothe his discontent. Growing weary of the jealousies and bickerings he did not share, and could not still, he resigned his gold stick, and withdrew to Chatsworth, vowing that he would trouble himself no more with office, and his successor was the Duke of Marlborough.

The national expenditure had steadily risen since the fall of Walpole, mainly on naval and military charges. Instead of £2,873,639, the Estimates for 1748 amounted to £3,839,021, while those for army, navy, and ordnance, native and auxiliary, from £4,514,707 had advanced to a sum of £8,104,187, the whole of which had to be provided by adding in various forms to the Funded and Unfunded Debt. No wonder Newcastle sighed for an end of such responsibilities, and thought Government too happy in being able to bring it about at Aix-la-

Chapelle. How vain the expectation, Cabinet jealousies and divisions were destined eventually to prove.

With the return of peace, bounties and recruiting ceased, and the total force under the colours was reduced to less than half what it had been. Nevertheless, the practical value of the change seems to have been but little appreciated. The Treaty was criticised and ridiculed by all who had no hand in it, and who wanted to have the handling of something that would pay. It was said to be blundering, poor-spirited, shabby. The East India Company's and the Bank of England Stock rose steadily, and the last hopes of a disputed succession were sick unto death. Leicester House was more out of humour with Kensington than ever, and Prince Frederick had taken counsel with Bolingbroke and Bath as to the devices that might be best displayed on the flag of Opposition. To reward Andrew Stone for his indefatigable services he was made a Commissioner of Trade, which the King assented to with every mark of satisfaction. "I have had another conference with the King, who went down immediately to tell Lady Yarmouth, who is almost as happy as I am."[1] Ministers easily defeated every attempt to harass or damage their policy of retrenchment. Greater stringency in the provisions of the Mutiny Bill gave occasion to some debate, and a project for adding 3,000 to the Naval Reserve, by giving a bounty of £10 a-head, was denounced as betraying designs against popular liberty. But Pelham took all upbraidings so quietly that hardly a trace can be found of defensive argument from him; and one of the few speeches of Pitt which he seems to have thought worthy of revision was made for a grant of £10,000 to compensate the City of Glasgow for the contribution levied by the Pretender's army before it crossed the Border. The City of the Clyde had raised three Volunteer regiments while the issue remained doubtful, showing that its faith was stronger than its hope, and not without reason. The danger over, Pitt not being of the Cabinet, ventured to tell, with egregious frankness, what was thought at the time at the seat of Government.

He was fond of paradox, not less for its own sake than because his grandfather's success had taught him how it might help him to gain what, throughout life, was his predominant aim —that men should talk of him. Notoriety was for him the half

[1] Newcastle to his wife, 8th November, 1748.—*MS.*

despised element which, duly rectified, would become celebrity, and more than money, office, rank, or influence—the load-star of his life. Ordinary arguments for the grant to Glasgow were for him hardly worth using, but could he not imagine precedents and invent reasons that would sound original, that at every dinner-table, and in every coffee-house, would be repeated, and from their nature could not be refuted, but which would serve to remind people that he was, after all, an extraordinary man? With the gravity of a judge, he cited a case in point that none of his hearers had ever heard of before. A certain great man, when he heard in 1688 that the Prince of Orange was coming with 30,000 men, doubted whether such a force was adequate to effect a revolution; when, somewhat later, he was told that he had with him but half that force, he thought the Stadtholder must have substantial grounds for reckoning on support; but when news came that but 5,000 Dutchmen had landed at Torbay, he was convinced that the enterprise would succeed. The shrewd men of Glasgow reasoned in like manner on the paucity of the Highland army, and might have patriotically feared that a great part of England was ready to rise and welcome them; the danger passed, they might speak freely of the apprehensions at the time. "When we consider that the rebels marched through one half of England without any opposition from the Militia; that even in their retreat, though pursued by the regular forces, they met with no local obstruction, we cannot with any justice blame the south or west of Scotland for not opposing them with their Militia. I believe that the spirit in England was sincere and true in favour of the Government. Yet I am afraid that if the rebel leader could have persuaded his people to have ventured a battle against the Duke in Staffordshire, or to have given him the slip, and marched towards London, and fought a battle near the City, the fate of England would have depended upon its issue; for if they had obtained a victory I question much if the spirit of the populace would not soon have taken a very different turn."[1] One can imagine with what opposite feelings expressions like these were heard by new Whig colleagues and old Jacobite allies, and how their recital tended to inflame antipathy and distrust in the Royal mind.

Pelham was chiefly occupied in the elaboration of plans for

[1] 21st April, 1749.

the reduction of debt, and in resisting fresh schemes continually, cropping up, for useless expenditure abroad. To please the Court, his brother proposed in Cabinet a subsidy of half a million to the Elector of Saxony, which the First Lord stoutly resisted, and succeeded in having laid aside. Thirty-four thousand seamen and Marines, besides 20,000 regulars, were paid off in the course of the year, greatly to the disgust of Prince William, who was never tired of speculating on the future contingencies of war. The greatest measure ascribable to the matter-of-fact zeal of Pelham for economy was the reproduction of Sir John Barnard's proposition, in a modified form, for reducing the interest on the Public Debt from four to three per cent. When first brought forward, Walpole had induced the House to reject it, disdaining, as he said, to court popularity by endorsing the hopes held out by its author that in a short time it would enable them greatly to benefit the industrious classes by repealing the duties on coals, candles, soap, leather, and other articles of daily use. The debt had increased since then from £50,000,000 to £78,000,000, yet the abundance of money had so increased that Government could raise any amount at three per cent. The State was prosperous, and, compared with other countries, wages were high, and life comparatively easy. He proposed an option of four per cent. stock of three-and-a-half per cent. for seven years, with a guarantee against being paid off in that time, and after 1757 that the interest should be reduced to three per cent.; but while admitting that the Excise and Customs were higher than could be wished, he refused to hold out any prospect of immediate reductions, and relied, as his predecessors had done, from time to time, on having sufficient balances in hand for the purposes of conversion by resort to the Sinking Fund. He denied, of course, that the scheme was borrowed from that of Glover or of the Member for the City, who, notwithstanding, gave him his support, Dodington and others in Opposition doing the same. But Leicester House was just then afflicted with a low fever of vexation at the election of Newcastle as Chancellor of Cambridge in opposition to the Heir Apparent, and Lord Egmont was induced to deride the substantial nature of the benefits held forth, to dilate upon the inadequacy of the conditions of peace, to deny that trade had improved, and to denounce the payment of interest to foreigners on public securi-

ties, whereby the precious metals were rapidly going out of the country. But by the end of the year the Bill had passed both Houses and received the Royal assent, whereby Government was enabled to effect the obviously beneficial change.

Lord Halifax distinguished his Presidency of the Board of Trade by the successful promotion of a colony in Nova Scotia that still bears his name. Some anxiety prevailed regarding the number of disbanded soldiers, and several thousands were tempted by the offer of fifty acres for each soldier, and ten additional for every child of a certain age, a free passage, and exemption from taxes for ten years, to emigrate with their families. The variability of the climate did not deter those who were inured to the rigours of camp life, and as yet there did not exist the abundance of competitive employments in manufacture or of alternative openings in more fertile zones that in our day distract the choice of hands that feel themselves superfluous at home. Halifax as a colony grew slowly, but it had the advantage of being homogeneous as a community; and for vessels of any draft its spacious harbour lay well to trade with Europe, and by degrees it came to be a place of shelter and a port of call for the shipping engaged in the fisheries and commerce of Canada.

Opposition wore more cheerful looks and evinced more buoyant spirits when it was permitted to boast the headship of the Prince of Wales. It chose popular topics of discussion, and divided in greater force than it had previously done. Whether Pitt was not asked by the First Lord to take part in debate from an unconfessed desire to show that his aid could be dispensed with, or from distrust of his wayward choice upon welcome arguments, we shall never know. The fact only is certain that he spoke not for some time; and if his silence was involuntary it is easy to conceive how the implied disregard must have vexed him. A motion by George Townshend, reviving the proposal of Secretary Stanhope in 1720, that a clause should be added to the Mutiny Act to prevent the reduction or disrating of any non-commissioned officer without trial and sentence by court-martial, was opposed by the Paymaster-General as tending to weaken the submissive discipline of the army, and not being supported by others it fell to the ground. But a motion of Lord Egmont's, complaining of the non-demolition of the sea-forts at Dunkirk,

contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht, and which the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had covenanted should be destroyed, was said to have originated with the Prince of Wales. When told that it would fail, he insisted that it would make the Ministry feel that there was a rope round their neck. But they argued that without means by sea or land for enforcing the stipulation it would be only an exhibition of petulance and weakness, while if postponed till a reasonable time had elapsed it might form a legitimate ground of remonstrance; and, if we were duly prepared, of action.

Lord Strange, who understood better the temper of the assembly in St. Stephen's Chapel, would have been willing to wait a little longer before calling Versailles to account; but having been made, the motion ought not to be spurned as too peremptory or presumptuous. The opportunity was taken by Pelham for putting up his old associate, Pitt, to answer him; and, being unmuzzled, he flew at its author with as much zest as if they had not for years run in couples. The proposal was not only unwise and dangerous, but actually wicked, for it seemed to have been made with a design to inflame the people against the Government and to involve the nation in a new war, when neither their own circumstances or those of Europe admitted of any hopes of success. The House, by 242 to 115, rejected the motion; but the Paymaster-General was not soon called upon again to exascerbate the feud with opposition. Pelham always preferred still waters, and was never easily persuaded to put out to open sea. His reductions of expenditure were equally approved by the best men among his party opponents, and by those who sat around him; but economy, like other virtues, contains within itself the liability to run to seed, and the First Lord found ere long that his careful gardening was not beyond reproach.

Pitt betook himself to Bath, and while there corresponded with Newcastle, who took no little trouble to keep up a show of consulting him from time to time on diplomatic affairs, thus skilfully gratifying his sense of self-importance without directly stimulating it with himself, his colleagues, or the King. He sought consolation beside from his now devoted adherent for what he deemed the affronts put upon him by his brother in discussion of doubtful points in foreign affairs. Returning to town in March, better of his gout, but not well enough to venture to Court, Pitt

reported himself to the Duke, chiefly to thank him "ten thousand times for his inquiries and great goodness to him."[1]

After more than one conference upon the position and prospects of the Government, his Grace, in testy humour, wrote to the Paymaster-General—that so much time having been wasted in oblique reflections on his conduct in German affairs, if things remained as they were when he returned from Hanover he would not retain his position. To this declaration he had received the unfraternal rejoinder that he might do as he pleased; and that his brother would neither assist nor obstruct any measure of that kind he might propose. Thus Pitt might see he was left to himself, and to take care of himself. He (Pelham) would do nothing rashly, and he hoped he was incapable of taking any step which impartial people would not think becoming a sincere, honest man. He subscribed himself: Your very affectionate friend."[2]

A break up did not suit the views just then of Pitt. He was very easy (as the phrase went) in his lucrative post, acquiring daily, without effort, official experience of all kinds, and becoming identified in men's minds, without personal contention, with the inevitabilities of rule. Ridicule only could attach to an open split between the Pelhams; but if they must squabble, who would undertake to decide between them? On every account it would be best to patch things up, at all events he would try; and, never given to say or do anything by halves, he proceeded to try what soothing and wheedling might effect. "If your Grace had been in town I should have had the honour to wait on you to return you my most sincere thanks for your Grace's very confidential, and, to me, most melancholy letter. My concern is unspeakable at the turn of a conference from which I had flattered myself with the hopes of every private satisfaction to myself, and of the only effectual and solid system by which, I conceive, the King can be served with ease to himself and with strength and facility to his Government. From what causes all his public and private good has been disappointed I am at a loss to imagine, and would fain hope that conciliation is not yet to be despaired of. All expostulations that carry unkindness are over; and, the heart being once vented, may not further discourse pass with another sort of spirit, and end where the mutual interest, honour, and happiness

[1] 19th March, 1750.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Pitt, 31st March, 1750.—*MS.*

of you both equally meet? If so inconsiderable an instrument as myself could contribute the least to this object I should really think it the best work of my life, and am most ardently devoted to such a service. Whatever turn this unhappy affair takes, I shall remain with the deepest impressions in my heart of the confidence with which your Grace honours me, and of the distinguished kindness which you have been pleased to show me. No man can have a higher sense of the honour of your Grace's friendship which you are so good to permit me to count among my most valuable possessions, and which I shall ever be proud and happy to preserve. I am, with the most respectful regards and attachment, your Grace's most faithful, humble servant, W. PITT."[1]

Pitt's psychology proved correct; the fraternal irritations frittered themselves away. The Duke prepared to follow the King to Hanover, and having got as far as Dover, waited there till the sea grew smooth; for he had a great horror of the unruly deep. The First Lord of the Treasury remained behind to keep up communications with the French Ambassador and the Secretary of State, having no other politics, he said, and seeking no other friendship than that of his brother. No one saw his letters but the Chancellor. He had seen the Duke of Bedford but once, with whom his talk was too private to be given even in a confidential letter. The key of it was his fear of Granville making his way back in the Cabinet, which others did not regard with apprehension.[2]

The reply (marked most secret) was equally cordial from on board the trek schuyt between Rotterdam and Delft, and their intercourse continued on an easy footing of revived friendship. Stone was the only confidant to whom it was unreservedly revealed. There seemed no longer any disposition on either side to cavil. There might be differences occasionally about the means or instruments for preserving the peace, but their Administration was one; and there was no longer any reason why, with good humour and mutual concessions, it might not be firmly maintained. The King was good to them both, and certainly meant them, and in business nobody but them; and whilst they thought and acted together he would continue to do so. But—*surgit amari*

[1] 2nd April, 1750.—*MS.*

[2] Corresp., April, 1750.—*MS.*

*aliquid.* Even at the reopening gate of official Paradise, Pelham's repinings at neglected worth would have way, and the Secretary hastened to own his carking grief that he was not appreciated by Royalty as he deserved: "I think my case a little hard that the Duke (of Cumberland) and the Princess Amelia, to whom I have been attached all my life, and to whom I have endeavoured to render some service, should use me so cruelly as they have done: excommunicate me from all society, set a kind of brand or mark upon me and all those *they think* act and think with me, and set up a new, unknown, factious young party to rival me and *nose* me everywhere. This goes to my heart. I am sensible if I would have submitted and cringed to such usage the public appearances would have been better; but I was too proud and too innocent to do it." He could not imagine how the Duke of Cumberland, who once feared Lord Granville, should help to bring him in, which must be the case if the Pelhams should be driven out. The alternative was inevitable; and then what would the position of their Royal Highnesses be? "My Lord Granville and I cannot act as Ministers in Foreign Affairs together; my Lord Granville and you cannot act together as Ministers of the Finances; you and I cannot, will not, act separately; but my Lord Granville can act with any of the Duke's friends, either at the head of Finance or of Foreign Affairs, and they with him."[1]

The faithful Secretary Stone arrived at Hanover somewhat sooner than his chief, and reported to him how agreeably the Royal circle seemed disposed to dwell there for the summer, and to welcome the Duke and Duchess on their arrival. He had waited on Lady Yarmouth, and made his Grace's compliments in the manner he directed, which were received in the most obliging manner. She desired him to assure his Grace and the Duchess of her best wishes for their good journey and safe arrival.

Hardwicke reported that all was tranquil at home, and no rumour stirred the air with difficulties abroad. He thought it unimportant for his friend's tranquillity of mind that Bedford, who was spending his time at Woburn, had been but once in town.[2] There was a levity in semblance, if not in fact, about the younger Secretary of State's demeanour which shocked the

[1] From the Hague, enclosed to Stone, 9th May, 1750.—*MS.*

[2] To Newcastle, 10th May, 1750.—*MS.*

gravity of his elder colleague. What was harder to bear with equanimity, the Lord of Woburn systematically forgot to accompany official papers about Italy and Spain with private proofs of confidence from himself; and, what was still worse, more astounding, and, when persisted in, more intolerable, not a hint regarding social enjoyments or intimacies in England, while the would-be Premier seemed to be forgotten, far, far away. His complaints rose in indignant sharpness as summer closed and autumn opened out its golden rays, and the solitary Hercules had to bear the increasing weight of German intrigues for all sorts of unimportant and unattainable objects on his Secretarial shoulders. He had set his heart on his Royal master making a King of the Romans, which being interpreted, meant buying a sufficient number of votes in the Germanic Diet in favour of a Hanover candidate. Part of the elaborate schemes for this purpose was the furnishing a subsidy to the Elector of Bavaria, for which it surpassed the powers of invention to set forth any substantial consideration, but which, sooner than quarrel, the frugal First Lord of the Treasury consented to provide. He even thought he might as well commend the speculative exploit, and express a hope of its speedy consummation.

The Chancellor understood, like Pelham, the need of gratifying the ducal Secretary's love of meddling on a grand scale, and he took the opportunity of advising him to close as quickly as possible the growing differences with Spain, an affair of infinitely grave importance. The difficulty arose through a division in the Cabinet of Madrid, one Minister suggesting expedients which the other was loth to adopt. "A former treaty was said to have been bought of Grimaldi; would not one of these gentlemen sell? It was surprising that Mr. Keene had not yet tried the third alternative. Probably he was made so sore on a former occasion that he was afraid of going too far or too fast." [1]

For some unexplained, and long since forgotten, freak of diplomacy, Sir C. Hanbury Williams was summoned to Hanover and asked to go on a special mission to Warsaw, for which a draft was made on the Treasury for £1,000. Pelham, half vexed at not having had any explanation beforehand, privately wrote to his brother that he did not mind giving the money, as he supposed the King wished it, out of his Civil List, which, he

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 6th April, 1750.—*MS.*

regretted to say, he had long since despaired of bringing into order, for the more that was paid on that account the more in debt it would be. Of the utility of the proposed mission of their volatile friend he had no means of judging, but had he been asked to "price the errand, perhaps he would give him as much money to stay at home."[1] Differences of a like sort in their way of looking at things that had to be paid for would now and then crop up, but it was an aggravation of the affront to ducal infallibility in this particular instance that the gay rhymester was notoriously a boon companion, and something more, of the members of the Party of imperfect formation which Newcastle regarded as gathering strength against him under the patronage of the Commander-in-Chief.

Harrington, who had been a cypher in the Government of Ireland, and who, even less than his predecessors, had spent little time there, had been superseded in April, and he tried in vain to elicit any definite cause or promise of other employment. The truth gradually broke upon his drowsy intelligence that he was laid aside, and without what he called a suitable provision. "His family told him he was cut, and he put many home questions as to the reason why, which Pelham parried as best he could," not caring to wound needlessly an old colleague, but unable to afford him the solace he craved. He desired to know the reason of his disgrace, and only had for answer no new reason that the First Lord knew. But he pressed to know "whether he was to be turned adrift without any provision, which his circumstances could ill afford."[2] And this the Finance Minister did not answer.

The Chancellor, as usual, tried to lull the misgivings he knew by experience it was hopeless to expel. He could not perceive any symptoms of manœuvre or intrigue on the part of their suspected colleagues, but he shrewdly judged it better to touch the matter lightly, and pass on friendly inquiries about his over-suspicious Grace by the Princess Amelia when he was last at Windsor Lodge. The favourite daughter of the King lived with her brother, who was Ranger of the Forest, and, being hospitably given, drew round him early friends like Sandwich, Henry Fox, Albemarle, and Hanbury Williams, and somewhat later Bedford

[1] 22nd June, 1750.—*MS.*

[2] Pelham to Newcastle, 18th May, 1750.—*MS.*

and Essex. While in England, the peevish Secretary of State thought himself forgotten; but when, in his absence, Pelham was not only included in the Prince's circle, but in return actually made H.R.H. a banquet at Claremont, without a word of confidential intelligence on the subject to Hanover, the soul of the Statesman was sorely grieved.

After several weeks of cessation, the old rage and jealousy against Bedford burst forth in a torrent of confidential complaint of seven folio pages, closely written, wholly taken up with the ungrateful and cruel treatment of the Duke of Cumberland and the Princess Amelia in persistently giving parties while he was away for the manifest purpose of favouring Bedford and Sandwich to his disadvantage. He was incensed at the cowardice of the Duke of Grafton in being present at these festivities instead of boldly telling their Royal Highnesses how very wrong they were in behaving so. He had borne it meekly thus far, but the time "would, must, and he almost said *should* come when some person must say that this young Prince and his sister were in the wrong. It had been said of greater persons than them."[1]

Bedford, in the course of the spring, had received from the naval officers on the North American coast reports of affronts and encroachments by the French on the station, which at length provoked him to remonstrate somewhat peremptorily with Mirepoix, and communications in consequence took place on the subject, which do not seem to have been promptly forwarded to the other members of the Cabinet. Newcastle, whose means of overlooking the hands of his colleagues were seldom at fault, became aware that something was going on with which he ought to be acquainted, and the importance of which he exaggerated *more suo*, while endeavouring to instil a like jealousy into his brother's mind. Pelham was characteristically bent on making the best of everything, and leaving room for explanation to a colleague neglectful or in fault. He deliberately forbore to ask his colleague what he had been about when he met the French Ambassador at Windsor Lodge. He did not want to give his impetuous Grace a colourable sanction for demanding amends, the refusal of which might lead to open rupture: a contingency of all others to be deprecated; and he shrewdly divined that, however the vanity of Woburn might like to do a

[1] Newcastle to Pelham, 9th June, 1750.—*MS.*

little diplomacy on its own account with Versailles, there was no real danger of its sending orders, without consultation, to fire a shot on the coast of Newfoundland. Pelham had no doubt Bedford would have sent his brother the letters from Nova Scotia, which, he confessed, he didn't like at all. He was far from being well informed himself on the merits of the question, but he thought it was generally understood that they were in the right and the French wholly in the wrong. If so, he wished Cornwallis were strong enough to do himself justice; for he was of opinion if they got the better of the Spaniards without previous concert with France, she would not break with them on that account; but, if they entered into negotiation, they would hardly get off well.[1]

When at length the despatches from Governor Cornwallis were forwarded to Hanover, Newcastle wrote, strongly urging a firm tone and the sending what reinforcements might be available to the Colony. He rather approved of Bedford's promptitude in corresponding direct with the English Minister at Paris, under all the circumstances.[2] Nevertheless, his ill-temper soon broke out afresh; but the First Lord gave no encouragement to his peevishness. He declined to discuss his complaints, and told him that he only hurt himself by indulging them; but it was all to no purpose. A week later he had a fresh philippic from Göhrdt, designed to enlist his susceptibilities against the distrusted colleague. "Nothing that the Duke of Bedford can do will surprise me: otherwise, his conduct at present towards you would do it. To send frequent messengers without your knowing what they carry; to write to Lord Albemarle on this affair of Nova Scotia without previously consulting you or anybody; and, above all, to act in this affair of the christening (of the young Prince) without talking to any of you, or giving an account of what he had done before he transmitted all to Hanover, is amazing. Dear brother, think what such a man, *so made*, is capable of doing, and then think the *rest*."[3]

Every day added to his smothered grievances from home. His careful despatches about solemn fiddle-faddle; who should be asked to Royal baptisms at Leicester Fields, or exclusive

[1] To Newcastle, 5th June, 1750.—*MS.*
[2] To Bedford, 9th June, 1750.—*MS.*
[3] To Pelham, 17th June, 1750.—*MS.*

dinners at Windsor Lodge, were left unanswered—even unacknowledged—from Woburn. The cool indifference of his official yokefellow was insufferable; and worst of all was that he could wring not a tear of sympathy from faithless Grafton, judicial Hardwicke, or his own unfeeling brother. Everybody slighted and insulted him; and Lady Yarmouth began to take the *pas* of his Duchess in the Royal circle. His gathering rage sought vent in letters, nine foolscap pages long, to the Chancellor and Pelham.

On midsummer eve, Pitt, feeling himself no doubt very much alone in the twilight, indited a strange effusion of official fidelity to his ducal chief afar off. "He really made a conscience of breaking in upon moments so importantly filled only to renew assurances of a most sincere and perfect attachment, of which he flattered himself his Grace was entirely convinced; and of the satisfaction he felt at the confidential and cordial intercourse between his Grace and Mr. Pelham, who felt and talked of it as could be wished. Might every day confirm that union which could alone form a system of Administration of strength and national credit, sufficient to surmount the difficulties that seemed to threaten in the affair of Nova Scotia; and very alarming, he confessed, it was to him, if France was in earnest to maintain this act of violence." But as he had not seen the First Lord, and "had not the honour to talk with his Grace's colleagues on business," he could only hope the best from diplomatic efforts in hand.[1]

Curiously enough, at the very moment of this dream of flattery at Whitehall, the captious Minister was penning at Hanover congratulations to his brother at the complete success of the measures taken by Bedford without their privity or help. After all, he was obliged to own that Albemarle had done so well at Paris before receiving any instructions from him that satisfactory assurances had been obtained from the French Government, and that all was now arranged. Were such unexpectedly happy results likely to smooth the ruffled plumage of the Secretary of State? Quite the contrary. Bedford had made the provoking mistake of showing that he could go alone; that was an indecorum not to be forgiven, and he was accordingly disliked and distrusted more than ever. He had had, beside, nobody to con-

[1] From the Pay Office, 19th June, 1750.—*MS.*

sult with but Sandwich. If they could still be got rid of, so much the better, but it might be difficult and dangerous; better to bide opportunity, and oust them one by one.

Newcastle summed up the results of his negotiations with the Electors of the German Empire, most of which turned on Treaties of Subsidy and minor gratuities to their respective Ministers. Bavaria held out last, and Count Haslang pressed for the signature by England of the Treaty of Subsidy with his Court for £28,000 a-year, on a verbal promise that the vote of Bavaria should be given for the Archduke Joseph. But Newcastle insisted on a written engagement. His experience in the frailty of electoral memories had taught him that contracts for votes were never so satisfactory as when they were in writing. The amount he thought not worth considering when it was to buy what he called the *éclat* of "making a King of the Romans."

More than usually self-contented with his interpositions in Germany, and with the preservation of peace unbroken with France or Spain, he opened to Hardwicke in a long letter marked "very secret," his desire to give up the Seals and become President of the Council, or Privy Seal. With Bedford affecting the airs of an equal in authority he could not go on, and to drive him out of office was, perhaps, impossible. If he would accept the Presidency of the Council, and agree that someone should be *his* colleague who would show a proper deference to one who had been in the office for twenty years, "that might, perhaps, obviate present difficulties. Sir T. Robinson was such a man, and would do the work punctually and unpretentiously. Chesterfield also would do, or perhaps Granville, of whom old jealousies were dead. But there should be no longer any mistake about his being prime minister or the possibility of anything being done without."[1]

On the same day he wrote at equal length to Pitt, the fervency of whose admiration and affection was his sole consolation in sorrow. He had hoped, from some kindly words of his, for a better disposition on the part of his brother, but he was sorry to say his satisfaction had been greatly abated. "I find a great alteration in style and manner; little or no approbation of anything; suspicions and jealousies without the least foundation, and, what is still worse, I can attribute this unaccountable and

[1] To Pelham, 4th July, 1750.—*MS.*

sudden change to nothing but a confidential letter I wrote him on the public demonstration given by a part of the Royal Family of preference, countenance, and offensive support of that part of Administration which is so universally thought to be in opposition to me; and I could not but lament the weakness and unkindness of my particular friends who had been drawn in to make part of the show." In his dealings with the Courts of Vienna and Munich, he had punctiliously observed what the rest of the Cabinet wished about Treaties of Subsidy being made to depend on their votes for the proposed King of the Romans, and upon redress of Protestant complaints; and whoever would deny it, he would say it was as great and successful a negotiation as ever was brought to perfection in time of peace. He proceeded in detail to relate what had been doing, but which had not been appreciated as it deserved, knowing that he could entirely rely on Pitt's affection and discretion to make a good use of it.[1] Language of this kind out of the Cabinet window was all very flattering and friendly, but as yet there was no hint of opening the door; so Pitt had to take it for what it was worth, and wait. He could only indulge in circumlocutory periods of hope that all fraternal misunderstandings would pass away; and in sycophantic gratulation on the triumph of recent German diplomacy, "which must redound to his infinite credit and the stability of the best possible system of Administration."[2] He would not speak of any services he had rendered to party or country. If they did not speak for themselves, they were worth nothing, and if he could make the brothers more easy he would walk barefoot to Hanover to do so. He had advised the First Lord to make friends with the Royal Family, and to bear with Bedford a little longer; but he did not regard what he said as a friendly opinion, else he would tell him that as he was made he could not serve in any other department than that which he then filled."[3] Hardwicke, with more deference, but not less decision, counselled the exacting egotist against attempting any change of offices while abroad. Having drudged in the labourer's office of Chancellor near fourteen years, he had no fondness to keep it longer, especially at near three score. It was a constant

[1] 4th July, 1750.—*MS.*
[2] Reply of Pitt, 13th July, 1750.—*MS.*
[3] *Ibid.*

round of the same fatigue. The incentive of ambition was quite over; the profits of it he did not then want or value, and if he could not have the satisfaction of serving with his friends, he could have nothing to make it tolerable. His opinion was that the public would suffer prodigiously by losing the Duke's services in his present office. If, like Lord Sunderland, he would remove from one office to another, still retaining the character and influence of chief Minister, it would be different; but in the present case it would be impracticable for his Grace to name his own successor. Those he left behind would not take Sir Thomas Robinson, which would be looked upon as a mortifying stroke to Lord Sandwich; the King would not take Chesterfield, nor would he serve with Bedford. Hardwicke's opinion was that Granville would be once more sent for. How could Newcastle serve under him, or how could the Party endure it? For old prejudices were not yet got over. Speaking freely, he must say that in the world it would be said he was quitting the field, leaving complete victory for his adversaries. If he continued at Court in the President's office and saw all the business and power, the access to the Closet, as well as to the other branches of the Royal Family, in other hands, would not this be for him a scene of perpetual uneasiness and tantalisation? He would never find any relief in relinquishing the Seals to be President of the Council. It never had happened and never would. With regard to an alteration in the manner of the King, if he assumed to himself the sole merit of the measure of electing a King of the Romans, &c., for God's sake let *him* do so; and flatter him in it. A Prince could not make his Minister a greater compliment than by making his measures his own. As to the *Great Lady*, the account of her behaviour was indeed surprising. It had been for some time a mystery to him. His Grace knew long ago what was his way of thinking about suffering *some other persons* to fall off from him and depending entirely on her. But what was to be done? He thought there was a prospect of deliverance not very remote though not immediate. He was thoroughly convinced that Pelham was heartily tired of Bedford's mode of conducting his office, and would be glad to find a method to get rid of him. The experience of the Regency must have convinced everyone who attended the Board of the same thing. His unpopularity increased every day, and he was

sensible of it.[1] Newcastle acknowledged this letter to be "as wise and kind as was ever wrote by man, and promised to offend no more."

Murray kept his ducal patron informed of what went on at White's and Lincoln's Inn: who lost money at the former, or who was sick unto death at the latter. His letters kept a wide offing of party shoals and quicksands, but he mentioned incidentally having met Pitt at dinner, and that he seemed in great spirits, but said not a word on public affairs. Bedford seldom attended the Council of Regency, but the shortcomings of the First Lord of the Admiralty were not so clearly defined. Pelham could not bear the renewed symptoms of suspicion on the part of his brother. He was tired, as he said, of "working for thirty years in a shop for whose business he had no real liking; and not seeing the present system of Administration likely to last while he had not the power to repair it, it was not strange that he should wish to be out of it before it tumbled about his ears."[2] From week to week, however, the First Lord of the Treasury repeated his demurrers to paying any money to their Serene Highnesses of the Diet until their votes were made sure, and with provoking parsimony he objected to subordinate largesses of three or four hundred pounds to their agents.

Lord Dupplin answered inquiries from Hanover as to what was doing at home with reference to American affairs somewhat brusquely. "It was easier to say what Bedford and Sandwich did not do than what they did. They lived in the country, played cricket, rode post to town, looked in at the Regency, and returned the same evening. They were assiduous in making attachments, but with very little success."[3]

Others complained that Bedford was never in town except on the days when the Council of Regency met; and that they saw nothing of him, and heard nothing from him, except there. He circulated the Duke's letters to members of the Cabinet without comment, and his meaning in making no response to them when his opinion was not asked may have been, as the Chancellor suggested, to avoid sharing responsibility when he had not been consulted.

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 13th July, 1750.—*MS.*

[2] 6th July, 1750.—*MS.*

[3] Dupplin to Newcastle, 3rd August 1750.—*MS.*

Once more the fraternal squabbles were lulled to sleep. On learning from Pelham that misapprehensions had been dispelled between the brothers, Pitt despatched fresh felicitations to Hanover: "May nothing ever shake that cordial intercourse, and nothing will then be able to shake your united strength or defeat your joint endeavours for the King's service." [1]

Dorset again urged his being sent to Ireland. Harrington had now had four years of pro-consulate, and was so enfeebled in health and spirits as to be thought (by everyone except himself) no longer equal to the responsibility. His old colleagues were willing to let him down on an extra pension of £1,500 a-year, in addition to what he already enjoyed of £2,500 for services abroad. They may not have been aware, or they may have forgotten, that out of Pharaoh's lean kine on the other side of the Channel he had helped himself to a handsome sinecure, of which more presently. He said, notwithstanding, that his case was very hard, and Pelham, disposed as he was to economy—or at least to decorum in extravagance—felt it so irksome to tell him he was worn out, that his indefatigable brother offered to explain this painful fact to him on paper from Herrenhausen.

Pelham continued to be moved by Harrington's importunities that he should either have some other office or compensation for deprival. He asked why he might not take his successor's place as Lord President, or if not, why Lord Gower should not have it, and leave him the Privy Seal; and when told plainly that neither was to be hoped for, he pressed to know if he had offended in any other way save that wherein he was conscious at the time he had done so, by standing firmly in support of those who were now in power, alluding plainly to the Ministerial crisis of 1746. Would they leave an old colleague to want? In any case let him know his fate; and Pelham thought it might, after all, be questionable economy to deal too hardly with him, for he had some friends who would say he was treated ill. He, therefore, preferred to make him General of Marines, for which his former service in the army furnished an excuse, but which the world without were puzzled whether to regard as a joke or a job.

George II. had fits of delusion, violent for the time, but of brief duration. Misled by the pageantry of the Court and the uninterrupted freedom to do what he liked in private life without

[1] 26th July, 1750.—*MS.*

question, he sometimes fancied himself King with actual prerogative and privilege of irresponsible patronage. Sagacious Ministers and mistresses indulged his fancy rather than incur the inconvenience of contention that could end in nothing; and in the case of small pensions at home or small subsidies abroad, they let him have his way. But in important matters he had not much more of real power than his cousin, the ex-Prince of Wales. When asked to sanction the last device of favouritism, he broke out in a rage: "Was General of Marines to be the reward for everybody that flew in his face? That was the case of that old rascal Stair: Lord Harrington should have his ears cut off." Newcastle said all he could to induce the King to do something for him, but he would do nothing. Not caring to irritate him further, his Grace proposed to suspend the issue of Dorset's writ as Viceroy for the present, to which the unreasoning Monarch assented, forgetting that it left the object of his aversion in possession so much longer of one of the greatest offices under the Crown.

A gleam of light soon afterwards broke in upon him, and he said that "he *would* do the Generalship of Marines, but not at Hanover." Nothing could be expected until he was in England.[1] But how to get rid of Bedford? Newcastle proposed that he should be made Master of the Horse. He persuaded himself that Lady Yarmouth was in communication with Woburn, if not Windsor Lodge, and that the suggestion for an exchange of offices would not be unacceptable. In other words, that Bedford would be willing to succeed Richmond as Grand Equerry, and that Sandwich hoped to have the Seals. If Pelham would not agree to readmit Granville, and if Chesterfield could not be asked without him, Newcastle recommended Holdernesse or Waldegrave as colourless and compliant elements of a united Administration. Neither Hardwicke nor Pelham approved; but, weary of jealousy and jar, they acquiesced. Thus, the Secretary for the Northern Department was allowed to nominate a Deputy for the Southern Department, and to have the patronage, if not the power, of both.

It is somewhat strange that in their scrutiny of obtainable allies, and balancing of comparative fitness to help, no suspicion is hinted by either correspondent of the disability which had

[1] To Pelham, 10th October, 1750.—*MS.*

begun already to darken, in the mind of Chesterfield, the dazzling hopes of distinction once dominant there. For a time he tried to conceal the defect of hearing of which he was conscious soon after quitting office, if not before; but his exacting temper could not always contain itself when the infirmity became, on each occasion, more and more provoking. He affected gout, went out of town, was wrapped up in study, or hinted an affair on hands about which it were indelicate to speak; and there was always the resource of a visit to Paris or Spa for getting through part of the season, for a man of fashion, who could not be seen "*not himself*" at White's without being observed. But month after month the unacknowledged devil gained hold of him, and no specific seemed to have any power to cast him out. The bitterness of his chagrin broke out now and then, and the inveterate egotist, for the first time lonely, craved the sympathy he had long disdained. So early as January, 1749, he asked forgiveness of a private friend on account of "the old disorder in his head which hindered him from acknowledging his former letters," and it was not very long before he was tempted to exclaim that "he belonged no more to social life." A political part was for him no longer possible; but the Ministerial circle had grown gradually narrower, and its ignorance greater of men and things even in its neighbourhood.

If the choice of Holdernesse had been decided on, who would give further advice? But, in candour, Hardwicke must say Pelham certainly totally disapproved of it; and for his own part, though he had a good opinion of his friend, he must express surprise at his advancement being looked on only in one view, without considering the light in which it would be looked upon by the public at large. He might, indeed, make a good Under Secretary two years later, but did his Grace really think that people would be satisfied with his Majesty's spending near seven months of the year at Hanover, where possibly the most essential parts of foreign business would come to be transacted, with no other Minister to advise him than that young Lord? As a last resource, the astute Lord Keeper hinted that the family of Holdernesse stood particularly well with the party which his friend most fervently hated and feared. Who could tell that they were not at the bottom of the proposed arrangement, which he was willing should be received as being *mero motu*

that of the King? An original thought, however, struck him, which, in profoundest confidence, he would impart. Could nothing be found which would suit the Duke of Rutland? It was a great and extensive family, and certainly worth gaining. Lord Granby had been a colonel. If nothing could be found for the father, would the Blue Regiment be practicable for the son?[1] The Chancellor wished it to be understood that the recommendation was exclusively his own, and that he had never spoken to the First Lord of the Treasury on the subject. Newcastle readily agreed, but repeated that in Government the way to be easy was not to have constant vexations from those that were joined with them. Whenever he had a brother Secretary that he could confide in, and live familiarly with, he should not only cease complaining, but others would soon feel the ease and advantage of it.[2]

Pitt never tired of repeating his vows of affection for the Duke, and gratitude to him for the kind use he had made with the King of some expressions of his in writing. "Nothing could touch him so sensibly as any good office in that place where he deservedly stood in need of it so much, and where he had it so much at heart to efface the past by every action of his life.[3]

On the See of Durham, third in worldly value after Canterbury, falling vacant, Berkeley, Bishop of Bristol, was recommended by the Primate and the Chancellor, both of whom wished the Bishop of Oxford to be made Dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. Conybeare, of Christ Church, to have Bristol. The dispenser of ecclesiastical good things saw no reason why they should quite throw away the opportunities the splendid promotion suggested. He had, on a former occasion, told the Bishop that advancement was in store for him, and frankly intimated that he would expect, in return, to be able to put up one of his favourites in the golden stall. The author of *The Analogy* was struck dumb at the stipulation; and, before he could answer, the door of the dressing-room opened, and the conversation ended. Time went on, and the condition not being repeated on his nomination, he took for granted that the Archbishop had explained, as he begged him to do, how impossible it would be

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 20th Sept., 1750.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle to Pelham, 23rd Sept., 1750.—*MS.*
[3] 28th Sept., 1750.—*MS.*

for him to bargain away his preferment. He learned, with surprise, from Cambridge that a well-known individual was already congratulated on obtaining from Government the first Prebend of Durham. In language worthy of the man, Berkeley offered to lay down the jewelled crozier he would not take on unfitting terms. "My first thought on reading your Grace's letter was to return you my humble thanks for all your kindness and concurrence in the greatest instance of favour I could receive from the King. But when I came to the postscript and found a command accompanying that nomination, it gave me greater disturbance of mind than I think I ever felt. I think it absolutely necessary to return an immediate answer by the King's Messenger, and I must also write to his Majesty; so I hope your Grace will put a candid construction upon any improper expressions which may have escaped me."[1] The Bishop had no prejudice against Dr. Chapman, and if the right to the vacant Prebend lapsed to the Crown by the advancement of its present occupant to the See of Oxford, he could have no voice in the matter. He would likewise be satisfied with the appointment of Mr. Vane, of Raby, or anyone the King thought fit to be his vice-Lieutenant of Durham. No further attempt was made to renew the condition regarding his episcopal patronage; and the Lieutenancy was an executive office, the nomination to which, whatever the usage may have been in days of Border feud, had come to belong to the Crown.[2]

[1] 5th Aug., 1750.—*MS.*

[2] Bishop Butler to Dr. Johnson, at Hanover, 8th August, 1750.—*MS.*

# CHAPTER VI.

## GRANVILLE LORD PRESIDENT.

### 1750-53.

Party of the Pelhams—Genuflexions to Newcastle—Pitt against Naval Reduction—Party of the Prince of Wales—His Sudden Death—Granville Recalled to the Cabinet—Holdernesse Secretary of State—Board of Trade—Regency Bill—Education of Prince George—Domestic Distress of Claremont—Dorset and Sackville in Ireland—Murray and Stone Accused of Jacobitism—Jew Bill.

THE Cabinet were unanimous in satisfaction at the result of the negotiations with Spain, conducted under the direction of Bedford, and of those with the German Courts brought to completion by Newcastle. Pelham was able to report favourably of the state of commerce and agriculture. Some great appointments were still to be made, about which nothing was said in Council, but much in private conference among the jealous groups into which the Ministry was divided. Newcastle daily expected the long-deferred solution of his difficulties with his colleagues, but either he had mistaken the hints of the "Great Lady" as to the intended transfer of Bedford to the Mastership of the Horse, or she had mistaken his readiness to be transferred. Parliament was not to meet until the beginning of the year, and an ungrateful nation seemed to forget, if it had ever been conscious of, the obligations due for the measures now approaching realisation for choosing a King of the Romans. The triumvirs were constantly together, explaining reciprocally what they had meant during their autumnal correspondence, and what they did not mean, the Secretary insisting that something must be done to make the mechanism of rule work with less friction. The First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor thought they had better wait for events. This was an adjournment, *sine die*, of the

Duke's personal grievances he could not bear ; and finding that their long conversations were like to end in nothing, he asked Hardwicke how he might be relieved from the "cruel situation that his own friends, and, perhaps, his too great dependence upon some, had brought him into." He could not longer remain silent and inactive. He was determined not to continue where he was, for "he would rather be Mr. Pelham's footman than his Secretary of State." Why should not Hardwicke see the Duke of Grafton, and "try if he could beat anything into him, or get anything of him?"[1]

Newcastle grew more jealous than ever of the influence of the Duke of Cumberland ; and a disagreement soon followed which threatened to break into open rupture to remove Henry Fox, who was the special companion in private hours of H.R.H. Henry Fox said the two Secretaries of State "hate one another irreconcilably ; as do Lord Sandwich, who governs the one, and the Duke of Newcastle, who governs the other. His Royal Highness and his Grace are more declared enemies than you can imagine. The Brothers disagree as much or more than ever; but Mr. Pelham knows he can neither govern nor separate himself from his brother, and he seems to have given over the thoughts of prevailing in any measures except those that might reconcile or barely prevent a rupture. Newcastle flattered himself that Bedford would quit the Seals to be Master of the Horse or Lord President. He believed that with the assistance of The Lady he had brought his Majesty to that temper that if his Grace would not go *de bon gré* he would force the Seals from him. But in this, too, he was disappointed. George II., wisely considering that nothing was more silly than for his Ministry to risk their sure majority only to satisfy a peevish resentment, postponed the giving away of all places for fear of disputes till at least the end of the Session. The two Secretaries were trying which could keep his temper best and longest. Fox advised Bedford to resign the Seals, and to accept for himself and Lord Sandwich other places in the Cabinet."

Pitt began the new year with fresh genuflexions of gratitude to Newcastle for obliging marks of confidence by placing in his hands the foreign correspondence of the preceding year, "which could not fail to impress any impartial reader with high con-

[1] 15th Dec., 1750.—*MS.*

victions of the wisdom of his views and the ability of his management. He was anxious to hear what Claremont and Esher may have said to one another." [1] After praising the Chancellor's peacemaking efforts and the Favourite's amiability, Newcastle exclaimed: "Dear Pitt is the best of all, and is turning his thoughts to everything that can be of use." [2]

Treaties concluded with Bavaria and Spain were condemned by Opposition as entangling us in continental engagements incompatible with national interests. Egmont, acting as leader, inveighed against the one as betraying the old infatuation for German Alliances that members of the existing Government used to denounce, and the other as waiving (by omission) the old claim of "No Search" by Spanish cruisers of English vessels in the West Indies, for sake of which Pitt had joined in forcing Walpole's Cabinet into war. The Paymaster-General owned the justice of the taunt; but said that, "being ten years older he had considered public affairs more coolly, and was convinced that the claim of No Search of British vessels could never be obtained unless Spain was so reduced as to consent to any terms her conqueror might think proper to impose." But he showed that the treaty had been dictated by the wisdom of reciprocal benefit, both nations agreeing to the interchange of their produce on the payment of Excise and Customs duties absolutely equal. Parliament was satisfied, and by three to one negatived Egmont's disparaging amendment.

Pitt had exerted himself more strenuously than usual to vindicate the Bavarian Treaty, for which he had no lack of acknowledgment from its ducal author. His response is curious: "Indeed, my Lord, all the thanks ought to come from your humble servant, who, without compliment, is enabled by your lights and instruction to think more justly of the true interests of this country, and who is proud to tell the world how much he applauds your Grace's honest and able pursuit of them. Your Grace's most obedient and affectionate humble servant, W. PITT." [3]

But if Pitt's applause of his official superiors was sonorous, and his flattery in correspondence insinuating, his formal allegiance

[1] Pitt to Newcastle, 1st Jan., 1751.—*MS.*
[2] To his wife, 2nd Jan., 1751.—*MS.*
[3] Newcastle Corresp., 25th Feb., 1751.—*MS.*

was brittle. Three years and more he had served assiduously in secondary place, daily expecting admission to the Chamber of Power; yet the longed-for acknowledgment of his pretensions came not, and availing himself of the half-hidden difference between the Pelhams, he flung aside the mien and tone of expectancy. The First Lord, over-sanguine in reliance on his majority, put up Lord Barrington to move 8,000 instead of 10,000 seamen for the current year, in consequence of the recent treaties, fewer cruisers being needed against pirates, and fewer men-of-war against the navies of the world. Nugent and Oswald warmly opposed the reduction as inconsistent with the promise from the Throne that the maritime force of the country should be fully maintained, and with the late Ministerial proposals for a costly naval reserve. Pelham and Henry Fox defended the resolution as best they might; while Egmont and Potter declaimed against it. Pitt, Granville, and Lyttelton, though holding office, and many of their friends divided with the minority,[1] and on the Report of Supply the contest was renewed. To the general amazement, the Paymaster-General rose and denounced unsparingly the proposal. It was plain, he said, that Jacobitism was not dead; its prevalence was still a source of practical danger. He had theretofore been for economy, but he never would consent to the country being disarmed; and though it grieved him to differ from those with whom his lot in life was cast, he must record his opinion against the reduction. The House was, perhaps, more disposed to laugh than tremble at this blank cartridge fire of independence. Far from blaming his insubordination, Newcastle addressed Colonel Pelham, his representative for Lewes, "Dear Jemmy,—As you can be no stranger to the able and affectionate manner in which Mr. Pitt has taken upon himself to defend me, and the measures which have been solely carried on by me, when both have been openly attacked by violence, and when no other person in the House opened his lips in defence of either, I think myself bound in honour and gratitude to show my sense of it in the best manner I am able. I must, therefore, desire that neither you or any of my friends would give into any clamour or run that may be made against him." The Sussex contingent were too well trained to neglect orders, and those from Notts and Yorkshire

[1] 25th January, 1751.

were equally mindful of what was called their duty. No effectual resistance was made, after all, to the questioned parsimony of Pelham, and in the Cabinet the conduct of Pitt and the mutineers was not even impugned. The First Lord of the Treasury, bowing to the decision of the House, went out of his way to be more civil than ever to Pitt; the key to whose whole behaviour Horace Walpole said might be found in this, that "whenever he wanted new advancement he was used to go off, and it would not be surprising if, though baffled, he still carried his point of Secretary of State." [1]

George II. was said to be in a declining way, and his demise was thought to be no longer distant. The Prince of Wales's party, by uniting with the remains of the former Opposition, grew formidable. They were led in the Commons by Egmont, Lee, Nugent, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Bubb Dodington, who, two years before, had resigned the Treasurership of the Navy in order to devote himself to the service of the Prince, and was appointed Treasurer of the Chambers, with £2,000 a-year. In anticipation of the accession of Frederick, his adherents divided the spoils of Administration: Dodington was to have a peerage and the management of the House of Lords, or the Seals for the Southern Department. He was commissioned to announce to Mr. Furnese, as a special friend of Chesterfield, a seat at the Board of Treasury; to Sir Francis Dashwood the Treasurership of the Navy; to Mr. Henley [2] the office of Solicitor-General; and to settle with Talbot the place he would occupy. Meetings were frequent and consultations with Lord Bute, Sir F. Dashwood, and Chief Justice Willes long for arranging the proceedings at the commencement of a new reign. There were also communications opened with Lords Carlisle, Baltimore, and Shaftesbury, and Sir P. Methuen. The Pelhams were to be dismissed, Parliament dissolved, and a new Civil List obtained of £800,000. Meantime, Dodington undertook to raise two or three hundred thousand pounds on his own estate; but, divided among themselves, and supported only by a remnant of the former Opposition, they would stand small chance in debate against the Ministerial party, among whom were Pelham, Fox, Pitt, and Murray. Suddenly the farce ended. Prince Frederick

[1] To H. Mann, Feb. 1751.

[2] Afterwards Lord Keeper.

died. A change came over the political scene; and not only Opposition but the Ministerial party felt its effects. The King had acquired a temporary emancipation from the influence of the Pelhams; while Newcastle, who before was "afraid of the King to a degree that was ridiculous,"[1] became more timorous than ever.

For a time Opposition was paralysed. The Session proved barren of debate, and the chief difficulty apprehended by Government consisted in getting forty Members down to make a House. For the first time during his reign George II. breathed freely. "Fritz was dead," and for the moment he felt as if he was politically King. There was no Opposition to threaten him; no family feud to worry him; no *Craftsman* to make fun of him in print; no thought of a Pretender to his Crown. It could not even be suspected that he was in subjection to a favourite, for Lady Yarmouth professedly abstained from meddling with public affairs. After four-and-twenty years' apprenticeship, might he not at length be master, set up for himself, make and unmake his own Ministers, like the King of France, or his hated brother of Prussia? There was only one difficulty, but that was insurmountable. His Majesty forgot that the Government of England was no longer an unlimited monarchy; and that the governing guild, silent and forbearing for the hour though they might be, had become possessed of all the real power of the State, and found it far too lucrative and otherwise likeable to be given up. The ineffable meanness and timidity of Newcastle served indeed somewhat to mislead him. He felt his own position was rendered more insecure by the sudden withdrawal of all pressure from without; and went tottering hither and thither, clutching at every reed lest he should fall. George II. enjoyed his perplexity; and, by way of a beginning, proposed that Granville should be President of the Council. The First Lord assented. A reconciliation was effected; the two rival statesmen passed a convivial evening together at the house of Mr. Nugent, and their coalition was soon afterwards announced. Dorset was to resume his unpopular Court at Dublin Castle, while the Seals of Secretary of State were given to Holdernesse.

Robert Conyers D'Arcy, fourth Earl of Holdernesse, had spent some years abroad in unpretentious diplomacy, punctu-

[1] Fox to Sir C. H. Williams, 17th Feb., 1751.

ally reporting to his chief at Whitehall whatever occurred, or was said to have occurred, within his ken; and for the rest organising concerts, operas, and oratorios, as none had ever done before, until he came at last to earn in familiar jest at home the pet name of the great *impresario*. His familiarity with what was fit to say in speech or writing between testy and pugnacious Courts, and what was not fit or prudent to say, would hardly have recommended him for the conspicuous post to which he was now advanced; but Newcastle had found him full of unaggressive zeal, and believed he would prove as a colleague undeviatingly deferential. This was the quality he had hitherto found wanting in one after another of his predecessors, and for wanting which he had got tired in turn of each and got rid of him. Halifax, for some time complaisant and creditable as Chief of the Board of Trade, thought he had preferential claims, and refused to retain the secondary office under one whom he deemed his Ministerial inferior. The difficulty was arranged by the control of the North American Colonies being taken from the Northern Department and transferred to the new commission for the Government of Trade and Plantations, of which several of the Cabinet were to be members, and Halifax was to be the head. The powers and duties of the new Commission were set out specifically for the encouragement of such trades and manufactures beyond the sea as might be beneficial to them and not hurtful to Great Britain, and for the discouragement of any trade or manufacture in them that might be thought prejudicial to the mother country.

The Commission was to find out what Naval stores might be furnished from the Plantations, in what quantities, and by what methods; to look into the usual instructions given to the Governors of Colonies, and to see if anything might be added, omitted, or changed therein; to take a yearly account of the administration of the Governors. They were further empowered to examine into such Acts of the local Legislatures as might be sent home for approval, the usefulness or mischief thereof to Great Britain or to the Plantations themselves; and what matters might be fit to be passed there; to hear complaints of oppression and mal-administration; and to require an account of all money given for public uses in the assemblies, and how the same had been expended. No mention was made of Ireland;

and as yet British India was not. It was the ground plan of a Crown Federalty, said to have been chiefly drawn by Halifax, and accepted by the Cabinet, with probably no very distinct view or surmise of the complex and conflicting questions of central and local right which it was destined to hatch ere long into life. The retention of the spiritual Lord of London in the administrative direction of the expanding department may have either been suggested by Hardwicke, somewhat as the *non nobis Domine* before the spreading of the new feast of power; or as an implied compensation to the Episcopate whose venerable head had not been called to the Cabinet as his predecessor at Lambeth had been. The Right Reverend Prelate and his successors were continued in all Commissions of Trade and Plantations for many years, and Bishop Terrick was upbraided with neglecting his episcopal functions in order to fulfil those of the Board of Trade.

The death of the Prince had made it necessary to pass an Act providing for the exercise of regal functions during the possible minority. George II. was in his sixty-seventh year, and the Heir Apparent was but ten years old. Hardwicke suggested that the Bill should be framed so as permanently to supply provision hitherto wanting in the Constitution, in case at any time to come the Crown should descend upon a minor.[1]

The heads of the Bill submitted by the Cabinet, with the Sovereign's approval, conferred the Executive rank and power of the Crown on the Princess of Wales, but vested the whole authority in the majority of a Council of Regency, including the Duke of Cumberland, the Primate, the Lord Chief Justice, and the seven principal members of the Cabinet, who might hold office on the death of the King, by whom four might be added in his will. Parliament could not be dissolved, peerage, pension, or office conferred, a new member added to the Regency, peace or war proclaimed, nor could any holder of office be dismissed, or any capital offence pardoned without the assent of at least a majority of five; but all acts of State should formally be done in the Regent's name, who was to be guardian of her son until he was eighteen. Practically this conferred the entire authority of Government on the Cabinet which might be in existence on the demise of the Crown. In the Upper House Bishop Sherlock

[1] To Newcastle, 21st March, 1751.—*MS.*

murmured audibly his objections to the limitations in the Regency Bill, but took no step to qualify the measure; and but half-a-score refused to acquiesce in its provisions, Granville and Bath taking part in its vindication. Few amendments were proposed, the chief of which was to omit the clause continuing the existence of Parliament for three years, on which Newcastle, in reporting the discussion to the King, especially noted how well and how strongly Granville had supported them.[1] In the Lower House the whole scheme was gravely, but earnestly and ably, questioned as unconstitutional by Speaker Onslow, who recited with historic care the terms of previous Acts, made under great diversity of circumstance, to provide for a similar contingency, all of which had ended ill because, he said, they had divided instead of merely limiting the deputed power of the Crown. He was not, however, supported by anyone of weight on either side. Pitt and George Grenville, though discontent, were mute. Onslow's reasoning was controverted by the Attorney-General, Ryder, and the Solicitor-General, Murray, while H. Fox, though he would not vote against the measure, tore it to pieces in caustic criticism; yet Pelham found it easy to induce the House *nemine contradicente* to pass the Bill.[2]

Some difficulties regarding the establishment of the young Prince during his minority, especially with reference to his education, were adjusted to the satisfaction of Ministers, mainly through "the wisdom and prudence of Lady Yarmouth, in whose praise too much could not be said."[3] Andrew Stone was appointed Sub-Governor and Scott Sub-Preceptor, under Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, a learned, enlightened, tolerant, but uncommunicative man, whom the Princess Dowager thought not particularly fitted to inform his pupil, his learning being, as she said, too big for his head. His deputy did better, and whatever elements of knowledge the Heir Apparent assimilated were fairly attributable to the patience and care of Stone; whose position, difficult from the first, became ere long more than confidentially critical. At first he made himself highly acceptable, and was praised by her Royal Highness accordingly. But his relations with his exacting patron became a source of anxiety and embarrassment he had not foreseen, and

[1] To the King, March, 1751.—*MS.*

[2] 16th May, 1751.

[3] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 27th September, 1751.—*MS.*

which he sometimes found it impossible to render compatible altogether with self-respect.

The Duke of Richmond having died of fever, the Dukes of St. Albans and Leeds asked to be made Master of the Horse; Lord Poulett also desired the office. The gloom of bereavement at Goodwood was deepened by no provision having been made for younger children. Henry Fox advised an immediate application for employment or a pension to be given to the second son, who had a nominal commission in the Guards, and Newcastle asked the King to grant him the reversion of the sinecure held by Dodington, who was ill, and it was thought would not long survive. His Majesty hesitated, saying the place was a great one, and that this was a very unreasonable demand. He was ready to do something for the family, but this was extravagant. Dodington was not considerate enough to die, and George II., though regretting the loss of an agreeable Master of the Horse, was not disposed to augment the charges on the Civil List for the benefit of his son. But the Secretary of State and the Secretary-at-War, when agreed, were not to be denied; and after some time the affair was arranged by the reversion of Lord Tullamore's pension of £500 a-year being granted to Lord George Lennox, who was still at Westminster School. His mother expressed her extreme satisfaction to Lady Yarmouth and the Duke for the parts they had taken in the matter, "For as it would be no hindrance to his having anything else hereafter, if he deserved it, she thought that would be a very good beginning."[1]

Besides other candidates for the coveted place in the Household, there was the Duke of Kingston, who, like the rest, was put off with civil words. Pelham found his Majesty in good humour, and well inclined to let things continue as they were. He "afterwards went to the Lady," with whom he found Granville. Pelham told her that "in his opinion the present state of things would not do. She seemed to wish it might, but confessed that it would be very agreeable to his Majesty if the Duke of Bedford would either change or resign. The Minister said it was in the King's power only to bring this about, and that he had proposed it at the beginning of the year, but that he then seemed disinclined to meddle in it."[2] The warrant still lay unissued for

[1] Duchess of Richmond to Newcastle, 8th June, 1751.—*MS.*

[2] Pelham to his brother, 16th March, 1751.—*MS.*

Dorset's Lieutenancy of Ireland. Harrington continued to draw the salary; and his Grace to sit in Cabinet. There was still no Master of the Horse, or Groom of the Stole; and the Marines performed garrison duty without seeming to be conscious of wanting a General. George II. said "if he could have found another Duke of Richmond, the place might have been filled before now." Pelham replied that there was a person of great rank, whom he could not but think would be particularly agreeable to him, and named Hartington. The King seemed much pleased, and agreed that if he were Duke of Devonshire nobody could object to it.

Pelham told all this to Lady Yarmouth, who said eagerly more than once, "*Le Roi le fera*," adding, "I will speak to him about it." Pelham would not have it made a special desire of his, but a proposal tending to strengthen the Administration. She then went on to say how much Bedford's friendship for Sandwich had to do with the King's dislike of him. It would certainly be agreeable to him if his Grace would change or quit.[1]

For several months no new appointment was made. But in April Hardwicke's advice prevailed, and, Devonshire refusing to return to political life, his son, who had sat some years for Derbyshire, was called up by writ as Baron Cavendish, named Master of the Horse, and included in the Cabinet.

It was at length resolved, instead of affronting Bedford, summarily to remove Sandwich, which was done by a letter from the Secretary of State, in the briefest terms, and without glancing at any reason.[2]

Happening to be on a visit to the Duke of Cumberland when he learned what awaited him, Sandwich resolved to remain at Windsor Lodge for his dismissal, which he thought would have a good appearance in the world.[3]

Stone was sent to Granville with a formal invitation to re-enter the Government as President of the Council. He at once accepted, with thanks; ascribed it to a feeling of goodwill on the part of Pelham, whom he would do his best to support, and hoped above all things that perfect accord would be established

[1] Stone to Newcastle, 15th March, 1751.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle Corresp., 13th June, 1751.—*MS.*
[3] To Bedford, 13th June, 1751.

between them. Thus, after nearly twenty years spent in the wilderness of Opposition, he returned to the avocations in which he most delighted, and for which he was singularly fitted by the versatility of his talents and attainments.

The Duke wrote from Claremont apologising for not having been able in person to acquaint his old rival that he was to be President of the Council, and offering to meet him at Court, where his appointment should be declared. Referring to what had been said to Stone about the importance of concord, he said in a postscript, "My brother was here yesterday. We are determined jointly to support measures"; to which Granville replied expressing satisfaction at the only pledge he had wished for, and repeating his own promises of cordial support.[1] Thus the quarrel of twenty-seven years' duration ended, without explanation or retractation on either side, and it is not easy now, through the best historic telescope, to make out clearly any adequate cause for its commencement or continuance; though it needs no magnifying-glass to discern why it came to an end. Both were growing old, and losing grasp of affairs; and neither, probably, was troubled any more with dreams of being able to impress with his individual image the policy of the time. They had accused each other often enough of breaking promises; but for the future, sadder if not wiser men, each kept his word.

The Chancellor lost no opportunity of pushing his son Charles, whose showy talents gave promise of professional distinction. On the death of Mr. Joddrel, who held the honorary office of Solicitor-General to the Princess of Wales, and the lucrative post of Counsel to the East India Company, Yorke applied for both; the first as it would furnish an excuse for a call within the Bar, and the latter because it was really worth having.

The First Lord, having no children of his own, lent his aid the more easily to gratify the paternal solicitude of the Chancellor. Charles was already on the high road to the judicial Bench. Joseph's turn was next; and Holdernesse having made room for him at the Hague, his father in a few familiar words requested that he might replace him there. Nothing was talked about pre-eminent diplomatic qualifications. The great Judge—for on the Bench he was really a great man—seldom stooped to farce

[1] Newcastle Correspondence, 16th June, 1751.—*MS.*

or shuffling. "Poor Joe" wanted something; that was all. He had been Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy, and had been under fire at the battle of Laffeldt, after which he was given a regiment, and advanced to the rank of General, what for exactly does not appear. As Christendom, however, was now at peace, it was thought as well that he should devote his talents to diplomacy; and we consequently find him established in the pleasant quarters once occupied by Sir W. Temple, and afterwards by old Horace Walpole, where for five-and-twenty years he gave dinners to the Dutch and to all English persons of quality who passed that way; and probably made as few enemies or errors as the nature of his instructions from home allowed.

The Chancellor's fifth son, James, took Holy Orders, and was not unsuccessful in his way. He does not appear to have spent his strength in preaching or theological research. He relied upon his father for fortune if not for fame, and, in regular course, became, before his hair was grey, Dean of Lincoln. While on a visit to Wimpole he had an offer from the Master of the Rolls, of the Preachership which had been filled by Butler, Sherlock, Herring, and Warburton, and which was regarded as an opportunity of distinction that often effloresced into episcopal dignity; but his humility deemed him unworthy of such honour, and he refused the offer. Subsequently, however, he became Bishop of St. David's; whence he was translated to Gloucester, and eventually to Ely.

From Newcastle's letters to his wife, with constant references to conversations with the King, it is evident that, after four-and-twenty years of illegal expenditure, the once opulent Duke was often in an impecunious plight. It was thought necessary to effect a mortgage on Claremont. There was no money at Hoare's Bank, but the steward Waller had £300 in hand; Moore, the maltman, wanted £200 to pay the excise, and Hollis could not do without £300 immediately. There was also due to the labourers a whole year at Lady Day; and money was wanted for all the other artificers. Waller was ordered to go down to Claremont and make up the accounts to be laid before the Duchess, and see what arrears were due on the trust estates. "I beg, also, that my dearest would reduce the servants and expenses of the family to what may be brought within compass.

Some of the servants must be discharged, but I should wish to do something for those that go away."[1]

Primate Stone was not long in occupation of the Archiepiscopal See when he began to realise something of his long-deferred dreams of political power. Like his brother at Whitehall, he was a thoughtful and ambitious politician; and opportunities, though rare, sometimes occurred of exerting an influence in Irish affairs as first spiritual peer, and, generally one of the Lords Justices, he had tempting facilities for expressing an opinion, both in legislation, such as it was, and in shaping the form of it.

Speaker Boyle, who was proud of the power small boroughs and counties gave him, resisted the obtrusion of a new controlling voice at the Castle, and their rivalry divided the languid attention that was capable of being kept awake in Ireland among the upper classes at the time. Stone had easy and exceptional access to the Cabinet through his brother, and Boyle had personal relations and intimacies with the members of the two houses who irregularly assembled during the winter months at College Green. The Speaker favoured and did much to organise the constitutional claim of the Irish Commons to require an account and specific reappropriation by Bill of the surpluses from time to time in the provincial exchequer, and the Primate raised a voice of warning, sometimes said to have been highly eloquent, to induce his right reverend brethren and noble colleagues to stand fast for the irresponsible right of the Crown to do what it would with what Suttlers called its own. Charlemont, then a very young man, was made use of to appease their antagonism, and for a while the wheels of Government revolved once again as noiselessly as before.

Dorset took with him his son, Lord George Sackville, as Chief Secretary. In his former Administration he had been negatively popular, and on his return was said to be without an enemy. Lord George, as a matter of course, was provided with a seat in the provincial Commons, where his cynical assumption of superior knowledge and authority quickly rendered him unpopular. His ignorance and ineptitude made him the unconscious dupe of Stone, who led a majority of the Upper House, and a considerable party in the Lower, ready to do the Minis-

[1] To his wife, 17th May, 1751.—*MS.*

terial bidding. The contest was renewed in the Commons regarding an Appropriation Bill, and in spite of the reckless use of official patronage, the numbers on division were indecisive. Dr. Lucas, a man of rare energy and courage, was a municipal tribune at whose call men of different creeds and classes learnt to rally in forgetfulness for the time of traditional feuds. They demanded a Septennial Act like that which existed in England, a curtailment of the pension list, and that Irishmen should have Irish offices. In the Lords, a spirited minority, led by Kildare, the twentieth FitzGerald who had borne that title in the male line direct, the possessor of wide estates, and by marriage connected with more than one of the great Whig families of both Kingdoms, disturbed the equanimity of Government. Stone and Sackville were for brow-beating their opponents, and urged that every man, high or low, who was suspected of Home Rule sympathies as opposed to official centralisation, should be dismissed. Dorset shrank from the contest, and prorogued Parliament earlier than usual.

The correspondence of 1751 closes with a draft, marked "most secret," of complaints addressed to Stone of Newcastle's afflictions and resentments as Secretary of State, owing to the ill-usage of his brother. All the old grievances were enumerated which had been consigned to oblivion in former fits of reconciliation; the intolerable cruelty to which he was exposed by the Duke of Cumberland's undisguised preference for Pelham; and the secondary position in the eyes of the world into which he was thus in danger of being dropped—all was set forth in forty pitiless pages given to the poor Duchess to copy, as the only person he could trust with so delicate and critical a duty. Once more he vowed his resolution to resign; but the faithful Stone had long since learned how little danger of the kind lurked in such resolve; and by the time the Christmas holidays were past the fit of official jaundice was over, and matters went on, in 1752, just as usual. The continuance of peace enabled Pelham to realise several measures of economy, and to see the completion of those for the reduction of the interest on the Debt, one of which was the consolidation of fourteen separate loans contracted on varying terms into five new forms of public securities; some of them life annuities, and others debentures paying three per cent. The soundness and expediency of his plans of

retrenchment greatly impressed the mind of George II., who said to his brother that Pelham was a better finance Minister than even Walpole. Unfortunately, his success seemed only to encourage the Duke's tendency to profusion in his promises of subsidy to German Princes. Pelham at first warily, but at last angrily, resisted as wasteful and indefensible in Parliament further outlay in this direction.

The remodelled Government enjoyed unwonted respite from attack for some time. Commerce, freed from fear, and daily growing more adventurous in both hemispheres, was furnished with better and more varied freights of manufactured goods for profitable barter. Prosperous traders sought opportunities for investing surplus gains in the purchase of manorial residences and estates in fee; agricultural rents steadily rose, the price of stock, and as a consequence the value of land. All tended to fill the garners of Government fuller and yet more full. Pelham contemplated reducing the land tax to two shillings in the pound, but, apprehensive lest he should be obliged in the first year of the experiment further to encroach on the Sinking Fund, he made up his mind to adhere to the higher rate of three shillings. If he could not remit taxes, however, he would steadily resist diplomatic extravagance. He had yielded to his brother on the subsidies of Bavaria, upon the public understanding that it should be the last; and when the Duke proposed that £32,000 should be granted to the Elector-King of Saxony and Poland, he flew into as much of a rage as he was capable of; told his colleagues he would sooner resign than agree, and tried to make the King believe that if anyone proposed the vote he would head the opposition to it. For a while there was an interchange of dire reproaches and imputations, but in the Cabinet Newcastle's pertinacity prevailed. He owned that he had secured a majority in the Diet for the Archduke Joseph; but not a sufficient majority to make him safe as King of the Romans. The poorer Electors might yet be tampered with by France, and it was necessary, therefore, to clinch the Imperial bargain by securing the Saxon vote. The Paymaster-General and the Lord President, with the help of Lady Yarmouth, persuaded the First Lord of the Treasury that any symptom of schism on his part would lead to the ruin of the Administration, and Pelham, after all, asked the House of Commons to vote the disputed subsidy as a

wise and necessary means of averting the danger of another European war.

During the autumnal visit to Göhrdt, Newcastle found that he had lost ground in the confidence of Lady Yarmouth, and in a certain sense, with the King, some of whose expressions to his German Ministers reported to him troubled him not a little. His Majesty had been brought to believe that a subsidy of £40,000 a-year to Russia would secure that Court. He said "he could not venture to open the matter to the Secretary in residence, but that in England he would manage Mr. Pelham, and get his consent to it," if a payment of 700,000 florins contemplated in another direction were saved to the Treasury. This unguarded language was forthwith communicated by the Duke to his brother, and seeing now the *carte du pays* both with the King and the lady, they perceived how they were played off against each other. "Knowing these things, we may, if we please, prevent any ill consequences from them; and the moment it is seen that we are in concert, and without reserve, all this little low game will fall of itself." Pelham regretted that the Duke and a certain person were not so well together as they had been. "It is the best ground we have to stand upon; if it shakes I doubt we have no resource. I earnestly recommend you to make up as soon and as well as you can. The influence in that quarter grows, and will naturally grow every year. Do not let us, therefore, quit the hold when the party becomes strong which we catched at before it was at its full growth. I am not easily cajoled, and if you are firm I do not mind my neighbour (Granville), who is undoubtedly at the bottom of these politics."[1]

In the world of Court and fashion there never was so inanimate an age: no war, no politics, no party madness, and no commercial panic; it was thought, indeed, more fashionable to go to church than to either House of Parliament.[2] If not content, everyone was tranquil, save the restless author, as he believed himself to be, of so much national happiness. But there was no peace for the Wizard of Claremont, for he had not money enough in hand to pay his labourers; the choice of a new Parliament drew on and neither Robinson nor Hanbury

[1] From Hardwicke to Pelham, Oct., 1752.
[2] H. Walpole to Mann, 14th Feb., 1753.

Williams could tell how many of the Diet would vote for *his* King of the Romans. His Grace, however, consoled himself with the reflection that the absence of party feeling would prove favourable to his tactics at county and borough elections; and the preparatory correspondence with friends and agents occupied no small share of his attention.

Jealousies and incompatibilities arose among those who surrounded the Prince. His mother placed her chief confidence in the Solicitor-General, and he relied on Under-Secretary Stone, who, as well as Scott, had begun life, it was said, as a Jacobite, but had gradually matured into a moderate Tory. The Governor and the Preceptor treated superciliously their deputies, who generally differed from them on petty points of reading or costume; and, relying on the favour of the Princess, taught their pupil to appeal to her Royal Highness, who, in her turn, asked the advice of Murray. It is said that almost invariably he supported Stone; and when asked if the Governor had not taken a different view, is said to have replied, "But he is a cypher, must be a cypher, and was intended to be a cypher." The Bishop and the Earl complained of Stone and Scott as insubordinate, and accused them of warping the mind of their susceptible pupil from true Constitutional principles. The King referred their squabbles to his Ministers, and they appointed a Committee of three to inquire into the truth of the rumours circulated. The gravest fact in the accusation seems to have been that Stone allowed the Heir Apparent to read Père d'Orleans' "Revolutions d'Angleterre," a book confessedly written in defence of the Stuarts, and Prince Edward, not knowing probably what he was about, had lent his brother a copy of Bolingbroke's "Patriot King," which had been given him by the Princess Augusta; the subtle drift and purpose of which none of the three probably understood, even if they had read it. The Committee, however, reported that there was no foundation for anti-Jacobite fears. George was satisfied that no treason against the House of Hanover was hatching at Kew, and allowed Stone and Scott, as well as the Treasurer, Cresset, to continue in their places.

The Earl and the Bishop took this in dudgeon, and resigned, and prevailed upon the Duke of Bedford to move in the House of Lords for the production of the correspondence on the subject. The vacant places were offered to several spiritual and

temporal Peers, without tempting any to accept them until Dr. Thomas, recently raised to the See of Peterborough, consented to be named Preceptor to the Heir Apparent, and Earl Waldegrave, much against his will, to be gazetted as his Governor. With sufficient fortune for a moderate man of pleasure, and enjoying favour enough at Court for one who wanted nothing, and with the still rarer gift of discerning the vanity of all Ministerial wishes, he was hard to be beguiled into giving up his epicurean liberty of time and thought. He told a friend that he longed only to refuse, for "he was too young to govern, and too old to be governed." He foresaw that the ascendancy of the Princess would prove irresistible over the mind of her son; and that where his judgment differed from hers it would be neglected or overborne. For some time he did what in him lay to enlarge and refine the tastes of a spoiled and indolent pupil, becoming the while aware of much in the domestic life of Carlton House and Kew that he would gladly not have known. The testimony he long forbore to give the world, and which only became known in his autobiography, when those chiefly affected by it had ceased from troubling, has been regarded as among the truest records of the time.

Dark imputations, nevertheless, at first vague, but ere long inveterately specific, were circulated against Murray and Stone. Jacobites in disguise they were said to be, plotting to mould the leanings and prepossessions of the boyish heir to the Crown and his brother Prince Edward, with the covert acquiescence of the Pelhams. In the Press invitations were held out to any who could make discovery of the early ways or words of these alleged intriguers. When mischief or mystery is at a premium somebody is seldom wanting, inflamed by the lust of notoriety, to offer disclosures with a look of reality about them, though patched with inferences unsound or fantastic. An Attorney of Newcastle-on-Tyne, named Fossett, said, in the presence of Lord Ravensworth, that Johnson was fortunate to have obtained the See of Gloucester, and one of the guilded stalls of Durham; for he had often met him with Murray and Stone at the house of his relative Vernon, a wealthy mercer in the City, where they drank the health of the Pretender. Murray treated such rumours with disdain, and Stone felt himself strong enough to regard them with contempt. Nevertheless, Ministers thought it worth while

to appoint a Commission consisting of Granville, Hardwicke, Newcastle, Devonshire, and Waldegrave (not all of the Cabinet), to inquire whether any grounds existed for such insinuations. Murray and Stone offered their evidence and were cross-examined on oath. The report thoroughly disposed of the scandal, and the Cabinet, having taken it into consideration, laid before the Sovereign their conviction that he had no two men of ability in his service more to be depended on.

It has strangely been imagined that this proceeding was a delegation of responsibility by the official advisers of the Crown. But the Executive, like each House of Parliament, had time out of mind resorted to this method of dealing with vexatious or troublesome questions, not in the least implying distrust of its own competency, or any design of clothing a new tribunal with independent authority. Each House of the Legislature had frequently resorted to such a form of quasi-judicial investigation, but no one ascribed to such a provisional inquest the function of determining or overruling the judgment of the body that had called it into being *pro hac vice*. The strongest Committees ever named had had their decisions laid aside, but half adopted, or rejected altogether by their all-powerful makers ; and even when most successful and approved, their members parted company when their collective work was done, to reassemble no more.

The Executive in like manner referred novel or perplexing matters of contention to the scrutiny of a select few whose opinion was deemed of value, not in supersession of the ultimate judgment of the Cabinet, but rather as a help and aid to a correct decision. Frequently, though not always, Privy Councillors, these administrative referees were sometimes dignified with the title of a Committee of Council, although, in point of fact, fewer appellations could be less accurate, for they were not even in semblance delegates of the numerous but comparatively inactive body arrayed on great occasions round the Throne ; and they were not exclusively taken from the departmental Ministers of the day. Undefined by Statute, their method of procedure in each case was discretional ; but there were analogies that could not have been forgotten, every particular of which Parliament had settled with punctilious care regarding naval and military affairs. To Courts of Inquiry or Courts-Martial variable in number and rank, but always definitely limited in pur-

pose and scope, and always terminable in their existence, issues of more or less importance were continually referred; but their judgments were only binding when confirmed by the Department that, at its discretion, called them into being. They were empowered to search out facts, send for papers, hear witnesses, exonerate the innocent from implied complicity, and declare the erring worthy of condemnation. But if their report were not approved at Ministerial headquarters, it went for nothing; the Court adjourned *sine die*, and every member of it relapsed into his previous unimportance. Nor would it have mended the working of preliminary inquiry, general or special, to have treated it as a Committee of Privy Council. Experience indeed had shown the frailty and futility of resort to any such expedient. The most egregious acts of administrative despotism, by Tudor, Cromwell, or Stuart, had been essayed in the presence and with the assumed sanction of a crowd of Privy Councillors. The composition of the Committee to inquire into the education of the Heir to the Throne might have warned an Opposition less factious of the unwisdom of trying to set up an anomalous body superseding alike Cabinet and Privy Council; and held together only by the Lord President. The part taken by Granville in debate proved that he did not think so, and that he would have lent no aid to suggesting an alternative authority to the Cabinet or relieving it from supreme responsibility. If accusers or accused declined such arbitration, they could not be compelled to accept it, and whatever the award might be, it could only amount to justifying the retention of hitherto uncensured men in subordinate office until an indictment for treason were found against them by a Grand Jury, or a Bill of Impeachment was preferred by the House of Commons. But it was too good a topic of Party discussion to be allowed to sleep. Bedford's motion for copies of the proceedings that had taken place on the subject, left to Lord Ravensworth the task of recapitulating all that had been said and unsaid, averred, qualified, or retracted with reference to the accused. He himself impugned, not merely the judgment of the Cabinet or their discretion in the exercise of their authority, but the lawfulness of their claim to exist as an executive power. "The notorious fact that an inquest of treason had been in agitation, led him to conclude that it must and would be brought thither for their Lordships' advice. Could he"

doubt that it would? What other judicature was there for crimes and criminals of this high nature? The incompetence of the Lords who had been assembled elsewhere for that trial was evident. Could the Cabinet Council condemn? Could they acquit? If not, could they try? Who, that was accused, was innocent, until he had had a more judicial purgation than their report could give him? But if no character could be purified by their verdict, what became of their own? What a solemn trust was reposed in the Cabinet Council! Could they be at peace until their opinions were sanctioned by sentence of the Lords? The charge was brought by a Lord of Parliament, and he was bound to give the necessary information to the House. The case had not been brought before the Privy Council; only a private meeting of certain Lords. Were they a Committee? Was it in that capacity that they arrogated the power of tendering oaths and listening to sworn evidence? There were no forms, no evidence, no authority. A Cabinet Council was not recognised in the Constitution. In their own persons only, these Lords were respectable. An attempt was made to erect a jurisdiction unknown to this country, and derogatory to the authority of the House of Lords. Before this revived Star-chamber, this Inquisition—different indeed from the 'Holy' Inquisition, in one point, for the heretics of this Court were its favourites—before this Court the accused were admitted to purge themselves on oath, and thus a leading step was taken to the introduction of perjury."

Ravensworth disclaimed all personal sympathy or party motive; gave in detail every particular he knew; exculpated Bishop Johnson from suspicion; but believed that Fossett had been led to prevaricate about the hospitalities of Vernon to Murray, to whom his property had lately been bequeathed.

The Chancellor replied, justifying the legality of the Cabinet and vindicating its proceedings. A Commission of Inquiry was a body whose existence was on record in the Journals of Parliament. The oaths taken by the Solicitor-General and Mr. Stone had not been imposed by any assumed authority; but were administered by the Commission of Five, at the desire of the accused themselves, as a matter of grace; and the inquiry had been instituted for satisfaction, not for prosecution. He exposed the inconsistencies and contradictions of Fossett; applauded the

zeal and conduct of Stone during the Rebellion; and spoke warmly of the meritorious and irreproachable behaviour of Murray since his first appearance at the Bar. He reflected with pleasure on the many converts that had been made from Jacobitism, and hoped the Peers would not, by inquiry into old stories, discourage a change of principles, or deter, by the alarm of espionage out of date, those who were willing to re-enter the pale of loyalty. Granville deprecated setting a precedent for retrospective inquisition into bygone acts and motives, and Bath furnished an instance from the time of Queen Anne, when Sir Paul Methuen, Mr. Cholmondeley, and himself were examined by a Special Committee relative to a similar charge against Erasmus Lewis, Secretary to Lord Oxford, without any of them pleading in bar to the jurisdiction or feeling compromised by helping to clear away unjust suspicions. The unlearned and undiscerning comments of Bedford on the Cabinet as an institution deterred not a few Whigs, who were out of humour for reasons of their own, from lending him any support; and when he went below the bar to make a show of dividing, only Townshend, Harcourt, and Talbot, with the Bishop of Worcester, followed him. Thus ended the last attempt at specific objection to the exercise of paramount authority in the guidance of affairs by those who, as a Cabinet, from time to time possessed the confidence of Parliament and the Crown.[1] Dodington might well exclaim that the debate was on the whole the worst-judged, the worst-executed, and the worst-supported point he had ever seen of so much expectation.

It was natural that George II. should send for Stone to congratulate him on his acquittal from all imputations of disloyalty or want of fidelity to his youthful charge, and to renew the assurance of trust and support.

It is plain that neither Monarch nor Minister, Peer nor Prelate, demagogue in the Press, nor Governor Waldegrave, high-minded, impartial, and discerning as he was, took into account an element of influence at its true value that eventually proved paramount and irresistible. The Princess Dowager exercised over her son from childhood to maturity a spell that nothing seemed to modify or dissolve. How it would work when he should come to wear the Crown, it was not strange that few if any should foresee. The personal flaw in her own character was little known

[1] Lords' Journals; Etough's Narrative, *MS.*; Dodington's Diary; Coxe's Pelham.

and less regarded at the time, and the political influence of Bute was still undreamt of.

It would not be worth commenting on had her influence not continued through the first decade of her son's troubled reign, and been an element of evil after she and her paramour had passed away. But it is too much to be asked, in special pleading for her memory, where are the proofs of her infatuation?[1] One might as well affect a doubt because the lover's name is not given of the woman of Samaria.

Frequent resort to the capitalists of the City for information and assistance in working out the financial measures had taught Pelham to value highly their importance as a class; and his general leaning to toleration led him to feel that Government would do wisely and well to encourage the permanent settlement in England of those who were of the Hebrew race. Some of them were aliens by birth, many by extraction; and from the time that Cromwell ineffectually tried to clothe them with the rights of denizenship no impediment had been raised to their gradually acquiring those of citizens. Especial favour had indeed been shown them during the Restoration; and William III. would have willingly acquiesced in their exemptions from export duties granted for the development of foreign enterprise, had it not been for the remonstrances of those about him. An invidious Act in the time of Anne enabled a son who had conformed to the Church to engross the whole property of his Jewish parents, divesting the rest of the family of the share bequeathed them: a like enactment being resorted to among other methods to prevent, as was said, *The Further Growth of Popery* in Ireland. But the orderly and loyal demeanour of the sons of Israel, and the increase of their public charities had disarmed many prejudices formerly entertained against the race, and Pelham induced the Cabinet to sanction the introduction of a Bill permitting any individual who could afford it to prefer his claim to the benefit of naturalisation without previously partaking of the Sacrament. The measure attracted comparatively little attention in the Upper House, none of the Bishops objecting, and Secker, Hayter, and others giving it their support. By the time, however, it reached the Lower House[2] an alarm was spread that the mea-

[1] Lord Stanhope's History.

[2] 17th April, 1753.

sure was covertly intended against the Establishment; and Opposition determined to resist its progress. Religious feelings were invoked in speech and print against what was termed the bartering of a Christian people's birthright for some clandestine gain which Government dare not own; for if in other days great sums notoriously had been offered by the Jews to purchase the liberty to dwell and trade in England, no doubt could be entertained that with a greater sum the higher freedom of citizenship would really be sought. Petitions from the City spoke the prevailing sentiments of bankers and merchants, dealers in the Stock Exchange and Aldermen at Guildhall. Their representative, Sir John Barnard, not unfriendly at other times with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, denounced the suspicious and unearned preference shown to a small, though rich minority of the commercial body. He was known to be the financial rival, some said the personal enemy, of Sir Sampson Gideon, who then stood foremost among his people, and who confessedly rendered important service on more than one occasion to the Treasury. Certain of the clergy warned their flocks to beware of the sin of national apostacy, and the close corporations without the Kingdom were moved by the fear that this was but a preliminary to the abrogation of the Test Act whereby they were secured their exclusive municipal privileges. On the 7th of May a long debate took place upon the second reading, in which most of the speakers on the left of the Chair took part. The measure would draw hither numbers from abroad seeking to increase their wealth, and certain to outbid the simple-minded natives of the realm in commercial enterprise, and gradually to become possessors of the choicest portions of the soil. Pitt was silent, but Murray, Lord Egmont, and Pelham argued cogently that by the Plantation Act,[1] Jews residing seven years in the Colonies and their posterity had been for half a century past declared by law to be natural-born subjects of the Crown. It was, therefore, anomalous and inconsistent to deny them equal rights within the mother country. Of all nonconforming sects the Jews were the least to be dreaded by the Church, because they never attempted to proselytise; and of all portions of the community they were from the paucity of their numbers, and the peculiarity of their condition, the least to be feared as disaffected to the State. But

[1] 12 William III., ch. ii.

actually voted in the minority against the Bill, which had nearly thrice as many supporters; and it speedily received the Royal assent. Rancour once kindled, however, did not soon abate. Threats had been freely used in discussion that at the impending elections candidates would be put to the proof of their fidelity to the national creed, as well as the national interest. Pulpits resounded with controversial arguments on the subject, and the Press did more than its wont to recapitulate and enforce every sort of imputation on the long outlawed sons of Judah. At the close of a Session unusually prolonged, Pelham was advised to seek rest from business at the sea-side, and, accompanied by Holdernesse, he betook himself to Scarborough, where for a time the baths seemed to renovate his strength. But from Claremont and Wimpole he was fretted by accounts of the increased acrimony infused into the agitation against the Jew Bill. It was certain to put in jeopardy no end of seats hitherto considered safe. A new journal named *The Protector* had been started, under the presumed auspices of Windsor Lodge and Woburn, to inflame the religious scruples of the community regarding the recent act, and to turn into ridicule the faltering and ineffective foreign policy of the Government, which was reviled as at once prodigal and abortive. Newcastle's self-confidence gave way, and he began to remind his brother how the Cabinet had been persuaded to adopt the measure by his representation, that if not generally approved it might easily be repealed. "I dread the Yorkshire election more than anything, there will be such animosity among the most considerable Whigs in this Kingdom, which will extend itself farther, I am afraid. I hear also that the clamour is more extensive than you seem to imagine; but the worst of all is, that the country is ready to receive a disadvantageous impression. It was the case formerly of the Quarantine Bill, which, as the Lord Chancellor says, was repealed, and that may become necessary in this case also."[1] Pelham, thus discouraged and disheartened at finding that a few hours spent with Holdernesse in going through foreign dispatches had done his health no good, prepared, though sore against his will, to yield:

"Although the alarm has not reached this county, at least not to any degree, whatever is your opinion, and Lord Chancellor's, I shall acquiesce in; but my own thoughts are that

[1] To Pelham, 17th July, 1753.

bargaining with clamour is a dangerous expedient, especially in a case where the Government has no interest, nor can be supposed to have."[1] And thus, though but three months old, the first begotten pledge of toleration was doomed to an ignominious end.

On the reassembling of Parliament, Newcastle, in terms described by one who was present as "better than usual for brevity, and worse than ordinary for confusion,"[2] moved the repeal of the Act of the preceding Session. The Government had not changed their views, and only thought it necessary to tranquillise the public mind, disturbed by factions, artifices, and groundless fears. Bishops Secker and Drummond adhered to their conviction that the Naturalisation Act was just and right, but they would not take upon themselves the responsibility of its maintenance when told by Ministers that the public peace would be endangered. Temple protested against the weakness of hasty concession, and criticised sharply the episcopal logic of yielding to what he denounced as "disaffection clothed in superstition." Bedford, who had opposed the passing of the Act, denounced its repeal, and would not be satisfied unless legislation were carried further. Hardwicke replied, and the Repeal Bill was sent down to the Commons, where Pelham made the best apology he could for a measure of which he was ashamed. No sooner was it passed, however, than Lord Harley and Sir J. Dashwood moved for leave to amend the Plantation Act, which secured to Jews resident in colonies for seven years all the privileges of natural-born subjects of the Crown. Pelham refused with scorn to be driven to embark in a retrograde course of legislation because he had not the courage to persist in one of progress. To do what they were then asked would be to tell the people that they had agreed to rescind the recent Act; not because it had made them uneasy, but because it ought to have done so. To drive out of the colonies some of our wealthiest fellow subjects there would be to divest ourselves of a portion of our strength. To attend to outcry and disorder in the enactment of laws affecting realised property and the personal security of peaceful citizens would be of evil consequence indeed. Pitt, who had been absent from the House for a con-

[1] To Newcastle, Scarborough, July, 1753.

[2] Rigby to Duke of Bedford, 17th Nov., 1753.

siderable time, broke silence on the occasion: "I did not expect that this would have been the first return for an unusual condescension by Parliament to clamour to demands out of doors. A stand must be made, or our authority is at an end I consider the late clamour an election art which has been judiciously humoured. The Bill was not a toleration, but a preference given to Jews over other sects. We are not to be influenced by the precedent of laws made before the Reformation. Our ancestors would have said a Lollard has no right to inherit lands. We, on the contrary, do not fear to indulge Jews, who are not likely to become great purchasers of land." The proposal was rejected by a great majority; and no more was heard of the subject for many years.

The name of Pelham is best remembered in our day as that of the Statutable founder of the British Museum. He was not himself a collector or a donor of literary or artistic treasures; but his memory will always be cherished by the lovers of antiquities, ancient sculpture, manuscripts, and books, for having, in a singularly unpropitious time, pledged the House of Commons to establish and maintain, at whatever cost might be found indispensable, a national home for the treasures of by-gone times, and a store-house of literature for all time to come.

In the Royal Library there had been preserved many records and curious documents of feudal and Tudor days; and with these were incorporated under a Statute of 1701 the rare collection of original documents and printed papers of every description, illustrative of the public annals, made by Sir Robert Cotton, his son, and grandson, and given as an endowment of learning to which all students and men of letters should have the benefit of access. Outgrowing the limits of the family mansion, the collections were removed to Ashburnham House in Dean's Yard in 1730, where they narrowly escaped destruction by fire; and they were placed for refuge in certain of the upper rooms of Westminster School. There they remained for twenty years. Meanwhile, the long unequalled private library, begun by Harley in 1705, extended greatly by the zeal and liberality of his son, the second Earl of Oxford, and said to contain 8,000 MSS. of value, 50,000 printed volumes, and a number almost fabulous of prints and pamphlets, was offered for sale by his grand-daughter, the Duchess of Portland, for £10,000, a sum

much within its value. About the same time, Sir Hans Sloane directed by his will that his museum of curiosities, to the gathering of which he had devoted his life, should for a given sum be placed at the disposal of the Treasury. Pelham, backed by Hardwicke and Granville, led the Cabinet to sanction a scheme for the acquisition of both these truly national treasures, and to purchase a suitable building for their permanent resting-place. Montagu House, Bloomsbury, with its spacious offices and gardens, was tenantless since the death of its last ducal owner, and it was proposed to raise £95,000 by the familiar way of Government lottery, which would be sufficient to secure the fee simple, and to provide for the adaptation of the edifice to its contemplated purpose. There was little disposition shown in Parliament to oppose the scheme. An Act was passed vesting the whole of the property thus acquired in trustees for national uses ; and by subsequent statutes various other private museums and libraries were engrafted in the stock planted with infinite pride and satisfaction in 1753 by Pelham.

# CHAPTER VII.

## WHO SHOULD SUCCEED PELHAM?

### 1754.

The Cobham Cousins—Death of Pelham—Newcastle Head of the Treasury—Antagonism of Pitt and Murray—Fox Leaves the Commons—Pitt expostulates on being Left Out—Hartington Viceroy—Member for Aldborough—Pitt's Marriage—Disputes in the Irish Parliament—Dodington at Newcastle House—Chesterfield's Son in the Commons—Wilkes Candidate for Berwick—Pitt's Speech on the Berwick Election—Electoral Corruption—Washington's First Battle.

AT the beginning of 1754 Pitt and the Grenvilles manifested their discontent by absenting themselves on occasions when they might have been helpful. Lord Barnard, who had been the First Lord's private secretary, and was now a member of the Board of Treasury, spoke without disguise of the insolence of George Grenville in refusing to come to town, and of his objecting to the number of seamen proposed by Pelham: "of Pitt's perfidy, and his party's making-up to the Prince";[1] and of Ministers' detestation of Fox. Henry Vane, who at the instance of Pelham had made himself specially useful in unriddling the so-called mystery about Murray and Stone, had become by his brother's death owner of Raby and Baron Barnard. By family and fortune he deemed himself entitled to advancement in the Peerage; and Newcastle, wishing to be regarded as the real fountain of honour, though the King's arms were still graven on the cup dipped for each draught, sent him a letter addressed to the Earl of Darlington. When naming, however, the Earldom to his Majesty, George II. bluntly refused, saying he supposed they did not mean to leave one on the bench of Barons, and the Secretary of State, having many other objects to secure, thought the matter might stand over. Before leaving

[1] Dodington's Diary, 24th January, 1754.

town for Cambridgeshire, where he spent some days, he made his brother promise not to stir in this and other delicate matters until they met again; but Pelham, learning from Lady Yarmouth that the King had changed his mind, reported the suggestion, which met with Royal acquiescence. On his return, the Duke flew into a rage at his brother's presuming to act without him, accused him of breaking his word and telling a lie; and told others, in presence of his *valet de chambre* that "he would make his brother know that he should not dare do anything in his absence." They did not see each other for a fortnight, and friends had difficulty in reconciling them.

The political world that went to bed on the 6th of March in the drowsy assurance that to-morrow would be even as yesterday or yet more tranquil, woke in a spasm of perplexity on learning, that Pelham was no more. He had not long been ailing, and the physicians had given no cause to apprehend a fatal termination of his malady. For ten years he had presided at the Board of Treasury without making an enemy or incurring serious blame; and although few beyond the circle of his immediate family felt or affected poignant grief, everyone who had built his house upon the sands of Parliamentary acquiescence, everyone who hoped that small services would be requited in the form of patronage or compensation, and everyone who had made a bargain with Secretary West on the First Lord's behalf about a coming election, was stricken with the dismay that befalls a county town when the bank suddenly fails. The calm of parties, it was truly said, was at an end; and all the ambitions and antipathies that had been lulled by the master of compromise to repose, awoke in an hour to discuss the question who should be his successor.

Various candidates were named by rival cliques and sections. The Bar, and it was said the Chancellor, were for Murray as the most popular speaker in the Commons, and because he had a valuable place to give up; but it was objected that he was a Scotchman, if not a Tory. The Grenvilles, Lytteltons, and Pitts, were loud for the Paymaster-General's advancement, and they anxiously looked for a decisive nod from his promiseful friend at Claremont, but no nod was seen. Henry Fox had a powerful faction to back him, but he had recently offended the Chancellor by his caustic attacks on the Regency Bill and the

Marriage Bill; and people could not be persuaded that Newcastle would differ on so vital a question from him. Finally there was Sir Henry Lee, formerly the adviser of Leicester House, but now a convert to Ministerialism, whose chief recommendation was said to be that his promotion would stir the jealousy, and whose removal, if needed, would stir the resentment, of nobody.

Pitt was at Bath, where he was detained, he said, by illness all the spring. Potter reported to Grenville that their friend had had a fit of the gout, "of which, no doubt, he had told him, but perhaps had not informed him that he was the picture of health." His companion added, "I hope he is not a hypocrite."[1] A month later the invalid described himself as worn out with pain, and in great concern at Mr. Pelham's illness.[2] On learning the fatal event next day, he wrote: "The shock has affected me so powerfully as not to leave me in a proper condition to write. His loss as a Minister is utterly irreparable, in such circumstances as constitute the present dangerous conjuncture for this country, both at home and abroad. But as generals in the present exigency are unavailing, I will contract my thoughts to the consideration of the distressful state of things, looking forward for the resources that may be left for this country, instead of wandering into regrets, which a full heart is apt to do. My object for the public is to support the King in quiet as long as he may have to live, and to strengthen the hands of the Princess of Wales as much as may be, in order to maintain her power in the Government in case of the misfortune of the King's demise. For Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Fox, in point of party, seniority in the Corps, and ability for Treasury and House of Commons business, stands, upon the whole, first of any. Dr. Lee, if his health permits, is *Papabilis*, and in some views very desirable. *Te Quinte Catulle*, my dear George Grenville, would be my nomination. A fourth idea I will mention—to secularise the Solicitor-General, and make him Chancellor of the Exchequer. If eyes are really turned towards any connection of men as a resource against dangers apprehended, that set of men cannot, though willing, answer the expectation without countenance and additional consideration

[1] Thomas Potter to G. Grenville, Bath, 8th February, 1754.
[2] W. Pitt to G. Grenville, 6th March, 1754.

and weight added to them by marks of Royal favour, one of the connection put into the Cabinet, and called to a real participation of councils and business. I don't think quitting of offices at all advisable for public or private accounts; but as to answering any further purposes in the House of Commons, that must depend on the King's will and pleasure to enable us to do so."[1]

In the proposed recast of parts, the primary character of First Lord filled by Mr. Pelham was carefully omitted, as if Pitt instinctively foresaw its appropriation by Newcastle, and the consequent vacancy in the office of Secretary of State. He felt, however, that anything like the premature naming of him as a candidate might rather tend to thwart than to promote his claim, and he therefore requested Lord Temple "to preach prudence and reserve to their friend Sir George."[2] He was still too "crippled and worn down with pain" to think of a journey to town; but he hoped the Earl would convene a meeting of their friends and their gathering about him without ostentation at dinner, with men like Hans Stanley, Sir Richard Lyttelton, the four Yorkes,[3] John Pitt not to be forgotten, and any of the Princess of Wales's Court. Some time since he had been much gratified at hearing that the Princess of Wales had "inquired after his health, an honour not void, perhaps, of some meaning." The advancement of Fox he considered inevitable; and if George Grenville were named in his room Secretary-at-War, he ought to take it. "I have no doubt George Grenville's turn must come; Fox is odious, and will have difficulty to stand in a future time."

To Sir G. Lyttelton Pitt wrote at great length, warning him of the danger of being explicit in any of his communications at such a juncture, but adjuring him to be frankly loyal in tone to the existing Government, and to that which might follow during a minority under the Princess as Regent. He was not to think of giving up office, for its possession was the way to power if their connection were ever to obtain it: but beyond the generalities of support they must not be understood as pledging

[1] To Sir G. Lyttelton and the Grenville Brothers, Bath, 7th March, 1754.

[2] To Earl Temple, 7th March, 1754.

[3] The Chancellor's eldest son sat for Cambridgeshire; the second, Charles, for Reigate; his third, Joseph, for East Grinstead; and his fourth, John, for Higham Ferrers.

themselves. Well might the greatest and purest Statesman of the succeeding decade pronounce this marvellous epistle to have been full of "significant, pompous, creeping, explanatory, ambiguous matter, in the true Chatham-ic style."[1]

To Newcastle the unlooked-for event opened new opportunities for monopolising power. If, like Salisbury in Cromwell's Parliament, he could have been returned for his county, he might become Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Leader of the House of Commons, as well as First Lord: or if a stiff-necked generation were not certain to raise difficulties, he might, like Shrewsbury under Queen Anne, or Sunderland under George I.—retaining his seat in the Peers—hold three great offices at once. Perhaps he might still do something more engrossing, yet in the look of it less egregious. The first seat at the Treasury nobody else should have; but the second seat he might confer on a Commoner, who would lead the House as he was told to do; and ask no questions about the patronage of the department. The Seals of Secretary of State for the Southern Department he had recently given to Holdernesse, upon the understanding that he would attempt nothing, and thwart nothing without his assent: and in Sir T. Robinson, with his large family and small private income, he saw an equally eligible tenant at will for the Northern. Unison in four out of fourteen voices in Cabinet would thus be secured.

Before eight o'clock on the morning of Pelham's death, Fox visited Lord Hartington with a view of obtaining through his influence the vacant place. The Duke of Devonshire was summoned the same day, but did not reach town till three days later.

Fox had expected to be named Pelham's successor at the Exchequer. Bred, like him, in the school of Walpole, he believed in the territorial power of the great families supplemented by pecuniary corruption; and he disbelieved utterly in the stability of any popular sentiment or feeling as a check or counterpoise. He bowed his head to the altar and the Crown as a matter of public decorum which cost him nothing; and he advised his adherents, when opposed in counties or large towns, to play with the questions of the hour, that they might win: but the rubber over the colour of the cards he had held was utterly

[1] Burke's Correspondence, I., 173.

indifferent to him, and speedily forgotten. In tact, force, and readiness in debate Pelham had left him without an equal, and Pitt, though the impact of his eloquence was more irresistible, spent his force in creating surprises, sometimes of ecstasy, sometimes of fear, but seldom of attachment, conviction, or devotion. In sluggish or torpid times Fox was master of majorities, and could afford to enjoy the evanescent bursts of rhetoric from his rival. But no man knew better, perhaps none so well, the difference it would make if evil days should come, when the heart of corruption should fail, and an inspired mountebank would be able for the time to crush the cowardice of the many into momentary submission. Pitt himself was fully conscious of their relative strength and weakness; and, mad as ever man was with ambition to be at the top, he owned frankly that Fox ought to be offered the leadership.

The Cabinet were led by Hardwicke to resolve that Newcastle should succeed his brother at the Treasury; and they desired Hartington in their name to invite Henry Fox to take the Exchequer and Leadership, on condition that the Duke should have the disposal of the Patronage and the Secret Service money, acquainting him with every particular. Fox accepted and received an intimation that the Chancellor had forgiven and forgotten all past offence. But on waiting upon his new chief his Grace chose to disavow the terms made on his behalf, and in spite of all the Master of the Horse could urge, persisted in his right to retain the whole power of the department unconditionally in his own hands. Fox disclaimed any desire to touch a penny of the Secret Service money; or to know the disposition of it, "further than was necessary to enable him to speak to members without appearing ridiculous." The question was, how could the Government be carried on at Westminster? Newcastle, from long experience in venality, believed, perhaps sincerely, that he understood better than anybody else the lowest average price of every necessary vote. Fox, on the other hand, instinctively felt that no one could measure so well, from time to time, the need and the power of beguiling, bamboozling, or buying a shifting majority of an assembly in which his Grace had never sat. As he would not take the second place at the Treasury, and be obliged hourly to own that he had no share in the disposal of patronage, he told the King that he preferred remaining

Secretary-at-War, though not of the Cabinet.[1] Legge was named instead Minister of Finance.

Lord Dartmouth's son had begun life in the Navy, in which, during the earlier portion of the reign, so little opening seemed probable for active service that he left it to embrace a political career. As private secretary to Sir R. Walpole he obtained a nomination to the close borough of Orford, one of those side wickets to the orchard where public fruit grew abundantly, and where it was his own fault if a young man of family and talent did not appropriate a goodly share of what was pleasant to the eye, and good for food. It is classed by Oldfield with Gatton and Old Sarum as a wretched hamlet, which a foreigner would find it difficult to believe could send as many Members to Parliament as some of the largest and most populous counties. The right of election was vested in a mayor, recorder, eight portmen, and twelve burgesses; most of them non-resident and relatives of the owner. He had been Secretary to Devonshire in Ireland, and subsequently Secretary to the Treasury and Treasurer of the Navy. Amiable, sprightly, and indefatigable, he was a favourite with both colleagues and subordinates.

Murray was pre-eminent in skill of fence; master of forensic art, eloquent and versatile in persuasion, apt in citation from precedent and statute; and dexterous beyond compare in excusing and extenuating errors and omissions in those who were reproached with deviating from acknowledged rule. He had neither the wit nor the effrontery of Fox, who had the knack of rescuing an important question from a confused fray of inconsistent and incongruous arguments and carrying it off in safety: and he had not the passionate look or tragic tone which Pitt could assume to frighten the House from some tempting impropriety. But taking him for all in all, Murray was the best worth having of the three for the ordinary business of debate; and the value set upon his aid by Ministers was ineffable.

Lord Gower was told he must resign the Privy Seal on account of his health. It was eventually given to the Duke of Marlborough, while another relative, the Duke of Rutland, was made Lord Steward. Newcastle had succeeded in assuming the sole direction of affairs, and the King, not caring to question the

[1] Henry Fox to Newcastle, 14th March, 1754.—*MS.*

transfer of sovereignty thus accomplished, was said to have kissed hands on being allowed to retain his nominal position.

The wary Chancellor gave Pitt to understand that he had urged his inclusion in the reorganisation of the Government, and that he only refrained through delicacy from telling him all he had said in his favour, pleading the additional strength which real merit like his would impart. But he need not remind him that there were certain things which Ministers could not do directly. But Pitt was not to be satisfied with recognition by deputy and the adjournment of his own claims *sine die*. Nor was he to be fooled by Newcastle's pretence that Sir T. Robinson had been chosen to represent the Government in the House of Commons because "he had *not* those Parliamentary talents which could give jealousy, or in that light set him above the rest of the King's servants there; so that their situation did not receive the least alteration from his promotion; and since from circumstances it was impossible to put one into that office, who had all the necessary qualifications both within and out of the House, nothing could show so great a desire to soften or alleviate that misfortune as the giving into a nomination of Sir Thomas Robinson, under the description above mentioned."[1]

Pitt broke forth in a flood of remonstrance and importunity. His Grace had wisely taken the province of the Treasury to himself, where the powers of Government resided, and which in the crisis of a general election might lay the foundation of the future political system so fast as not to be shaken thereafter. The power of the Purse in the hands of the same family might, he trusted, be so used as to fix all other powers there along with it. "Amidst all the real satisfaction he felt on this great measure so happily taken, it was with infinite reluctance that he was forced to return to the mortifying situation of his Grace's humblest servant. The difficulties grew so fast upon him by the repetition and multiplication of most painful and too-visible humiliations, that his small share of prudence suggested no longer to him any means of colouring them to the world; nor of repairing them to his own mind consistently with his unshaken purpose to do nothing, on any provocation, to disturb the quiet of the King, and the ease and stability of present and future governments. Would his Grace permit a man, whose affectionate attachment he could not doubt,

[1] Newcastle to Pitt, March, 1754.

to expose simply to his view his situation, and then let him entreat his Grace (if he could divest his mind of the great disparity between them) to transport himself for a moment into his place. From the time he had the honour to come into the King's service he had never differed but on two small points—the number of seamen one year which was admitted to be such the next, and on a crying complaint against General Anstruther: and for this how was he punished? An indelible negative was fixed against his name. How had mortifications been multiplied upon him? One Chancellor of the Exchequer over him was at that time destined, Mr. Fox. Since that time a second, Mr. Legge, was fixed. A Secretary of State was next to be looked for in the House of Commons. Mr. Fox was again put over him and destined to that office. He refused the Seals, and Sir Thomas Robinson was immediately put over him, and was now in possession of that great office. Mr. Legge he truly and cordially esteemed and loved, and Sir T. Robinson, with whom he lived in less intimacy, he sincerely believed to be a gentleman of much worth and ability. Nevertheless, he would appeal to his Grace's candour and justice whether upon such feeble pretensions as twenty years' use of Parliament had given him, he had not some cause to feel (as he did most deeply) so many repeated and visible humiliations. In his degraded situation in Parliament, an active part there he was sure his Grace was too equitable to desire him to take; for otherwise than as an associate, and in equal rank with, those charged with Government there he never could take such a part. Things standing as they did, whether he could continue in office without losing himself in the opinion of the world was become matter of very painful doubt to him. He was not sure that his mind carried him more towards retreat than towards Court and business; and the inside of the House must be considered in other respects besides merely numbers, or the reins of Government would soon slip or be wrested out of any Minister's hands."[1]

Newcastle and Hardwicke plied him with assurances that they were doing all that they could for his promotion, but the bitter truth of exclusion could not be disguised. To George Grenville he wrote on the same day: "When the day will dawn (for to my poor eyes it is not even twilight at present) I cannot guess: when

[1] Pitt (from Bath) to Newcastle, 24th March, 1754.—*MS.*

it comes, may it show us a view men will see with pleasure, and not wish to change." Every succeeding post brought additional announcements of promotion or dignities conferred, Lords Hardwicke and Barnard to be Earls, and Hartington to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. But for him there was nothing but civil words and complimentary inquiries. While the counter irritation of resentment was rapidly quelling the fever of gout, he did his best to keep cool. To Temple he said: "Where my sole wishes tend ultimately is to retreat; but when or how?"

Newcastle's reply, as might have been expected, was full of egregious lamentation that the First Lord had not been able to do more for Mr. Pitt's "connection." If he had attempted to do so it might have flung the whole concern into the hands of their enemies. A quarter-of-an-hour's conversation would suffice to make all this clear to his disappointed friend whom he "honored, esteemed, and (if he would allow him to say so) most sincerely loved." Forced himself by the King and the entreaties of his friends to part with an employment which he loved, to go to one where he was entirely unacquainted, he was exposed to envy and reproach, without being sure of anything but the comfort of an honest heart. The King on his own motion declared Sir Thos. Robinson, Secretary of State, an honourable and able man.

They knew he was well with the old Corps. They knew he was happy in Pitt's friendship and that of his connection; and he never could have thought of removing Pitt from the office he then held to the Exchequer, with another person at the head of the Treasury. The two first vacancies—Treasurer of the Navy and Cofferer—were given to his two fast friends, Mr. Grenville and Sir G. Lyttelton, the two offices most agreeable to them. As he (the Duke) stood more in need of his friendship than ever, he hoped for its continuance, which he would do everything in his power to deserve. The Lord Chancellor, with whom he did everything, and without whom he did nothing, saw and knew the truth of what he wrote.[1]

Pitt attached as little value as it deserved to this renewal of the old promissory note, but he did not refuse it. There was no room for him, he well knew, at Woburn or Windsor Lodge, where the influence of Fox was supreme. He agreed, therefore, to be nominated for the pocket borough of his Grace in Yorkshire.

[1] To Pitt, 2nd April, 1754.—*MS.*

He thus acknowledged the favour of his return. "Among the many who will be proud of the honour done them by their constituents none can be with more reason vain of their election than myself, and of the goodness to which they owe it. My satisfaction is abated by one only consideration, that your Grace has been so good to nominate a very useless person, and who, I fear, fills the place of a better man. I consider my political life as some way or other drawing to a conclusion, or rather as arrived at its period. If my private life should, by any of the chances of this world, still afford me an opportunity of marking my attachment to your Grace in anything personal to you, you will find a man not very ungrateful, however insignificant. A thousand respectful and affectionate thanks for your repeated attentions to my health, which, I thank God, promises great amendment."[1] The impulse of sarcasm, however, was not to be restrained by mere reflection on the imprudence of giving way to it. After a day or two's examination of his grievances, the newly appointed Member for Aldborough gave way again to his sense of wrong in his own peculiar style of pompous spite. "How should he find words to express his sense of the great condescension and kindness of expression of the Duke's letter? His attachment should ever be found as unalterable to Government as his inability to be of any use to it had become manifest to all the world. It was most obliging to suggest to him that he might have been much more mortified under another arrangement. But he would own that he should have felt himself far less personally humiliated had Mr. Fox been placed at the head of the House of Commons. The ability of the subject would have warranted the thing. He should, indeed, have been much mortified for his Grace and the Lord Chancellor, and very little for his own particular, could Mr. Murray's selection have placed him at the head of the House of Commons. He should have served under him with the greatest pleasure. He acknowledged, as much as the rest of the world, his superiority in every respect. He wished thenceforth only for some decent opportunity of retreat, not of resentment, but of despair:"[2] another mode of saying that his vote should be as theretofore at the service of the Government, not his tongue. Why, after twenty years' success in Parliament, and the

[1] To Newcastle, from Bath, April, 1754.—*MS.*

[2] Pitt to Newcastle, 4th April, 1754.

possession for several years of the lucrative Pay Office, which he still held, this most incomprehensible of men should have stooped to clutch a sinecure seat from the man who he felt had wronged him, it passes human understanding to explain. He had hardly ever been without official income of some sort; he was not a man of pleasure, and he was still a bachelor. His grandfather's house in Pall Mall was still his own, and we do not hear of the purchase of a book or picture. To the Chancellor and the new First Lord he disclaimed by degrees the reproach of being sick, and in a few weeks of being lame.

"It is very kind to suggest a ray of distant general hope to a man you see despairing, and to turn his view forward from the present scene to the future. But having set out under suggestions of this general hope ten years gone by, and bearing long a load of obloquy for supporting Government and never obtaining in recompense the smallest remission of that displeasure I vainly laboured to soften, all ardour for public business is extinguished in my mind. The weight of irremovable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under: it must crush any man; it has sunk and broken me. I succumb, and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent retreat, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the stream of promotion, for ever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river." He only wished to retire with a provision suitable to the offices he had hitherto filled.[1] It was sought to sooth his vexation at being passed over by the appointment of his brother-in-law, George Grenville, as Treasurer of the Navy. They were, up to this time, fast friends, and lived on the most intimate terms; but if Newcastle dreamed that the specious egotist was to be propitiated at second hand he knew not the man.

Pitt felt deeply the conduct of those who had hitherto professed to regard him as their leader, but by whom he was now practically forsaken. So long as his unfaltering claim for himself and them to a fair share of power seemed likely to be attended with success, they were as trusty and trusted intimates, unstinted in their approval, and in confidence unreserved. No thought of severance on either hand seems to have chilled their cordiality in private or their ostensible unity in action: yet when the gate

[1] Pitt to Hardwicke, Bath, 6th April, 1754.

was slammed by the monopolists in his face, and then held ajar for their admission, the impulse of self-love overcame the memories of the past, and, without affecting hesitation or regret, Grenville and Lyttelton left their old chief excluded and alone. His pride would not suffer him to question or grudge the change in his lieutenant's position, and he even indulged in the magnanimity of gratulation. But their desertion wounded to the quick his susceptible spirit, and wrought an ineffable change in the whole tenour of his life. Friendships on which he had set so much value, and by which he subsequently proved how fervid was his disposition to abide, had suddenly withered into the dimensions of common-place prudence; and he could not foresee if the like would ever grow by his side again. For companionship, confidence, and sympathy from his own sex he was left to suffer and contend in the bitterness of solitude. Though nothing of an anchorite, he had lived too exclusively with men vexed by the toils and hardened by the disappointments of ambition. He would rely rather in time to come on the devotion and unselfishness of a woman, whom he believed he could inspire with enthusiasm for his lofty aims and zeal for his cause in sunshine or in shower. He would choose, not for beauty or for fortune, one worthy to be his privy councillor, confessor, other self; and if she brought him social consideration he otherwise failed to command, he would not the less wed for esteem rather than from caprice or passion. He kept his resolve, and his marriage soon after to Lady Hester Grenville proved the wisest act of his chequered life.

With the single exception of the brief impromptu on the Berwick petition, the Paymaster-General did not deign to open his lips during the Session of 1754-5. There was an armed truce between him and Fox, and like the offended hero of the "Iliad," he dwelt apart digesting his wrath.

George Grenville was bred to the law, in which his untiring diligence promised him affluence if not distinction. His kinsman Lord Cobham insisted, however, on his taking a political part; and his brother gave him a seat for Bucks. Cautious and learned, he was at first noted rather for assiduity than enterprise in Opposition, and he possessed neither the charm of Murray, nor the dramatic power of his great rival in debate; but when he undertook to explain a difficulty or afford information about

something new, the House instinctively listened to one they thought they could trust; and who if he never amused or excited, never deceived them. Henry Pelham, whom he somewhat resembled, appreciated his value, and contributed to his early attainment of office; and Pitt naturally looked to him long as likely to form one of the main stays of his accession to power. Long before he had broken the doors of the Cabinet, Grenville had sat at the Board of Admiralty, had been a Lord of the Treasury, and now with his approval he was made Treasurer of the Navy.

Meanwhile, the state of things in Ireland had become not a little embarrassing. When the two Houses had been dismissed by Proclamation, without the courtesy of a Message or a Speech, and examples had been made of functionaries guilty of self-respect, the Lord-Lieutenant, in fulfilment of his instructions, sought in personal confidence to bring Speaker Boyle to a better way of thinking. He had dwelt on the lenity shown him in his continuance as Chancellor of the Exchequer while others less responsible had been made to feel the weight of Executive wrath. Government had a right to ask his intentions for the future, and if he were disposed to retain their confidence by lending them his support. The Speaker asked if he was expected to quit his friends? The Duke replied that should they refuse to join him his quitting them would be the necessary consequence of his serving the King. Boyle said it was a matter of great consideration with him, and he must take time before he gave an answer. His Excellency complained of the uproarious assemblages denunciatory of the Government, in which the Speaker's name was always hailed as that of the leader, and all respect for higher authority set at nought. Boyle could not deny that like Lord Kildare he had sometimes been present at convivial gatherings where politics were discussed, and his health drunk as a pledge of popular feeling; but he had never instigated or abetted unseemly language, and could not be responsible for what took place in his absence. At subsequent interviews no progress was made towards accommodation of differences. Whether the Speaker was the leader of his party, or was led by it, if the party was suffered to prevail, the authority of Government would be manifestly over-born and the acknowledgment of a Constitutional dependence of Ireland on England be thrown far back. There

seemed no other way open but a vigorous and resolute exertion of authority by taking power out of the hands of those who had used it amiss; and by settling a uniform Administration among those who were disposed to serve the Government There was nothing for the present to be guarded against but the impertinence of the populace, of which, however, there had been much more talk than reality. The people there were liable to sudden starts and suspicions, and that disposition had been industriously cultivated by money, as well as by every other bad method; and before another Session, if the Government made a stand, the majority of the House of Commons would be with it. It was Dorset's opinion that the stand should be then made.[1]

Before the ink was dry, or Lord G. Sackville, the bearer of this despatch, left Dublin, news came of the unlooked-for death of Pelham; and when delivered his surviving colleagues were too busy with the reconstruction of the Cabinet to pay immediate attention to Irish affairs.

Full of his new obligations, Newcastle did not like the prospect of an open conflict between the Castle and the Parliament at College Green, and he not unnaturally bethought him of a device, for which a prolonged recess would afford facilities, for avoiding the perplexing issue raised. He sent the Viceroy's letter to Grenville with a suggestion that, instead of superseding Dorset, Hartington might be sent as Lord Deputy to Ireland, where his family connections might unofficially tend to bring about an accommodation. The Lord President considered the thought a good one, and the person named very proper, "but how was he to be paid if the Lord-Lieutenant retained the salary? Lord Ossory when Deputy under his father, had the whole salary, which was vastly advantageous both to father and son. Ireland would not be charged to keep Dorset in the Government. Whence, then, should it come?"[2] When informed of the project, his Excellency strongly demurred. He professed to have no objection personally to the choice to be made, but he thought he was entitled to be consulted before any step was taken. He believed the nomination suggested would discourage influential friends of Government to a degree that no explanations could clear up, and he requested that nothing further should be done

[1] Dorset to Secretary of State, 9th March, 1754.—*MS.* from Dublin Castle.

[2] Granville to Newcastle, 19th March, 1754.—*MS.*

in the affair until he had an opportunity of explaining his sentiments in person to the King.[1] Hartington declined to go as Deputy. Lord Hertford was then appealed to, and he seems to have consented; but as difficulties multiplied and the agitation in Ireland subsided, with the continued prorogation of Parliament, the project was laid aside.[2]

Archbishop Stone and Chancellor Jocelyn, created Lord Newport, were for the fifth time named Lords Justices: Speaker Boyle being no longer associated with them in the Commission, but in his stead Lord Besborough, than whom the Primate thought no one in Ireland was more eligible. For the next twelve months Ireland was governed by them.

The Paymaster's popularity in the City was but still in the shrub, but growing fast towards the timber height, under which presently all fowls of the air, clean and unclean, could take shelter. Beckford was the personal channel of communication usually between Guildhall and Hayes; immensely proud of Pitt's condescending familiarity, and immensely over-valued amongst his brother Aldermen for being supposed to have his confidence. When patriotically outspoken at St. Stephen's, the Treasury Bench whispered one to another, "What does Pitt mean now?" and when he consented to abandon some threatening motion, Lords of the Treasury chuckled at the conviction that a truce had been concluded with Stowe. Beckford's brother stood for Bristol at the General Election. Against him Government supported Nugent, but higgled regarding the expense. Newcastle acquainted the King that he had an offer from Mr. Hanbury, the Quaker, engaging to indemnify the Ministerial candidate to the extent of £10,000. The Friends were all working hard against Beckford. His Majesty wrote in reply, "I am exceedingly obliged to the Friends for the great zeal and affection they show on this occasion."[3] All good Whigs preferred to have Sir John Phillips, a broken Jacobite, rather than Beckford, a "wild West Indian." The First Lord took care, as usual, to exercise his authority in the various places subject to his sway. The returns generally realised the hopes of Government; all the letters on the subject being forwarded to the King, who signified his satisfaction in writing.

[1] To Newcastle from Dublin, 7th April, 1754.—*MS.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 27th April, 1754.—*MS.*
[3] April, 1754.—*MS.*

In a long interview at Newcastle House, Dodington renewed the engagements he had made with Pelham to carry six seats for the Government at his own expense, and, if possible, to keep Lord Egmont out of Bridgewater. He would bargain for no office, but he expected that he should be brought into the Government; the Treasurership of the Navy he would like best. The Duke asked, did he stipulate for any appointment before the elections; and on being told that the time and occasion would be left wholly to his discretion, he took his confiding visitor in his arms and kissed him twice. A few days later the *Gazette* announced that all the places had been filled up; nevertheless, the faithful contractor for seats set out with Dr. Sharp for Bridgewater; and after canvassing the town "spent three days in the infamous and disagreeable compliance with the low habits of venal wretches."[1] He was, however, beaten by Lord Egmont at the poll by the injustice, as he said, of the returning officer. On coming to town he was received with much show of affection by the First Lord of the Treasury, with thanks for Weymouth, where he had succeeded in bringing in his men; and sorrow for Bridgewater, where he had not; though it had cost him £2,500, for which he produced the bills. His Grace said he had acted nobly, but he thought the borough was lost.

Sandwich, through the influence of his connections in Cornwall, counted on having two supporters for the wretched borough of Michell; and having made the returning officer safe, was gratified by what was called the election of John Stephenson, of whom nothing is known, and Robert Clive, whose 'prentice work of conquest in India had already made him the half of a name. Newcastle had pitted against them Richard Hussey, a barrister of fair repute, and Simon Luttrell, whose infamy was yet immature, and the protracted controversy on whose claim for the seats engrossed no little attention of politicians in the new Parliament. Fox warmly espoused the cause of the sitting Members, and in several divisions they held their ground. But the Duke was not to be worried or scared from his purpose, and in the end he prevailed. Clive went back to Madras to organise the conquest of Bengal, and Luttrell took his place at St. Stephen's.

Potter's familiar epistles fatuously preserved by Wilkes, whose

[1] Dodington's Diary, 16th April, 1754.

name for the first time now appears in electoral records, attest the depravity of the well-matched friends. Occasional gleams of wit seem lost in the lurid glare of wantonness. In 1753, being himself well-versed in the expensive game of electioneering, Potter advised his friend to put some money on the table at Berwick, where the voters were not too numerous or too nice. The senior Member, Mr. Watson, was tolerably safe, but he would not coalesce with anyone, and Lord Barrington had no influence. Still there was need of skilful play as well as ready cash. The voters piqued themselves on being independent, which only meant that they were impartial; and if an opposing candidate should give £20 a-man and get 150 votes, as he thus might do, he might still lose it.[1]

Plymouth seemed an easier seat to Barrington, and Mr. Delaval, a man of property in the neighbourhood, offered to become his successor. The constituency was not supposed to be insensible to realistic art, and from town there came an opposing candidate, who, though not handsome, had the best air of fashion; though not an orator, had witchery on his tongue; and, though a stranger, was within a week as much at home as if he had bathed in boyhood in the Tweed. John Wilkes, then just twenty-seven, was the gayest, readiest, and if not the wittiest, by all accounts the pleasantest and most persuasive man of his time. Fully equipped with all the munitions of political warfare, and furnished with more money than he could afford to spend, he had come from far for the sake of winning a seat. "Uncorrupting and promising to be ever uncorrupted, as he would never take a bribe, so he would never offer one, he had no private views; his sole ambition was to serve his country and to contribute to the preservation of the invaluable privileges which the nation enjoyed beyond any other in the world." Nothing, in short, could be loftier than his vows of patriotism, or lower than his practical methods of enforcing them. Stern protestations of self-denial and disbelief in sordid motives were soon understood as compatible with payments in ready money for independent support; and, though some were faithless found, nearly two hundred men of the border kept their word at the poll. But Wilkes was beaten, and was only consoled by the assurance of Potter that he would not have long to wait for a

[1] From Grosvenor Square, 15th March, 1753.—*MS.*

seat in the Commons. Meanwhile his friend introduced him to Pitt, with whom he was specially intimate, and to whom thenceforth he professed himself to be devoted. His associates in scandalous pleasure were not all indeed of the same way of political thinking; and the names of the Medmenham Club belonged to rival factions. Sandwich was the confidant of the Duke of Bedford, and Dashwood of Lord Bute. But Potter and Wilkes were constant guests at Stowe, and frequent visitors at Hayes; and whatever their personal backslidings, they long adhered to the Great Commoner, as they would have him called. The son of the late Primate was, perhaps, the most intrepid and incorrigible of the circle to which Churchill and Paul Whitehead belonged. Wilkes and he were inseparable. He was indignant, he said, at the idiots of the Border who did not vote for his friend. "Lord Barrington was a wise man. He knew them, and therefore he left them. Nothing could preserve you from the imputation of lunacy but that you did not know the rascals. Had it not been for that damned Berwick, you might now have been member for Bristol, with Nugent. I could have brought it about that you should have joined him. My disappointment is greater than I can express."[1] In the midst of which Wilkes wrote to him full of his usual levity, but enclosing a printed report of his speech on the hustings so full of point that Potter begged he would bring Taylor, the printer, to town to make like orations for him next Session, which would soon make him a politician of note. Was this Wilkes's first proof of the signal gift of audacity, the cultivation of which was to become his mainstay in public life?

To retrieve the discomfiture, Potter consoled him by saying how often Pitt and he laughed together at a profane parody on the Creed his friend had sent him. Pitt and George Grenville would be in town next week, and he advised Wilkes to "take no measure without their advice." He grieved to add that the fire and spirit of their illustrious friend was about to be quenched in matrimony with Lady Hester Grenville. "Yesterday at dinner we read over your parody, and he bid me tell you you were as wicked and agreeable as ever."[2]

Wilkes having petitioned against the return for Berwick on

[1] 1st May, 1754. T. Wilkes *MS.*

[2] To Wilkes, 27th October, 1754.—*MS.*

the ground of bribery by the sitting Member, Mr. Delaval sought to turn the charges into ridicule, and amused the House with comic notices of the contest, till the gravity of the question was forgotten in general merriment. Pitt came down from the gallery and broke forth in a torrent of rebuke and remonstrance, which Fox described as the noblest specimen of eloquence he had ever heard. He warned the House against drifting nearer, as they had lately done, to the brink of irretrievable degradation. Would they by trifling with ostentatious corruption obliterate the memory of their former greatness and become a little insignificant assembly, fit only to register the arbitrary will of one too powerful subject? Fox describes Murray as sitting still and looking miserable, and the Speaker as overwhelming Pitt with congratulations on his speech.[1]

The natural consequence of Pelhamism, unchecked by opposition, founded on any great principle of public policy, was the increase of electoral corruption. There being nothing worth fighting for or rallying under as a flag, everyone who was half in earnest or not in earnest at all in old predilection, thought himself at liberty to fight for his own hand. Between the two hereditary camps there fluctuated a somewhat incongruous contingent which seldom held completely together, and in broken ranks was seldom absent on the day of battle. But its members for the most part were so pretentious in their claims to patriotism, and so varied in their pleas of justification for holding subordinate place, that the Muster-master of either side could rarely feel secure where they would be found in division. Of the Lytteltons, there were in the new Parliament but three; of the kinsfolk of old Governor Pitt there were six, and two of the Grenvilles, beside nominees of each Parliamentary family. Newcastle's dependents numbered still two score and ten.

The Parliament of 1754 was good beyond expectation for Ministers. There were more Whigs than in any since the Revolution; the Ministry counted 213 majority, 37 doubtful. They had nothing to fear from Opposition if they could only keep their friends together. "The further reduction of debt and the preservation of peace would be their chief care; and no cause for anxiety regarding the latter loomed in sight, save from the occasional encroachments of the French in Canada, and their

[1] To Hartington, 26th November, 1754.

persistent restoring of the works at Dunkirk. If new forts, erected on our side of the boundary line in America were promptly demolished, National rights would be best asserted from time to time before any accumulation of grounds of complaint should arise; and rather than kindle any new quarrel with France it might be better to let the works at Dunkirk go on without for the present noticing them. The evacuation of the neutral Islands was an object to be brought about by diplomacy, but the behaviour of the French was said to have been abominable."[1] From the Bay of Fundy to the swamps of the Savannah, claims of first discovery or preoccupation had from time to time been made by the Catholic missionaries, naval officers, and colonists from France, whereof Walpole made a point of hearing as little and the Pelhams of believing no more than could be helped. Bedford frequently sought to direct attention to the expediency of challenging adverse pretensions, and the necessity of asserting British sovereignty over the vacant regions that still lay beyond the limits of actual settlement. But to jealous and paltering colleagues he spoke as one that mocked. He was thanked with effusion and promised support; but German affairs always interposed; and the more convenient season never came. The English and Scotch settlers in North America were seriously threatened with eviction by their French neighbours in Arcadie. Shirley, the Governor of New England, repeatedly urged the dispossession of the French in Nova Scotia ere the forts they were building there should be made too strong. He lamented that so much time had been lost, and recommended before any open rupture with France that an adequate force should be dispatched for the removal of the works erected on our territory, or if that were impossible, that orders might be sent authorising detachments of militia from New England, where serious apprehensions began to be felt at the menacing aspect of affairs. He proposed that the settlements on the river should be strengthened and new ones planted.

Sir T. Robinson, early in August, received a despatch from Governor Dinwiddie, reporting the brave but baffled defence made by George Washington and his 300 militia at Fort Necessity on the western verge of Virginia, which was suddenly

[1] Newcastle Corresp., May, 1754.—*MS.*

attacked by an outnumbering force of French and Indians; and which, after a third of his little band were disabled, he was forced to abandon.[1] Had the other colonies rendered timely support, the position need not have been lost. But their lack of concert rendered the position extremely perilous; and it was clear that preparations had long been making by their jealous rivals with the aid of the native tribes to repel English settlers from any nearer approach to the Allegheny Range. The Cabinet was summoned to consider the consequences, now too obvious, of neglecting to carry into effect betimes the forethoughtful plans of Bedford for organising colonial defence; and the First Lord prepared to urge in his next audience the need of taking vigorous measures to defend Virginia and Carolina from impending attack. "We must assist the colonies from hence; the French must be drove out."[2] A scheme of contributive supply by the colonies for united defence, with power in each province to raise sufficient troops in proportion to its population by vote of its Assembly, was prepared by the Board of Trade for approval by the Cabinet, and was ultimately adopted by all the colonies. The commander of the united contingents of militia and of forces sent from Great Britain was to be the officer sent from home; and care was taken "to adapt the plan to the local constitution of each colony." It was not proposed that Government should repudiate its responsibility, military, naval, or financial; but that the emigrant communities beyond the sea should recognise the contributive duty of their own defence, which their growth to maturity daily made more plain.[3]

Everyone was full of the disaster on the Ohio, and the King naturally pressed Ministers to decide on measures to retrieve a defeat which, though small in numbers, was felt to be a signal humiliation. Before the Cabinet again met, the First Lord unburdened himself to the Chancellor of his new perplexities, and the Princess, who had thus far taken little part in political intrigues, showed a disposition as her son grew up to make her opinions and misgivings known. She hated and feared the Duke of Cumberland, and more than ever suspected Fox, in consequence of his frequent visits to Lady Yarmouth, of a design to grasp the

[1] Articles of Capitulation, 3rd July, 1754.
[2] Private memorandum for the King, 6th August, 1754.—*MS.*
[3] Dunk Halifax to Newcastle, 15th August, 1754.—*MS.*

Leadership on his own terms respecting patronage. Newcastle, still unyielding on that vital point, told the King that he was ready to inform the Secretary-at-War of the plans and intentions of Ministers for the Session, but that the Leadership had better be divided between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary Robinson, and the Paymaster-General. George II. "ran out against Pitt," whom, he said, they had unwisely given an office that enabled him to be troublesome and exacting; but if Pitt behaved ill Fox might have his place, and that would set all right. Unwilling to meet Fox in close conference, Newcastle proposed to communicate with him through Hartington.[1] The only matter on which Hardwicke's reply was clear was against sanctioning Pitt's proposed Highland levies for service in America, which the Duke of Cumberland reprobated as troops raised for the Pretender. Affairs in North America might still be put in a good condition if adequate measures were taken early the next spring and proper officers sent thither with arms, clothing, and money to raise recruits in the colonies during the winter. When that was done, it would give great spirit to the people and forward the design of a general concert. It was then so late in the year that any regular force that they might send could not arrive time enough to act before the winter came on. When officers were fixed on, they should be sent away speedily, and with as little noise as possible, and before the spring all means should be used to gain the Indians by presents, and demonstrating to them that it was intended to protect them as well as ourselves. If all this had been done twelve months before, expense had been saved which must now be incurred.[2]

Advice so vigorous served only to rekindle the embers of the jealousy that of late seemed dead; and Newcastle, without discussing its merits, set himself forthwith to thwart it. He could not think of asking Parliament to undertake an expenditure so great as the Lord President recommended, and he would not be responsible for a policy that might provoke France to go to war.[3]

[1] 21st September, 1754.—*MS.*

[2] Granville to Newcastle, 22nd September, 1754.—*MS.*

[3] To A. Stone, 28th September, 1754.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## HENRY FOX SECRETARY OF STATE.

### 1754-1755.

Legge Finance Minister—Oscillations in the Cabinet—Pitt and Fox Malcontent—Jobbing at the War Office—Fox Secretary of State—Influence of Lady Yarmouth—On the Brink—Scene at Lord Hillsborough's—Scandal at Kew—Pitt Mutinous—Dismissals from Office—Proposed Marriage of Prince of Wales.

GOVERNMENT majorities have often proved dangerously great. That with which Ministers were elated at Easter threatened to fall to pieces in autumn. Pitt's chagrin at being passed over, Temple's open opposition, and the "pragmatical discontent of Legge," led to the formation of a new project at Holland House. Fox was more intimate than ever with Devonshire, and in August paid more than one visit to Lady Yarmouth, to whom he had told the story of his refusal of the Leadership in the Commons, and of the negotiations between himself and Ministers, which, he said, had better never have been begun. All this, of course, was to be repeated to the King, that he might be brought to believe in the offer having been insincere. Legge's vanity was looked on as the cause of his alienation from the head of the Treasury, who would place no confidence in anybody in the Lower House but the Attorney-General; and the reproach was not indistinctly whispered that a Government calling itself Whig should be led by a Tory. In confidence to Hardwicke, the Duke recounted all the circumstances of dissatisfaction, dwelling especially on the jealousy entertained of his friend Murray. The Princess of Wales, for reasons of her own, was likewise uneasy at the apparent weakness of Administration; and though Fox had never stood well at Leicester House, rather

than suffer the existing state of things to continue she had suggested, through Stone, that some means should be found of securing his active aid. The new First Lord did not disguise the contempt he had for his recently appointed colleagues.

He scoffed at their Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had lately taken airs of offended dignity at not being duly consulted. "That little creature Legge" was not worth considering. Holdernesse and Robinson were not even mentioned as of any value in the calculation. Of more importance, evidently, seemed the imputation that his Grace was governed by his Under-Secretary and the Attorney-General. He had "the greatest regard, opinion, and affection for them, but he was not, and never had been, governed by either of them. He knew their ability and integrity. In some things he might differ from them; but he also knew that their fidelity to the King, and their attachment to himself, had brought all the clamour upon them; and, therefore, in justice, gratitude, and common sense he was obliged to resist it, and to assign the true cause of it, whenever and wherever he could. Ministers had as good a body of friends in the House of Commons as ever men had. They had the King, they had the Nation, and should have the House of Lords. He hoped they would not suffer three ambitious men in the House of Commons (of whom two were guilty of the highest ingratitude), to defeat all their designs for the public good."[1]

Newcastle proposed to pay a visit to Wimpole, where he wished Grafton to meet him, that they might concert with its learned owner their measures in the new Parliament, on which he proposed to take the opinion of the King before anything else was done. Hardwicke was adverse to such a deviation from established usage. "It certainly was very material to digest and settle the great lines of the scheme for the Session, but he was doubtful whether it would be right to introduce a practice of laying such a scheme in writing before the King. He believed it was never done."[2]

American defence was one of the urgent matters of conference. Another was of subsidy to Russia. It was an old saying, "You may buy gold too dear." Nothing could defeat it but the unreasonableness and feebleness of that Court. If they could

[1] 3rd September, 1754.—*MS.*

[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 7th Sept., 1754.—*MS.*

come up to Bestucheff's private price, he might abate somewhat of that of his mistress.[1]

Murray was more outspoken than usual with regard to French encroachments. It would be terrible to be beat in North America, where we were ten to one. If the French kept the ground they had got, they would soon be masters of the tobacco trade, for which France herself was the best market. Would it be impossible to send over immediately a number of officers, including sergeants and corporals who had seen service? In Ireland all the corps were over-officered. By this means we might avail ourselves of the superiority of our numbers. One of our ships might carry as many officers as were necessary, with engineers, arms, and stores for 20,000 men, but it would be very difficult and expensive to transport either from Britain or France half that number of troops. He had heard that the Governor of New York was not to be depended on. Would it not be of consequence immediately to send a military man of the best figure and understanding that could be got for that Government? This must greatly affect all their schemes for the next Session, because everybody would see a war in Europe nearer than he hoped it was.[2] Pitt agreed with Granville's suggestions, and talked upon the affair of North America very highly. Our position there must be supported in all events, and at all risks. He was for sendnig three regiments and raising some thousand men in America; they should do it once for all; it was not to be done merely by troops from Europe: there France would be too strong for them. They should do something to stimulate the colonists.

The Duke's proposal for infantry fell infinitely too short. On the eve of the Session, notice to their friends in the Commons to attend might be issued, as directed by Mr. West. The principal Members were to dine with the First Lord. "Should he ask Mr. Fox?"[3]

In reply, Hardwicke dwelt anew on the danger of lighting up a war in Europe, and the consequent expense if they provoked the French by going from place to place on the frontiers, carrying on hostilities, instead of being confined to reprisals on the

[1] To Hardwicke, "Most secret," 1st Sept., 1754.—*MS.*
[2] Murray to Newcastle, 7th Sept., 1754.—*MS.*
[3] To Hardwicke, 2nd Oct., 1754.—*MS.*

Ohio. He did not venture to advise suspending immediate preparation, but trusted the entire expenditure would be kept upon a frugal footing. As Pitt was strong for vigorous measures, they might count on his backing them in Parliament; but it was something remarkable to find that gentleman taking a measure of the Duke's so strongly to heart, and arguing even to carry it further. He thought that set used to be against warlike measures. The last general war began from America, and possibly another might do so, but that was no reason why everything necessary should not be done.[1]

Even time-serving Newcastle was glad of any pretext for not attempting vigorous action. He would advise the sending of a Major-General and some staff officers, but in the existing state of foreign affairs, and in the first Session of a Parliament naturally heated with contested elections, nothing provocative ought to be attempted.[2]

On coming to town, Hardwicke found the King full of ideas of Administrative change on points of importance. He was evidently much impressed with the counsels of his son regarding Colonial defence, and only apprehensive that the requisite supplies would not be forthcoming if the conduct of business were not confided to someone who could speak with experience and ability in Parliament. The return of Bedford to office had likewise been suggested, no doubt through Lady Yarmouth; and this, it was supposed, might be effected by sending him to Ireland in Dorset's room. All tended to one point—the necessity of a single leader in the Lower House. The promotion of Fox would put an end to the Duke's monopoly of power as chief Minister; still Newcastle hesitated.

Fox, who appreciated the true nature of the emergency, and fully grasped the irresolution and imbecility of the Cabinet, made no scruple of pushing on each step of the preparations which it was thought they had agreed to and were rather afraid they had; but which his intimacy with Bedford taught him to regard as liable to the last minute to be revoked or indefinitely adjourned. He perfectly understood that the fixed idea of Hardwicke was to do nothing, or as nearly nothing as possible, that would entail serious expenditure abroad; that of Newcastle

[1] 3rd October, 1754.—*MS.*
[2] 27th Sept., 1754.

to do nothing to-day that could be deferred to next week or next year; and nothing, even contingently, that was suggested by any of those whom he suspected of wishing to undermine him. Holdernesse and Robinson were simply his creatures, who, from one day to another, never showed what they thought. Granville, on the other hand, whenever sufficiently aroused to volunteer a suggestion, or to answer, whenever he could not be passed over, had usually something to say that was to the purpose: sometimes not a little that was disturbing; and Legge, who was out of sorts with himself and the world in general, perceiving the perplexities that awaited him in the impending Session, had no better answers to give to reasonable questions than jibes and sneers.

Fox began to worry himself by anticipation at the intolerable figure he would cut, as representing the War Department, if obliged to confess that nothing effectual had been actually done; and that, not being in the Cabinet, he could not answer for what would be done to make good our Transatlantic position.

Pitt had spoken so warmly and so openly in the sense Fox used to do to Lady Yarmouth, Prince William, and Sandwich, that there was no longer any difference to fear in debate on questions relating to America. They were near three hours alone together the other day.[1]

Fox resolved to lose not an hour in acting on the first outline of instructions from the War Office, and, having hurried on all necessary preparations, sought, if possible, to commit the irresolute Cabinet by advising them at full length, in the *Gazette*, of all that had been done. His announcement on the 6th October to the First Lord of the Treasury and the Secretary of State must have been received with the sensations of men, half asleep and half dressed, on the intrusion of a porcupine. It bristled all over with sharp and unavoidable reminders of what had to be encountered without delay. He had seized the first opportunity for setting in motion the whole preparations—regimental, ordnance, commissariat, stores, and equipment of all sorts, for raising the new regiments decided on, so that the expedition might embark with the least possible delay, and with every promise of efficiency.

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 12th Oct., 1754.—*MS.*

The First Lord bewailed his ill-fortune in having to endure such presumption on the part of a Secretary-at-War. He had always been for separating the two expeditions, but the Secretary-at-War, without knowing either the state or real design of either, had (he supposed by order) pushed them both at once, and with such precipitation that great confusion must arise. He resolved to speak to the King, and to advise that all the orders, which he had consented to sign, might be suspended till they had met and talked over things with the Secretary-at-War. His Majesty said he was surprised when Fox brought him the orders to sign for raising Shirley's and Pepperel's Regiments now, "but he told me it was to be so; and what could I do?" Newcastle did not venture to say, "not sign them"; but he was happy in having obtained an assurance that everything should be suspended. Was anything ever like the advertisement in the *Gazette*?[1] The notice from the War Office ordered "that the officers appointed to command the regiments to be raised in America should repair forthwith to their posts; those at present in Great Britain embark at London, and those in Ireland at Cork."[2]

Fox, having once taken the bit in his mouth, had no notion of letting it go. As if no attempt had been made to stop him, he gave orders to Mr. Pitcher on the 25th October to go into the city and find out the captain with whom he was to settle his departure for America. He brought the letter to Secretary Robinson, who thought it lucky he had had the proper instructions prepared, with which he went to the Chancellor to confer on what should be done. The Keeper of the Great Seal considered it an attempt of Mr. Fox to catch them unprovided, and to lay the blame, according to events, upon the governors not having even provisional instruction or notice, in time, against the arrival of a Commander-in-Chief or of the troops themselves; *but*, as instructions were to be sent, it would be better to send them now than to run the risk of being blamed.

In consequence of his opinion, the letters were modelled with the Chancellor, and it was agreed that they should be sent accordingly, without remark or alteration, and they would be delivered to Mr. Pitcher as soon as they could be wrote fair. Sir Thomas asked plaintively that he should have back these

[1] Newcastle to the Chancellor, 12th Oct., 1754.—*MS.*

[2] *London Gazette*, 8th Oct., 1754.

valuable documents, that they might be shown to the Duke of Cumberland, in order that H.R.H. might be persuaded that nothing had been omitted or delayed.[1] He was evidently beginning to have misgivings as to what might prove the uppermost power in the time to come.

Summer had passed away with scarce a premonitory sound of resentment from Hayes or Holland House at the resolve of the Cabinet to over-lord it at Westminster. But by the time the new Parliament met it was understood that Pitt had broken with the Duke, who, he said, had deceived him; and Fox amused himself more openly than ever with sarcasms at the First Lord's expense. Neither resigned secondary office, and neither could vote with Opposition; but on nominally neutral questions of order or Procedure, Pitt devoted himself to criticising Murray, Fox taking similar pains with Legge, both conspiring in malice to develop into palpable absurdity the weakness and incoherence of Robinson's remarks on foreign affairs. Between the damaging attentions of the tragic Paymaster and the comic Secretary-at-War, Government had by Christmas begun to look ridiculous even in the eyes of a majority that had cost so much; but so long as the Patronage Whip could report a preponderance of three or four score in divisions on unimportant questions, the First Lord was unmoved, and the Cabinet resolved to stir none of more dangerous dimensions.

When the process of sapping and mining was carried on rather too openly, and the great Tribune celebrated his nuptials with Lord Temple's sister by a speech that was said to have more of a *Pittic* tone than had been heard of late, it was thought prudent to try what could be done to break up the mutinous confederacy. Might it not be possible to capture Fox by an offer of a seat in the Cabinet? A feeler was moreover conveyed through Sir George Lyttelton to Bedford to ascertain if he, like Grenville, would rejoin his old colleague; but the offer being spurned, the envoy was promptly disavowed.[2] It was said, and generally believed, that Pitt would be turned out, Fox being retained. Bath said it reminded him of what happened at the Gunpowder Plot. The Lord Chamberlain, being sent to inspect the vaults under St. Stephen's, reported that he found

[1] To Newcastle, 26th Oct., 1754.—*MS.*

[2] H. Walpole to Mann, 1st and 13th December, 1754.

five-and-twenty barrels of gunpowder, and that, having removed ten of them, he hoped the remaining fifteen would not do much harm.

Not content with snubbing Legge into submission, and scoffing at the notion of any more independent or responsible leader than Robinson or him, Newcastle suffered the time of meeting to approach before settling definitely who should issue the usual circular, and he proposed that it should be issued in the name of Mr. West, the Secretary to the Treasury. Hardwicke quietly put aside this blunder by the remark that the proper person to invite their friends' attendance was the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Colonel Conway undertook at length to perform the duty. Legge acquitted himself fairly in the estimation of his friends, and was congratulated at Court thereupon; but Robinson found him, on the Treasury Bench, cold and abstracted, as if distrustful, for some reason,[1] of the position, and well he might be, if he had any inkling of the counter-moves in contemplation. The First Lord, by way of taking upon himself, ostensibly, the paramount Leadership of the two Houses, gave a grand Parliamentary dinner to the principal Members of both, and deliberately left out Fox, though holding high Executive office.

How little the Ducal device of driving a full team through the narrow ways of Westminster by a long rein was likely to answer soon appeared. One after another of the creatures warranted safe to go in harness shied when asked to second the Address, and more than one excused himself. As if in mockery, Legge asked John Yorke, the Chancellor's son, a young and unripe politician, who would at least be sure to say what he was bidden; but Hardwicke had too much good sense, after enlisting his son-in-law, Lord Breadalbane, to do as much for them in the Upper House, to allow the last of his progeny to perform that function on the same day in the Lower. What would people say? He did not mind writing the Speech, but he did not choose to be laughed at for having composed both the Replies,[2] and once more talked freely to Legge, who urged that the cards must be newly shuffled, and they must have a Leader of the House who would go to the King and explain to him what was

[1] To Newcastle, 16th Nov., 1754.—*MS.*

[2] To Newcastle, 9th Nov., 1754.—*MS.*

urgent or necessary, without previous agreement in the Cabinet. He did not want that function for himself, and was ready to go on doing his best in his department; but he could not bring himself to be a mock Minister. All this, "without a word of compliment to the man who had put him there," did not prevent his being told the proposed plan for the Session; "but the secret was out—that the three *great* men, Fox, Pitt, and Legge, were agreed that there must be a leading Minister in the Commons; and that the two first, perhaps all three, thought they had a chance for it. This doctrine had been preached to Lady Yarmouth, and the success of it at Court would depend upon its success at Westminster. But the King must be persuaded that his business could best be carried on in the existing way. Would the Parliament or the nation tell the King that he must make Fox his Minister? for that was the question. Who would share the Government with Fox, or anyone who led the House of Commons?

There it all centred; there Mr. Pitt might bring it, and there poor idle Mr. Legge was driving it.[1] Newcastle was less than ever prepared to relinquish his absolute control or to share his power. He believed implicitly in the preponderance of votes he could command in division, and in the acquiescence of his majority in the Cabinet

Pitt was still Paymaster, and was not yet dismissed, but confidence between him and Newcastle thenceforth ceased. Both aspirants to promotion watched their opportunity to show their resentment and contempt, and it speedily came.

To induce the House to end a long debate on election petitions, the inexpert Leader said that the next case would be a short one, which involved no question of importance. Pitt took to hysterics at the shocking presumption of any man to prejudge in that House the rights of electors before the case had been deliberately heard. Fox touched to the quick the sense of the ridiculous by the grave irony wherewith he apologised for Robinson's inexperience, hoping it would be the last, as it was the first, time a great man would forestall the judgment of the House by his great authority. It speedily became clear that the thing could not go on. Robinson retired after a few weeks

[1] Newcastle to Stone, 28th September, 1754.—*MS.*

on a great pension, and Fox was induced to take his place as Secretary of State.[1]

George II. had learned from the Chancellor that Fox deprecated Pitt's removal. He condemned his language, but stoutly refused to take part against him in debate. Hardwicke took pains to show that the removal of Pitt would much diminish the advantage to be hoped for from the support of Fox. The King indulged in his usual description of him, and censure of his behaviour. Hardwicke urged that Fox himself was against Pitt's deprival. The King, interrupting him, said: "And I assure you, has done himself no good by it." Devonshire, also, though condemning Pitt's behaviour, was much opposed to his displacement.

Gower's death not being unexpected, it was suggested the Privy Seal might be given to Marlborough, and the staff of Lord Steward to Rutland. The owners of three great estates might thus be linked more closely to the Government. The sudden death of Lord Albemarle left the Paris Embassy and the place of Groom of the Stole vacant, and the Governorship of Virginia was likewise to be given away.

Fox was accused of jobbing by deputy when Secretary-at-War in order to repair his wasted fortune; and Horace Walpole says that seniority in services promoted men slowly, unless they were disposed to employ Mr. Calcraft; very hard conditions being imposed on many. This traffic, so lucrative, would have mouldered into nothing if Fox had gone into Opposition, which Windsor Lodge forbade. He was proud of being Secretary of State, yet he is described as leaving an office with regret which enabled him to maintain the luxurious hospitalities he loved. Old Horace Walpole appealed to the First Lord in favour of his nephew Orford to succeed as Groom of the Stole.

After a day or two's marshalling all the demands for promotion and favour, urgent at the time, Newcastle decided to do something for the grandson of the man who had made and kept him Secretary of State, despite his many shortcomings. The young Lord of Houghton, being a spendthrift, had not been shy in asking for something about the Court, or too particular as to what it was to be, for a beginning. Ambition to serve his country, his family, or himself, ran in the blood, and his plain-spoken

[1] November 25th, 1755.

uncle might be excused for a little impatience at his great parts being overlooked.

In the Duke's handwriting, there is a list of places vacant at the close of 1754, with confidential jottings of the candidates for each.

"Groom of the Stole.—Lord Rochford, Lord Ashburnham, Duke of Dorset, and the Duke of Kingston.

"Second Regiment Guards.—To vacate a Regiment for Colonel Yorke; query if on the Irish Establishment.

"Government of Virginia.—Earl Poulett; Lord Delawar has asked it; Lord Mountfort has half asked it; and Lord Cholmondeley, with an additional salary.

"Ambassador at Paris.—Lord Rochford (if not Groom of the Stole); Lord Halifax; Mr. Villiers, if a peer; Lord Egremont.

"Ministry at Turin.—Lord Orford once asked it; Lord Bristol, Colonel Geo. Townshend.

"Two Lordships of Bedchamber if Lord Poulett is Governor of Virginia.—If Lord Poulett does not take that, and any other Lord of the Bedchamber is made Groom of the Stole, Lords of Bedchamber: Lord Orford, Duke of Ancaster, Lord Essex.

"Rangerships of Parks.—Lord Hillsborough, Earl Berkeley, Earl of Egremont, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, Lord Powis, Lord Sandys; Lord Guilford has often applied.

"The Harriers.—Earl Berkeley and Lord Orford often applied for them; Lord Essex or the Duke of Ancaster would certainly take them.

"Treasurer of the Household.—Lord Breadalbane, Lord Powis, Lord Sandys, Earl Berkeley, or Lord Berkeley of Stratton.

"Comptroller, if anything else can be found for Lord Hillsborough, Egremont.

"Master of the Jewel Office and Privy Council.—Lord Egremont.

"Master-General of the Ordnance.—Duke of Kingston insists upon its being asked for him, but it will undoubtedly be refused.

"Three Vacant Garters.—Earls of Carlisle, Northumberland, Holdernesse, Halifax, Waldegrave, Hertford.

"All these for consideration of Lord Chancellor. Sorry there is so much difficulty in finding anything that can cleverly answer our two great and necessary objects, viz., doing something for Mr. Legge and Egremont. I think the way that seems the most

probable would be, to get out by promotion or pension, Cholmondeley or Sir W. Yonge for Mr. Legge, or to make Legge Master of the Jewel Office, with the peerage and the promise of Yonge's place; and in that case to vacate the Parks, and give the other vacant place to Egremont."[1]

Hardwicke returned the list to the Duchess, prefixing a slight vote of thanks for a promise to spreak strongly to the King for Joe about the colonelcy; leaving the matter entirely in his Grace's hands: "After two of his juniors put over his head, and giving an English regiment to Lord Effingham, who never served abroad, it would be hard to be sent to an Irish one, and therefore that should be reserved for the last resort only. Did his Grace think that Lady Yarmouth, in her present good humour, could be induced to do any good in this? Joe used to be very attentive to her in little commissions, &c." Not a word was to be said for Rochford. Ashburnham was a much worthier object. The removal of Dorset to be Groom of the Stole would have a rare political use in case it should be found that the affairs of Ireland could not be settled under him. The Governor of Virginia ought to be resident, and he ought not to make the post a sinecure. The circumstances of that colony were thought by the people to require more than ordinary attention. Halifax or Egremont would be the fittest for the Paris Embassy, though he should fear the effects of the warmth and American enthusiasm of the former. But if there was no other way to avoid Rochford's being Groom of the Stole, he supposed he must go, though it would be a designation by no means satisfactory to the public; and in that case why should not the King be left to his own inclination about Essex? He was in favour of doing something for Orford for the sake of the great Minister who had served so long and faithfully; and the shattered circumstances of his fortune. Legge ought to be content with the Comptrollership of the Jewel Office or a peerage.[2]

Egremont, heir of the late Sir William Wyndham, was summoned to the Privy Council in terms of more than usual compliment, and with an intimation that it would probably be the first step towards drawing him closer to the Government.

[1] Newcastle *MS.*, 28th December, 1754. Copy in handwriting of the Duchess.

[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 29th December, 1754.—*MS.* "He would keep copy of Newcastle's memorandum, for sake of handwriting of the Duchess."

Sir T. Robinson was content to be Master of the Great Wardrobe, with the reversion of a substantial pension. To these, and other terms of which the rights of publication were reserved, Newcastle took for granted that Royalty would make no objection; but when presented he was surprised to find that George II. had actually been pondering other arrangements; and that he was obstinate in preferring Rochford for Groom of the Stole. He refused, moreover, to dismiss two of his Lords-in-Waiting for no other cause than that his Minister wanted their places. In vain he was told that Government could not maintain its ascendancy in Parliament unless they were known to have the disposal of offices both great and small. The King told Newcastle he should confine himself to the Treasury, and he would have enough to do to keep that right. He had been objected to for meddling with everything, which was contrary to his Majesty's intention when he said, "I have made you, as it were, First Minister. You will be informed of everything." Fox told Granville that the King said so to him in still stronger terms, for there was no Prime Minister in this country. "The Duke of Newcastle meddles in things he has nothing to do with. He would dispose of my Bedchamber, which is a personal service about myself, and I won't suffer anybody to meddle." Hardwicke recommended Dorset, whereat George II. exclaimed, "Could you think I would make an old man of seventy my Groom of the Stole?" The Chancellor replied gravely that that objection had not occurred to him. His Majesty then talked of his father being in the right in having no Groom of the Stole, and of Sunderland's having insisted on his being made; that the Treasury was the Duke's department, and that was business enough; that his Grace had begun at the wrong end, and proposed Lords of the Bedchamber to him before there was any vacancy. To this Hardwicke rejoined that the head of the Treasury was indeed an employment of great business, which always went beyond the mere management of the revenue; that it extended through both Houses of Parliament, the Members of which naturally looked thither; that there must be some principal person to receive applications; to hear the wants, wishes, and the requests of mankind with the reasons for them, in order to submit them to his Majesty; that it was impossible for his Majesty to be troubled with all this himself. This

George II. in part admitted; but there were some things nobody should meddle in. The Chancellor tried to persuade him it was only a method of laying things before him, and that the absolute and final decision was in him; that it had always been the usage in this country, and he supposed was so in others; that without it no Administration could be enabled to serve him; that Ministers bore all the blame and resentment of disappointed persons; and that they could never carry on affairs without having some weight in the disposition of favours. The King said he had seen too much of it already, and it was time to change it. The thing was over; Rochford was actually appointed. The real question at issue was the sovereignty of patronage, or, as Horace Walpole put it, in his own way, "Was it in King Thomas or in Elector George II.?" It was not deemed prudent, however, to drive the First Lord of the Treasury to bay, and he was compensated by having three of his family connections added to the Cabinet, the Duke of Marlborough being made Privy Seal, the Duke of Rutland, Lord Steward, and the Duke of Leeds, Cofferer of the Household.

A Cabinet was summoned at Lincoln's Inn Fields to consider military preparations, at which the Lord President, the Chancellor, Secretary Holdernesse, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and Secretary Fox were present.[1]

Certain questions regarding a Cornish election were referred to the Committee of Privileges with respect to the bearing of Standing Orders on the case, and the proceedings in the petition, involving more than one Party division in the House, were protracted over several weeks. From one of these Colonel Pelham, the Duke's representative for Hastings, was absent, and in anticipation of another Party struggle, the First Lord wrote in familiar terms requesting his attendance:—

"DEAR JIMMY,—

I should not trouble you with desiring you to attend the Michel Election to-night if I did not think I had a right to insist with my own family to attend when my situation as one of the principal Ministers is greatly concerned. This is the general opinion of all my friends in the House of Commons,

[1] 19th January, 1755.—*MS.*

and if this is the case, what an appearance would it have for you to be absent?

"I am ever most affectionately yours."

The Colonel neglecting orders, was summarily cashiered:—

"SIR,—You will not be surprised that after the letter I wrote you, I should be much disappointed and concerned that you did not attend the Michel Election. I am convinced that it was not your age or infirmities that occasioned your absence, but some attachment separate from and independent of me; since that is the case, I should advise you for your own sake as well as mine to quit your seat in Parliament, that I may choose one at Hastings upon whom I may entirely depend. If you think I was in earnest and had foundation for what I said in my last letter, to which you have returned no answer, you can neither blame nor be surprised at—your humble servant,

"HOLLES NEWCASTLE."[1]

It suited neither lord nor vassal to pursue the quarrel further. On which knee, or whether on both, the Colonel sued for pardon, the records do not say; but we know that his Grace was appeased by vows of better behaviour in future, and "Jimmy" remained what was called representative of Hastings for another five years.

Apprehensive of opposition to any new Treaties of Subsidy for the protection of Hanover, Newcastle authorised Charles Yorke to confer with Pitt on the subject. The advocate began tendering anew professions of his Grace's friendship and confidence, when he was cut short by a disdainful declaration that of friendship or confidence there was none between them. If any had ever existed it was at an end. It was loss of time to talk in that strain. He would neither take nor hold anything as a favour from his Grace. If he was in earnest *why did* he not state what was the work to be done, who were to do it, and how they were to act? When he was informed upon these three points and had time to consult his friends, he should be able to give an answer. The Chancellor was then requested to undertake the task of conciliating the disaffected Paymaster. He repeated their joint assurances of personal goodwill, and their desire to overcome the prejudices of Royalty against him. They had

[1] 2nd March, 1755.—*MS.*

tried, he said, in audience, and subsequently by correspondence, but with little success. "If by any accident a vacancy should occur in the Secretary's Office, they would, upon Mr. Pitt's cordial promise of assistance, endeavour to obtain for him the Seals he so much desired." Pitt answered that he must begin where his visitor left off, with "the Seals which he so much desired,"—desired of whom? He did not remember that he had ever applied to his Lordship for them. He was certain he never had to his Grace of Newcastle. He assured the Chancellor that if they could prevail upon the King to give him the Seals, the only use he would make of them would be to lay them at his Majesty's feet, that till the King desired it and thought it necessary for his service he never would accept them. The King had lately said that he had obtruded himself into office. The Chancellor knew that this was not the case, and if he must ask a favour it would be that the Sovereign should be correctly informed upon that point. He did not object that regard should be paid to Hanover, should it be attacked on our account. The master of forensic arts rejoiced to find that thus far they agreed. Pitt hoped his Lordship would observe the words he had used—that regard should be paid to Hanover—not that we should find money to defend it by subsidies, which, if we could, was not the way to defend it—an open country was not to be defended against a neighbour who had 150,000 men, and 150,000 in reserve to back them. To the Russian subsidy he never would assent, which would be only leading Hanover into a snare, and decreasing and wasting the substance of our people; but as the honour of the Crown was said to be involved in the Hessian Treaty, he would waive discussion on that point. In vain the Chancellor reminded him that the defence of Hanover had been tacitly allowed in the previous Session as unavoidable; though limits must, of course, be set to the amount of subsidies; those in contemplation were not likely to be popular. But when Pitt spoke of the necessity of putting a stop to the system, Hardwicke could only say that he wished it could be done, though this was not the way to propitiate the King.

He suggested an interview with the First Lord of the Treasury for financial explanations. The paroxysm of hauteur having subsided, Pitt said he would wait on his Grace on receipt of a message that he desired to speak with him, and not otherwise.

Count Colloredo proposed, on behalf of the Emperor, a fresh Treaty of Alliance, by which he was to furnish 25,000 men, the lesser German Princes 30,000, England 10,000, and the Russians 50,000 men if Great Britain provided £500,000 for the Czar, and as much more for the Electors of Bavaria, Hesse, and Saxony; the Court of Vienna wanted none. The war against France would thus require additional supplies to the extent of three millions.[1] M. Munchausen gathered from M. Colloredo, however, that he hardly expected to obtain all he asked for, and George II. took the Secretary of State aback by telling him that he knew for certain a third of what was named was as much as could be expected. He thought they ought not to be hasty or generous on any other point than the Russian Treaty, but that they should insist that a reinforcement should be sent to the Low Countries.

When Holdernesse was about to reply, he was interrupted, and could not bring the subject again upon the *tapis*.[2]

Hanover was, as usual, uppermost in the Royal thoughts, and the Russian contingent consequently was of paramount concern. Holdernesse had neither the courage nor the mother wit to expostulate on the spot, and the First Lord could think of no better way of meeting the difficulty than splitting it. He was willing to ask Parliament for all that was immediately required, and to please the King by furthering preferentially a bargain with Russia and Hesse, not venturing to repudiate the stipulations with the other States, but silently deferring their fulfilment to the Greek kalends.

The irrepressibility of Frederick had sown fears all round. He had already begun to encroach on his neighbours' territory, and none could tell what the next object of aggression might be, and the flickering belief in the value of treaties of delimitation or guarantee had fairly died out. Even the Dutch, who had defied and baffled the rapacity of Louis XIV., began to grow uneasy at the rising power of their restless ally. Envoy Bentinck, though not given to indulge in misgiving, owned that among his countrymen "the fear of Prussia overpowered many well-meaning people."[3]

[1] Mem. for the King in Audience. Newcastle Papers, 16th April, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 19th April, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] Despatch from Holdernesse, 9th May, 1755.—*MS.*

Holdernesse found the Dutch unprepared to move, and inclined to leave the burden of defence to their more ambitious allies. The Treasurer Hop felt bound to economise army expenditure, and the Pensionary Fagel, though friendly to England, leaned the same way. Bentinck was in a fit of ague and could help but little, while the Princess Royal declined the responsibility of initiating warlike measures. Her zeal, however, proved equal to her tact, and before Holdernesse left the Hague, a Protocol was signed, binding the Republic to prompt action on the frontiers should France declare war.[1]

The King left for Hanover at the end of April, Lady Yarmouth remaining at Kensington, where the Chancellor was deputed to consult her on various matters of interest.

"I was with her near three-quarters of an hour, and everything was as well as possible. I went through all the points—the Regency, the state of Parties in the last Session, the attention now given to mending it the next, Ld. E., Sir G. L., and the children. I talked the language your Grace would approve. She, on her part, expressed herself extremely well-satisfied with us and our intentions towards her and her family; told me how she had been made acquainted with the first report by Lord W., which I took care to inform her was within a few hours of starting. I showed her that we should always adhere to the principles we had proceeded upon in the *great transaction*. I had very good reason to be satisfied, and thought she was so. She frequently repeated expressions of reliance, and expressed her wish very strongly for forming a system in the House of Commons next Session, which I showed her was actually under consideration, and how it had failed in the last. She highly extolled the abilities of Mr. Pitt, and in talking of the children she commended the Bishop very much; but mentioned no other person about them. There were intermixtures of foreign affairs and of our preparations at home, which she much applauded." Thus dies out the last phantom of the fable of the King's insuperable antipathy to Pitt, which his pretended patron had kept gibbering before him for years.

"P.S.—I forgot one thing which she will certainly mention to your Grace. She took notice of her other boys coming on fast, and that, as it would be necessary to put them in another way

[1] Newcastle to Keith, 28th April, 1755.—*MS.*

of education, she must apply to the King for assistance on his return."[1] M. Bussy, confidentially employed by the French Foreign Office, had for a consideration supplied secret intelligence during the former war, and it occurred to the head of the Treasury that one who played false before would do so again on like inducement. The Marquis de Mirepoix had incidentally dropped in conversation that M. Bussy had been replaced in his former post by the Abbé de la Ville for the purpose of getting him out of the way, and, strangely enough, this was done by sending him on a special mission to Hanover. Had not a golden opportunity thereby come for another turn of illicit intercourse? MM. Munchausen and Steinberg were personally acquainted with him; and if the King would authorise Holdernesse or his Grace to offer the same pecuniary consideration, it would probably be accepted. Such was the contents of a secret letter to his Majesty which Newcastle was assured the writer "dared not entrust to anybody without his leave."[2] Then, fearing lest Holdernesse should be affronted at the suggestion not being made through him, the Duke wrote another secret letter by the same post to the same effect to him, in which he said: "If you let the King know that I have told it you, I am undone, and must never do the like again. Nothing shall be secret from you, but you must not betray me, nor fain semblance if he speaks to you to know anything of it. I beg that you will burn this letter as soon as you have read it."[3]

Whatever light might be obtained through this dark lantern at Göhrdt, furtive means of information were to be relied on from Paris; an abler than Bussy was there. M. Cressener had been for some time in the pay of the English Treasury. He held subordinate office in the French Government, but played his double part with such discretion that he was allowed access frequently by Ministers of State and nobles of the Court to documentary and other evidence of what was going on, hardly going on, or not going on at all; and through the hands of an unsuspected trustee in Luxemburg drew a handsome *honorarium* (as he sardonically termed the price of his treachery) from the English Government. But he had occasionally cause to com-

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 16th May, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] To the King at Hanover, 16th May, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] To Holdernesse, 16th May, 1755.—*MS.*

plain of neglect or niggardliness in supplying him with the means of stealing intelligence by deputy. He reminded the Secretary of State that he was out of pocket £1,500 for secret service at Paris, and that his sub-agent there was disgusted at the parsimony of the British Minister. Holdernesse had not the vanity to expect to be trusted by his Ministerial chief in the critical matter of obeying his instructions to destroy the letter; and as a well-bred spaniel drops at his master's feet the forbidden bird, he meekly sent it back to him, averring that he had kept no copy, and the writer, not having himself the prudence to burn the epistle, it may now be read among the muniments of Cabinet rule.[1] Still, if £2,000 down were sent at once, with an undertaking to pay £500 a year punctually, useful information might be the fruit. George II. had no objection to the latter, but thought the retaining fee rather high; the Treasury at home, however, must decide.[2] That there should be no mistake about terms, the First Lord wrote to say that if his secret agent at Paris accepted what was offered, M. Cressener might draw upon him for £1,000 forthwith.[3]

For his own reasons, Frederick II. made overtures of reviving friendship to his brother at Hanover, and the English Cabinet, out of humour with the interminable parley between Vienna and the Hague about what the latter could or would do, counselled an interchange of personal civilities between the Royal relatives.

Newcastle, who, if he ever was sincere, thought aloud with the Chancellor, asked his opinion and advice when it had become critical from hour to hour what instructions should be sent to the Admiral at Spithead. It was a serious question whether they should fall upon the French fleet and much more on their trading ships without any previous notice or declaration of war, nay, during a negotiation actually carrying on with the Ambassador of France and England. It would not only, he feared, be called a breach of faith, but might justly alarm all other Powers, especially Spain, who would probably aver that the same thing might happen any day to them; thus it would be the beginning of a war in Europe, for which they were entirely unprepared. There

[1] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 25th May, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 17th June, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] 29th May, 1755.—*MS.*

were strong arguments against any offensive acts in Europe: on the other side, it was said, and with great force, that the orders to Admiral Boscawen must necessarily produce a war, from the manner in which France would understand them; that in reality there was little difference whether hostilities were begun on one side of the ocean or on the other; that further delay could only give our rival time to get all her ships ready and bring home her East and West India merchantmen and with them great numbers of seamen to man their home fleet at once; whereas, if we made use of our Navy as we might do, we should intercept all their trade, disable them from being in a condition to make any considerable appearance at sea for some time, and strike such a blow at first upon their commerce as would make the whole of France cry out against war. The natural expectation of the country was to have something done when such vast votes were spending. The majority of the Cabinet were undoubtedly of opinion with Anson, or what would be said if they did nothing? Would Hardwicke at their next meeting talk freely with him upon this most important point? If he could see Devonshire, Grafton, and Sir T. Robinson, Newcastle wished he would ascertain their thoughts before the next Cabinet dinner.[1]

Hardwicke said objections would be made if the Fleet went out and did nothing or had not orders to act. But the objections would be stronger if, after all the expense, the ships should lie at Spithead all the summer, betraying a resolution to do nothing at all.[2] The Attorney-General also was consulted, who said, "The worst of all was to go out, raise expectations and suspicions, and do nothing."

If they went it should be for something, but then it should be to destroy a fleet, not to take merchantmen. Success might support, hardly justify. But it must be for a decisive object; "*Si violandum jus*," &c.

He agreed that there might be war in consequence of Boscawen's orders; but it was a different question what might be argued in defence: and if there should be action in North America, no objection could be made to inactivity in Europe.[3]

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 7th June, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] 8th June, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] Murray to Newcastle, 8th June, 1755.—*MS.*

Reliable intelligence from Paris described the French Ministry as fully prepared for conflict, but "firmly resolved to keep the peace if let alone."[1] When the opinion of the King was asked by Holdernesse, George II. owned that Boscawen's instructions might lead to the beginning of general war, but so long as negotiations continued with Versailles he did not wish the Channel Squadron, under Hawke, directed to fall on French convoys from India or to attack their fleet coming out of Brest. Ministerial vacillation continued throughout the summer, and the smouldering quarrels on the Ohio and the St. Lawrence grew less than ever extinguishable. Being unable to make up their minds what to do, the Cabinet agreed on the expediency of endeavouring betimes to appease the criticism that overhung their indecision in Parliament.[2]

Early in May Pitt happened to call at Lord Hillsborough's, where he found his rival. Fox after a little left them to speak to someone else; and Pitt, thinking he was gone, observed significantly that all connection between them was over. The ground was changed on which they stood together formerly, Fox being of the Cabinet and Regency; while he was admitted to neither. He had made up his mind that he would be second to nobody. Fox reappeared, and Pitt, being excited, said the same to him. Even if Fox succeeded in obtaining for him the Seals, and then made way for him he would not accept them at his hands, for that would be to own a superiority he never would admit: he was resolved to owe nothing but to himself. Fox asked what would put them upon equal ground, and marvelled doubtless at the strange reply, "A winter in the Cabinet, and a summer in the Regency." The next day Pitt said the same again to Hillsborough, who endeavoured to soften matters; but he was unalterable, and "desired his friend to take an opportunity of telling Mr. Fox that he wished there might be no further conversation between them on the subject, that he esteemed Mr. Fox, but that all connection with him was at an end. Hillsborough recited all that had passed to Dodington, through whom it was certain to become known to those it most concerned. From the Princess Dowager Pitt kept back nothing, and, believing that he had been duped by Newcastle, he denounced his "weakness, meanness,

[1] M. Hatton, 18th June, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] From Hanover, 2nd June, 1755.—*MS.*

cowardice and baseness, in the strongest terms, and the impossibility of his standing without a new system."[1] Her contempt and dislike were unqualified; she respected the abilities of Murray; but said not a word of Stone, and they were believed to be the King's chief advisers. Thus said Grenville, "we continued at variance, though still in office, and by this explanation detached from the Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Fox." Soon afterwards Sir Richard Lyttelton brought a message from Lord Bute enquiring whether Pitt and his friends were "disposed to enter into the closest engagement with Leicester House."

The immediate acceptance of this offer produced several interviews, and in consequence of them, two between the Princess of Wales and Pitt, where the assurances of her protection and support were repeated in the strongest terms.

Her discontent at the manner in which she was treated by the Court bore so great a resemblance to the feeling entertained by the neglected tribune and his connections that they soon became politically united in a species of qualified opposition to Ministers and to the Duke of Cumberland, to whose influence the promotion of Fox was ascribed.[2]

Marks of favour and confidence were ostentatiously bestowed by the Princess on her new adherents; and Pitt made no disguise of his support.

Legge, who thought himself slighted in his official position, gradually drew closer about this time to Pitt, who introduced him as a valuable auxiliary and spoke of him as the fittest man to have charge of the finances in a future reign. George Grenville bitterly resented being contingently put aside by his relative, who had till then led him to look forward to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer whenever they should attain power; thenceforth he felt how little reason he had to depend upon his professions of friendship and fidelity. Suspicion was everywhere, and Government, as a continuous and consistent guidance of affairs, was fast falling into ruin. Conscious debility in Council and the fears of coming disasters abroad, cast their shadows before. Where should bewildered Ministers look betimes for strength or aid?

The Cabinet had reason to apprehend opposition in Parlia-

[1] Dodington's Diary.

[2] Grenville Papers, I., 433.

ment to the treaties with Russia and Hesse. The First Lord was impatient to hear some account of Charles Yorke's negotiation with "the great man." Till they knew his final resolution they could not go to work anywhere else, and it was high time that something was put in train.

Intrigues were certainly on foot and parts would be taken; which perhaps might have been prevented.[1]

Yorke was again sent to ascertain Pitt's views and dispositions, and he found him in no placable mood.

The only Executive function which paralysis did not threaten with decay was the vital one of jobbing. After twenty-two years' service to the Government, during which he was never known to give a wrong vote, or to be absent when wanted, Mr. Hay, M.P. for Seaford, ceased from troubling his neglectful relative; and without loss of time the Duke sought to fill the vacant place. "He had the small employment of Keeper of the Records in the Tower, £500 per annum for life. I would humbly recommend to his Majesty's favour my nephew, Mr. John Shelley, who is, and always will be, in Parliament for East Retford. Though he will probably some time or other have a very good estate, during his father's lifetime I am afraid his income is not very much. There is no man in the House of Commons upon whom the King may at all times more depend than my nephew. I really think him very prudent and very honest."[2] Lord Powis and many others asked for the appointment, but the Duke wrote, "All the earth could not make the King give this place out of the House of Commons, and as it is for life I have recommended my nephew, Jack Shelley, for it. This has been my answer to several. These places for life (and this is only a small one) are always disposed of in this manner."[3]

Halifax had made a useful head of his Department, and thought himself entitled to a place in the Cabinet, or to the Garter. But Newcastle, being his near relative, did not see how giving him the Seals would strengthen the Administration; and Peers of order, title, and greater estate had prior claims to the blue ribbon. He was disappointed, moreover, at remonstrances against inefficiency and false economy in preparing for the great

[1] To the Chancellor, 27th June, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] To Holdernesse, 24th June, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] To Powis, 25th June, 1755.—*MS.*

struggle in America, which the President of the Board of Trade had submitted to the Treasury, and which the privilege of kinship did not excuse. Halifax scoffed at the inefficiency of Holdernesse and Robinson, and complained that he should be passed over to appease the annoyance of Pitt, or to foil the cunning of Fox. He would enter into no cabal to upset the Cabinet, but he deemed himself badly treated, and did not mean to go on much longer without recognition or power.[1]

Mysterious, but too intelligible, communications from Kew, where the Young Court, as it was called, resided, made the Duke aware for the first time of the painful truth regarding the Princess of Wales, which scandal had hitherto hardly ventured to hint above its breath; and which, under all the circumstances, might well have filled a wiser and better man with perplexity.

Stone wrote on the 24th June, "Lord Waldegrave will tell you in what light he views the extraordinary appearances of Sunday last. He extremely laments what happened, and thinks it most inexcusable, and that the consequences of such behaviour, if it were to continue, must be of the worst kind. Yet he is willing to hope that in this instance it had not so bad a cause as there was too much reason to suspect it had. Something must be done to prevent anything of this sort for the future, and I hope it will not be long before something is done that may prove effectual for that purpose."[2] All doubt as to the grave misconduct implied was extinguished by Waldegrave, who felt it his duty to acquaint the responsible Ministers of the Crown with what had come to his knowledge; and who has left on record the advice he gave that on the King's return to England, if not before, the facts of the case should be laid before him. It was, in truth, impossible that in his situation as the responsible governor of the Heir Apparent, then in his 16th year, the Earl could do less. The young Prince seemed to be then, and long afterwards, wholly unconscious of his mother's infatuation for Bute; and unless Ministers were prepared to take the responsibility of breaking up his household and virtually severing all ties of devotion to his mother, they could not take any formal step implying her condemnation. All that happened at the time will probably be never known. Stone became an

[1] Conversation with Dodington at Horton.

[2] To Newcastle, 25th June, 1755.—*MS.*

object of distrust and suspicion at Kew, where he had been previously treated with respect and favour; and Waldegrave, who would gladly have withdrawn from a position never agreeable, and now become ineffably irksome, was persuaded to remain somewhat longer. There is no proof that the actual knowledge possessed by Newcastle and Hardwicke was shared by the Cabinet generally, and every device was used to justify ignoring the truth of whisperings that ere long were destined to be re-echoed far beyond the precincts of the then secluded mansion by the Thames. Expediency prompted silence and an inflexible mask of unconsciousness. It might yet be possible, as suggested by Stone, that the fatuity deplored should be of brief duration, and if no demise of the Crown soon occurred it might be practicable betimes to extricate the future Sovereign from evil surroundings. Bute was a friend of Pitt and Granville, and left unscathed would very likely be worked upon by others in the hope or dream of favour in the reign to come; as yet he was nobody but a Scotch Peer, with a rich wife and a large family, a pompous and plausible man in ordinary concerns, fond of theatricals, vain of a slow and solemn elocution, not particularly handsome, but, in the robust sense, well made. That such a man should possibly be Prime Minister *destine* of a Regency, with such a woman as the trustee of a minor King, was intolerable to think of. But hitherto she had lived blameless, and her ten children were a decalogue of warning and admonition to take heed unto her ways. Was it charitable, was it prudent, was it fair to take for granted that she would prove another Isabella, and her favourite another Mortimer?

The inglorious summer had passed away, and still irresolute Ministers stood at gaze. The Treaty of Subsidy with Hesse for the employment of 8,000 men was, after protracted bargaining, brought to a conclusion, and the Great Seal was attached to it at a Council of Regency on the 24th June, amid an unusual blare of congratulation.[1] There was little else to show.

The Court of Vienna was still deferred from drawing closer by an unworthy and useless condition insisted on pragmatically that in case any part of the British Dominions were to be attacked, the King of England should have a pledge beforehand that the Emperor would come to his assistance:[2] and when

[1] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 24th June, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] To Holdernesse, 24th June, 1755.—*MS.*

reasonable demur was made to the vanity of such a stipulation, Keith and Holdernesse, and all the diplomatic confidants of Whitehall, were told to ask, in fifty forms of imbecile reproach, was it possible that after all the Court of Vienna would recalcitrate from their original promises? But no practical attempt was, or could be, made to show how, in the event of the Pretender landing, or the French invading Ireland, Hungarian Legionaries or Bohemian levies could be made to fulfil the required covenant. It was, in short, a slippery stone with fatuous cunning placed at the door of Diplomacy, whereon firm standing there was none: the Dutch were drifting out of line and out of humour. Meanwhile, secret tidings came from Paris that a second squadron had been despatched to Lisbon to await and convoy the homeward India fleets, and orders for 2,100 additional guns were now perfecting in the factories.[1]

Instead of the modification of tone and interchange of plans suggested by Kaunitz, and plainly desired by Keith, Ministers became more imperative than ever in their demand for the formation of an allied force to defend the Low Countries from invasion. The spirit of Maria Theresa was stung at last into resentment by the attempt of a one-sided exaction of terms, while no attempt was made to answer her questions as to the nature or extent of reciprocal aid. The Austrian Chancellor rejoined that the Empress Queen, pending the answer to her last inquiries on several points of moment, must decline to give any reply in detail.

The breach seemed widening; and when Keith transmitted to Holdernesse certain papers denoting Austria's future requirements if called on to move, George II. was so angry that he forbade the Secretaries acknowledging the receipt of them; Holdernesse told Newcastle that he would act on no commands upon any other point of business depending till he could learn his Grace's thoughts upon the situation. The Empress declared herself now ready to take a thorough part in the war upon certain conditions which would be very burthensome to England.[2]

Unmoved by Yorke's expostulations, the First Lord of the Treasury doggedly persisted in refusing the £60,000 asked for

[1] Enclosure from M. Hatton, 25th June, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 29th June, 1755.—*MS.*

the works at Namur, and peevishly complained that injustice was always done to his motives by those whom he wished most to serve. The open resistance of Dordt and Amsterdam to the policy of the Dutch Ministers confirmed his financial logic of British helps and Dutch helplessness. The money, he said, would be just so much thrown away in attempting to stem a French invasion. The taunt of her Royal Highness that large sums could be given to corrupt a Minister or to gain a Court was groundless. Were not the cases very different? Ten or twenty thousand pounds might, on great occasion, be given to a Russian Minister to turn his Court, and that out of the Civil List, privately, unknown to anybody here or there. Would H.R.H. or Bentinck expect this sum out of the King's pocket? Would they even like to have it in that manner? Would they pretend to answer for the secret, when the use they proposed to make of it was to publish it as an indication of friendship and support? Must it not be usked of Parliament? He only wanted a justifiable pretence to ask for the money, but he had none. He met with unkind returns. He was blamed and suspected when he told the truth.[1]

Without divulging to the rest of the Cabinet these communications, Newcastle proposed that they should give in. Diplomatic parsimony was very prudent and patriotic when it was only the Princess of Orange who was to be refused as too exacting, but if their Imperial Majesties could be secured by subsidies as vast as those given to the Czarina, might not the buoyancy of the scheme float them over their shallows? "I think I see a strong inclination to forget all the impertinences of the Court of Vienna, and to look forward. But that opens a very large scene indeed. Nothing would satisfy them but the Russian Treaty, Hessians, Saxons, Bavarians, Hanoverians, and besides, as Count Fleming plainly said, a subsidy for Austria.

"Subsidies if they could be raised might go down well enough; but a moderate sum would go but a little way; one million might be found for the Continent only, but that would scarce answer."[2]

While English Ministers were doubting and delaying to decide who should take the first step towards plunging Christendom into war; and while Austrian Ministers were watching and waiting

[1] Newcastle to Joseph Yorke, 4th July, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] To Hardwicke from Claremont, 6th July, 1755.—*MS.*

for an inbreak from Brandenburg, and a French overflow into the Pays Bas, Frederick in disguise, and with one or two attendants only, was making a tour in Holland, in *trek-schuyts*, and at inns chatting familiarly to strangers, whose looks he happened to like; and persuading himself that by the exercise of his powers of insight and facility of talk he was taking the measure of the doughty little Commonwealth, which he might soon have occasion to annex or buy. From what has been preserved of his conversation, it does not seem that he was even yet quite ready to let Hell loose in central Germany for sake of territorial gain. With an intelligent Swiss whom chance threw in his path, he talked freely of the Dutch and their ways; the manners and morals of kings; the evils of religion; and what he thought of the possibilities of creation. The stranger took time to look at picture galleries, public monuments, and country houses, before returning to the military forge whence his next thunderbolts were to be hurled. And in the meantime his immediate and penultimate plottings against smaller States was as difficult as ever to read with certainty by the Cabinet of England. At Whitehall there were few worth consulting, and Windsor Lodge was all for anticipating the catastrophe of a general war, by a seizure without warning of French merchantmen at sea. Granville, Hardwicke, and Anson wished the King safe home before resolving finally on the irreparable; and Newcastle was more fretful than ever; for he was afraid to make up his mind.

The estimates for the current year showed that nearly five millions would be required for naval and military expenditure already incurred in view of impending hostilities; and this was all that could be reckoned on from 4s. in the pound land tax, malt duty, loans from the sinking fund, and a new lottery. It would, therefore, be impossible to raise more without new, burthensome, and probably insufficient taxes, or without increasing considerably the National Debt, then in course of gradual reduction. The ill-timed disagreement between Austria and Holland made it impracticable to concert with them any comprehensive measures. Ministerial prospects being overcast abroad, it was become needful to set their house in order at home. The majority in the Commons was still strong enough numerically for every ordinary purpose; but many of those most competent to influence debate, while holding subordinate office were so indifferent to the wishes

of the Cabinet, that they took no part: yet if they were turned out their resentment would certainly be formidable. There seemed no way so likely to obviate difficulties as the engaging Pitt upon reasonable terms to support their measures with clearness, consistency, firmness; and upon such assurances had he not better be called to the Cabinet Council? That they might not be entirely dependent on him, they proposed by pension on the Irish Establishment to make a vacancy in a Vice-Treasurership in Ireland, to be given to Lord Egmont, whose disappointment last Session was very mortifying to him, but who had prudence enough not to show it then; though if nothing was done for him they might expect warm opposition.

Sir George Lee might very well discharge the duties of the Exchequer, and if Fox were gratified in the manner he desired he could have no objection to any of these changes. If they could do in the House of Commons without Pitt or Egmont, they need not trouble his Majesty regarding them. But if the one would be content with admission to the Cabinet, and the other with Cholmondeley's place, they would each be "cheaply purchased." [1] Both Vice-Treasurers were out of health, and either might be dealt with reasonably. In all Administrations somebody must be the butt. Newcastle complained that he was undeservedly so. All ill-humours, all disappointments were centred in him. If Braddock and Boscawen were beat he must answer for it, who had no hand in appointing them. As head of the Treasury he must find money for all expenses; and these could not by the nature of things be governed by him.[2]

Hanover being in supposed danger, the Royal dislike of Pitt was no longer suffered to stand in the way. If George II. could not venture to appoint a Secretary of State, or to avert his being appointed, he might as well keep up the appearance, and make the ghost of departed prerogative walk and talk. Accordingly, Holdernesse was at Court directed to say that, "Notwithstanding the just cause the King had to be offended at the conduct of Mr. Pitt and Lord Egmont, if they would engage to take an active part for his service and support his measures in Parliament with vigour and cordiality, the Secretary of State was authorised to assure them that the King would accept their services, and coun-

[1] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 11th July, 1755.—*MS*

[2] To Holdernesse, 11th July, 1755.—*MS.*

tenance them accordingly; and he would not object to the Paymaster being called to the Cabinet. On a separate paper of the same date marked, "*Entre Nous*," we have: "I made the best use of the hints you furnished me with. I have succeeded about Pitt and Egmont, but I went farther than I dared write to your Grace in my letter of this date. I did it thus: having previously, as I do on all occasions, consulted Lady Yarmouth, I showed the King my private letter in my own hand, and took the liberty of asking some explanation of the word 'countenance,' and said that no one could or would think his services were accepted, or that he was countenanced, if he met with constant and public marks of his Majesty's dislike. I ventured to give it as my opinion that a gracious word would have more effect than a titular seat in the Cabinet. But I only got a rough answer to these representations the first day. I succeeded rather better the next time. I painted in the strongest manner the confusion into which his Majesty's affairs must inevitably be thrown by a violent opposition from able and designing men in these times of danger and difficulty; when a little outward civility might be the means of preventing Pitt forcing his way into the Closet. If your Grace likes to throw out any hints to me, perhaps in some lucky moment I may improve them. My first attachment is to Lady Yarmouth, who, I can assure your Grace, is most steady in her friendship and regard for you upon all occasions. I live in great intimacy and confidence with both the Munchausens, and with Steinberg. The English Munchausen is still my favourite; but there are occasions when some degree of reserve is necessary, even towards him. Lady Yarmouth joins heartily in the opinion that the King should now exert himself as Elector, and not call upon us for help, but finish the Electoral Convention without any other assistance than the renewal of the Saxon Treaty.[1] His colleague at once replied that "though he had not ate one morsel of dinner he could not avoid sending Holdernesse ten thousand thanks for the kind, able, and successful execution of as difficult a task as was ever sent from thence. He begged his best compliments and thanks to Lady Yarmouth for her assistance." There would be difficulty about Legge, but something must be done for him, and how could they get rid of him so easily as by making him a Peer? The *bombast speaker* said:

[1] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 20th July, 1755.—*MS.*

"I approve everything; I have but one thing now to wish—to see the King at St. James's or Kensington." If they could hit upon a plan for the House of Commons and one for the security of Hanover only, they might still do something.[1]

Sir W. Yonge was asked to resign his Vice-Treasurership for a pension of £2,000 a-year. If he was complaisant, room might be made in the Cabinet for the dreaded demagogue as a sleeping partner. The Paymaster would be muzzled except when required to speak; when, of course, he would be expected to talk heroics, and he would have his new rank and his old pay, which, in case of war, would be far the best worth having.[2]

At Stowe there was naturally no little exultation at the door being at last left upon the latch, that hitherto seemed inexorably barred; and at Hayes there were varied rehearsals of befitting acknowledgment of the proffered favour. But half concession, wrung in an hour of perplexity from unrelenting grudge, seldom avails to mesmerise discontent for more than a brief span. Solitary reflection, unbroken by congratulations fondly counted on, whispered in the ear of egotism that brevet rank as one of the staff implied as little of command as leave to retain a financial place, lucrative but dumb. Was it possible that he was expected to play a mere obligato accompaniment in Parliament or to be paraded as a mute on painful occasions? Worse still was the unexpressed consideration that he should abjure and decry the anti-German policy whereby he at first won fame. Already the Chancellor of the Exchequer was said to demur to the rumoured scheme of subsidies to powerless Princes on the Rhine; could the Paymaster-General do less?

Murmurs became audible among outsiders still in town at the end of July, when the renewal of German subsidies got wind, of which that to Hesse Cassel was supposed to be only the first; and at the Board of Treasury, when the Warrant for the levy money to the Paymaster-General came to be signed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer passed it on silently without his signature, which he accounted for afterwards to Secretary West by saying that he disapproved of the measure extremely. The First Lord was much put out, but begged that no notice might be taken of it from Hanover until there was time to enquire

[1] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 25th July, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 29th July, 1755.—*MS.*

further into what was meant.[1] After brief reflection, George II. and his advisers at Herrenhausen became convinced that it would be hopeless to defend the Electorate on the plan of isolation proposed by the Cabinet. It was a melancholy consideration to be forced to make war against France, and at the same time totally to abandon the Continent. The King refused to return to England immediately, saying that if his hereditary dominions were attacked, it was his duty to stop and defend them. Holdernesse trembled to think of the resolution he might take if France were to look that way. Lady Yarmouth, who was surprisingly good upon it, assured him nothing would move the King but a strong representation from England, and she advised, by all means, that it should be made without loss of time, as she saw the necessity of his return. She said he would be very angry at first, but he would comply, and before he reached Helvoet-Sluys would see the propriety of the advice.[2]

The aged Monarch made little resistance to the discipline of condescension in which he was now systematically trained for public show. Holdernesse made no scruple in telling him what was desired and expected regarding Pitt, who would not be satisfied without the sort of recognition to which he had hitherto been a stranger. "He said nothing as to Pitt, but would by no means admit either the utility or necessity of his own return. 'There are Kings enough,' he said, 'in England. I am nothing there. I am old, and want rest, and should only go to be plagued and teased there about that d——d House of Commons, &c.' He told the Princess of Hesse that though they pressed his return it was only in private letters; that if his presence was really necessary he should be applied to in form; and that he would not stir till then; but he saw plainly that he must return sooner than he liked." Prussia meantime must be managed. The secret of our coldness with Vienna must be kept; but the moment we could not keep terms with Austria the only thing left would be to make terms with Prussia.[3]

The Lords Justices met in council at the Cockpit on the 6th August, those present being Prince William, the Lord President,

[1] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 25th July, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 30th July, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 3rd August, 1755.—*MS.*

the Chancellor, Newcastle, Robinson, and Anson, when resolutions were adopted representing the immediate need of his Majesty's presence, and giving full discretion to Admiral Hawke against both French ships of war and trade. Holdernesse, on the same date, agreed to defer the Hanoverian project *sine die* as impracticable. George II. meanwhile opened negotiations with some of his smaller neighbours, who were willing to let out their subjects on hire. The Elector of Cologne would neutralise his territory for 120,000 crowns, the Prince of Waldeck could supply four regiments, and the Bishop of Wurtzburg as many more, each at half the cost of the Hessian troops.[1] Hardwicke did not approve of this relapse into the manufacture of small armies. "You will see," he said, "that they are going to pick up handfuls of men from little Princes by subsidies. If this could be done, what strength would it bring? Would the Bishop of Wurtzburg, the Margrave of Anspach, Prince Waldeck, &c., dare to attack either France or Prussia? Besides, you see by my conversation with Pitt how subsidiary treaties are likely to be entertained. I called upon the Duke of Devonshire this forenoon and found him in the same disposition as to subsidiary treaties; though he did not argue directly against the defence of Hanover; but said the Russian subsidy would be a vast one. Should they not stop their hands as to these little Princes meantime."[2]

It was thought indispensable to acquaint Devonshire House with the Ministerial changes the exigency required. Fox, having been brought into the Cabinet, had been gratified with the rank of a Lord Justice, while retaining his Secretaryship-at-War; and if Pitt, with the Paymastership, was likewise made a Cabinet Minister, he would, it was hoped, be for the present content. Sir George Lee was the best that could be thought of for the second seat at the Treasury, for the continuance there of Legge was impossible. Egmont was satisfied with the Vice-Treasurership, and as for the other Irish offices, whatever arrangements the Lord-Lieutenant might make would be certain of approval.

Holdernesse on the way home lost no opportunity of recommending a friendlier tone and manner towards Pitt; and of convincing the King, by the promised help of Lady Yarmouth, that

[1] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 6th August, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] To Newcastle, 11th August, 1755.—*MS.*

it was the necessity of affairs, not any personal leaning on the part of the Duke, that had led him to advise his being given Cabinet rank.[1] Is it believable that the Secretary or the Lady would have needlessly or wantonly incurred the ill-humour of the Sovereign in the way described, when a few days would probably suffice to settle the matter without their intermeddling? The truth is, nobody but his Grace affected to believe that the Royal dislike was insuperable. The Chancellor and Charles Yorke had done what they could to bring about an understanding between the Paymaster-General and the First Lord regarding the reorganisation of the dignities and duties appertaining to the Treasury Bench, without which it was on all hands felt it would be impossible to meet Parliament. But Pitt grew daily haughtier than ever, and Newcastle more afraid that such a subordinate in the Commons would overrule him in the Lords. Both oscillated in manner and tone, and early in August Pitt consented to an interview.

Newcastle was highly pleased, and hoped that he would come into their terms. But as they must have him and as he must see him, he must ask the Chancellor's advice. Could he avoid engaging to tell the King that Mr. Pitt ought to be Secretary of State?—N.B.—Nothing but the utmost distress could make that *his* opinion, and no distress would force the King to do it; so that, in all events, such a promise must be nugatory and only give a handle to future altercations about the sincerity of it.

Holdernesse had recently reported that the King would make no objection to Egmont's appointment, but asked if Newcastle "had written anything about that fellow Pitt. Holdernesse said no, but as *we* were otherwise in very good humour he renewed his former discourse upon that subject, but got no sort of answer, either good, bad, or indifferent. Lady Yarmouth saw the necessity of showing some outward civility to that *person*, who could be either so useful or so dangerous, and promised to lose no opportunity of inculcating the doctrine the Earl preached." [2]

Granville apprised the First Lord in confidence that Opposition designed opening fire on the subsidiary treaties; that they would make a handle of the Hessian Treaty if named in the Speech, Pitt and Legge to be the principal actors. Egmont and Lee were expected to concur. Sir George had talked to him strongly

[1] To Newcastle, 13th September, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 20th August, 1755.—*MS.*

about it and the Russian Treaty; he (Granville) had justified both, and rather spoke as if subsidiary treaties were now the system. Newcastle demurred to such a tone, and reminded him how often Ministers had objected to such a policy. He said that that was true, but that it was not known. Fox had been with him lately and told him of the threatened opposition. Let it be understood that he was still free and would remain so till the time drew near; but if not then satisfied Granville expected him to join the Opposition. Fox had made up his mind that the First Lord must have a Lieutenant, and he was ready to serve him faithfully. Newcastle ridiculed the idea of a Lieutenant who was to be general over him. Sometimes, Granville thought, Fox would give up everybody for Newcastle. At other times, if he could bring others with him, so much the better. Fox had said that Pitt would not make up with the Duke because he and Legge were too closely connected to render that possible. Removing Legge was, therefore, inconsistent with making up with Pitt. Legge had gained in credit for not signing the Hessian Warrant; and Fox confessed that he himself had not signed the orders for the ratifications, which Granville said was with the same view.

Hardwicke, whose waking and dreaming thought for five and twenty years had been how the great joint stock concern could be kept going from which he and his relative drew the largest dividends, naturally counselled that no time should be lost in seeing the would-be partner. He patiently weighed, or pretended to weigh, one by one, the sinister cobwebs of objection, of whose production there seemed to be no end. But week after week passed without anything being done; and if they were not agreed with some definite plan of reconstruction by the King's return, things would take their course without leave of either. On the 2nd September Newcastle had an interview with Pitt, when he did his miserable best to draw his visitor unto him with cords of vanity.

He praised and flattered, conferred and confided, in every mood and tense, and if not frank, affected elaborately to seem so. Pitt, on the other hand, was cooler than his wont, imperturbably polite, deferential to the King, and by the admission of his host, inflexible in his seeming friendship to himself. It all ended in nothing. Without public and unequivocal repudiation of subsidiary treaties, there could be no salvation for the country.

The Paymaster-General did not ask or desire Cabinet office, and he would not take it without power. He must have free access to the Throne whenever public business required it, and he must be able to speak to the House of Commons as he felt and thought on every exigency of affairs. For the two Secretaries of State he had every personal respect, and he did not suggest the removal of either, while he made no objection whatever to Mr. Fox. All he contended for was that the Leader of the House of Commons must be directly responsible for the conduct of its business. He was unequal to the task unless direction and control would devolve on him; implying thereby a voice in all subordinate employments and offices. The Duke saw in this the overthrow of the power he had so long and insatiably monopolised, and professed to regret difficulties insuperable which he left it to be inferred the Court still interposed; and so they parted. Negotiations were reopened with Fox, who employed Granville as his chief friend; but he was too warm and too peremptory to conduct such an affair well: and it was suggested that Waldegrave should be called into conference to balance the interest of Leicester House. Offers were made to Fox to have the lead in the Commons, which he accepted, but he intimated that some public mark of confidence was indispensable; and that he ought to be Secretary of State.[1] The First Lord apprised Hartington that their affairs were settled to their satisfaction; and that his friend Fox and he were determined to be good friends to each other. Measures must be supported by those who thought them right. The Russian Treaty had not been actually signed, and might not be ratified at last. Fox had declared strongly for it to the King as a preventive measure; and in this light it would eventually appear. The First Lord was extremely sorry to learn that Devonshire did not so regard it. But perhaps he was not perfectly informed of the use intended to be made of it in keeping the King of Prussia quiet. Meantime "his Majesty who loved majorities" urged that the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland should be written to for his proxy.[2]

The Lord-President rejoiced at the measures of reconstruction adopted, and congratulated the Duke on his agreement with Fox.

[1] Newcastle to Hartington, 22nd September, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hartington, 25th September, 1755.—*MS.*

He thought the King ought to be well satisfied with his new Secretary of State, and, no doubt, with his new Secretary-at-War. They were also called *His* as heretofore; though how little he had to do with the choosing of them or fitting them into their places appears by a letter of signal candour in the exposition of motives written within a few hours by Newcastle.

To his sister-in-law, with whom he kept up intermittently a sort of confidential chat about affairs in general, he apologised for changes which he knew would not be altogether agreeable to her. "The conduct of the Princess of Wales, Mr. Pitt, Lord Egmont, and Sir George Lee made it absolutely necessary either to take Mr. Fox or to go out. The latter I offered and would have liked, but the King would not suffer it, and all the world would have fallen upon me for quitting the King in a second rebellion. If Mr. Fox was to be taken, two things were to be done. First that it should appear that Lord Chancellor and I did it; secondly that it should be done so as to be of real use by putting Fox in good humour and making the defence of my administration his business. The first point I endeavoured to find out was whether the King had any secret inclination for Fox, and if there was any probability of his gaining any separate credit with the King. I am firmly convinced that the King is sorry for the necessity of doing what is done; that he is resolved to support Lord Chancellor and me at the head of his affairs; that any attempt from Mr. Fox for altering that resolution would ruin him at once; and that the King will not suffer Mr. Fox to do anything, *even in the House of Commons*, without first consulting me; and I am persuaded Fox sees it in this light. I told the King Fox said we must *stand and fall together*. The King said he (Fox) may very well *fall without you*. This being the state of the case, the making Fox *thus* Secretary of State was the best thing for me. He has an office which the King told me he would do ill in. He can seldom see the King without my Lord Holdernesse. He is removed from Secretary of War, so far removed from the Duke of Cumberland. Above all, it has given me an opportunity to show the world that the King would put into that office (as he has done) the most declared friend of mine, Lord Barrington,[1] without consulting the Duke. There is

[1] *MS.* acknowledgment of deference and gratitude from Lord Barrington, 26th September, 1755.

one circumstance that must be agreeable to you, that Mr. Fox comes in the declared opposer of the Duke of Devonshire's and Mr. Legge's measures: and that must turn out to the service of him (I mean myself) against whom the Duke of Devonshire directs all his malice Think coolly, consider by yourself, what is said in this matter, and then I am sure you will not, you cannot, disapprove what I have done, all in concert with the Chancellor. Pray show this letter to nobody but my Lord Lincoln."[1]

Sir T. Robinson was guaranteed a pension of £2,000 a-year on the Irish Establishment. On obtaining all his compensatory terms, he found no more touching way of expressing his gratitude than by exclaiming, "I have seven children, and I never looked at them with so much pleasure as to-day." Could a trustier colleague be kept in the Cabinet? The Keeper of the Wardrobe was accordingly retained to vote as his ducal master wished during the rest of the reign. Newcastle had asked Lady Yarmouth if the King would speak civilly to Pitt when next he came to Court. She said he would not. He told her at Helvoetsluys "that he would not do such a *bassesse* to a ——; and she did not think that what had happened since would encourage him to it." The whole desire of the Princess was to avoid any message from the King about the conduct of her servants; and whoever advised it was to be threatened with the imputation of creating a new division in the Royal Family. The King saw the true cause of opposition to the young Prince's marriage.[2] How far these Royal misgivings related to the Princess herself, or to her thwarting influence over her too docile son, it is not easy to determine. A cloud of suspicion was darkling deeper over Kew, which neither Waldegrave nor Hardwicke thought it would answer any good purpose to break through, while no one had the courage to deny or disregard it.

While keeping well with Hartington in Ireland, it suited Newcastle to represent the foreign policy of Chatsworth as likely to bring destruction upon the country. Ministers could not, in the present circumstances, enter into a war upon the Continent. But they ought not to proclaim it, and at the same time to declare that they could fight all the world at sea. The maritime powers, except Spain, would all join against us. Al-

[1] To Lady Katharine Pelham, 26th September, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Lord Chancellor, 4th October, 1755.—*MS.*

ready France had prevailed upon Sweden and Denmark to enter into a maritime union against the oppression of the English at sea, and their treatment of neutral powers. Holland would be at last intimidated, and how long Spain would stand out was uncertain.

The still undeclared, but not less real, war on the ocean had begun. The captain of H.M. sloop, the *Cruiser*, reported having taken seven sail of French merchantmen off Boulogne, and having chased three more within a league of St. Valery.[1] Far from rebuking him, the Naval Lord reported to his Board that altogether they had made capture of fifty-three ships.[2] Meanwhile secret advices from Versailles described the Court and Cabinet there as sore perplexed at the reluctance of the Spanish and Prussian Governments to enter into alliance against England. A million-and-a-half livres a month were said to have been offered to Frederick, and the bribe might be raised still further. What was most feared was the systematic destruction of the unarmed marine of France, without which on the shores of Acadie and Normandy the operations of their best appointed navy would be vain. But every armed vessel would ere long be put in condition, and some decisive enterprise would be organised. And this, though the word of a spy to earn so much a month, proved substantially true.[3]

If certain Dutch politicians were relieved by the extraordinary change that had come over neighbouring rulers with regard to future combinations in war, the Court of Orange was sorely troubled at the prospect of being dependent on the convenience or caprice of their great enemy. Yorke had more than enough to do to keep his sense of ambassadorial dignity in his frequent and prolonged audiences of the Princesse Gouvernante, who poured on his vicarious head her passionate reproaches at being deserted by her unaffectionate father. Sir Joseph could not say in so many words what he knew she must have known, that his dozing Majesty rarely pretended any longer to have decisive voice or veto in Council. Her Highness wept and stormed alternately, as she recalled her indefatigable labours for the past summer and autumn, to wheedle when she could not worry, and

[1] To Admiral Smith, 9th October, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] To Sec. Cleveland, 10th October, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] Cressener to Newcastle, 9th October, 1755.—*MS.*

to worry when she could not coax, the Dutch Cabinet into thorough co-operation with the proposals of the previous spring for a grand combination against France. Yorke did not like reporting to Whitehall all she said, but he feared to keep his chief in the dark. He told Secretary Holdernesse how he had reminded her of their disappointment at the little active sympathy shown in Holland in her views, and the coldness of Austria, which left her father's Ministers no choice but to look elsewhere for aid. They had found that most of the Dutch rulers were inclined to treat with France for a neutrality, and that it was because he did not desire to distress her Administration, but on the contrary, to facilitate it, that he had taken the earliest opportunity of informing her of the true state of affairs, that she might have time to look about her for the security of her house, and the Republic. Chagrin does not reason clearly in many men; seldom, if ever, in a woman; and the Princess was no exception. Having made the English Envoy promise what he had no right to do, that he would not tell the Pensionary what his instructions were, she forthwith bade him make her father understand that as she was left to the mercy of France, he must not reckon on the 6,000 men the Commonwealth was by treaty bound to furnish Great Britain in case of need; that the *Quartier de Gueldre* would probably be surrendered to France, and all the standing provisions regarding the Scheldt would be sacrificed by the States-General to appease their ravening neighbour; and so on, with many forebodings as to the altered map of Europe.[1]

In spite of good news from Dublin, Madrid, Potsdam, Holland House, and the Channel Fleet, the Cabinet were out of spirits. Legge must go out, and Grenville was for making other examples as proof of their possessing determination. Lady Yarmouth told the First Lord that she thought he wanted spirit and resolution; and when he asked the King to appease the discontent of the Princess of Wales by a further allowance of £5,000 a-year, his Majesty was always for condescendences, but he would not give her another shilling; in consequence of which they must expect many additional votes against them. Why could not somebody of influence expostulate with her? Newcastle could think of no one but Lord Bute, who confessedly had the most influence. Lady Yarmouth deprecated strongly

[1] Joseph Yorke to Newcastle, 7th October, 1755.—*MS.*

the language and demeanour known to prevail at Kew; but in the outer Court few affected to know how little or how much of truth there was in the insinuations daily growing louder against her widowed Highness.

Hardwicke thought a further provision for the younger children not an unreasonable demand on the part of the Princess. If everything would come right at such a price it would be ridiculous to refuse it, and he was very sorry to see the King so negative on that subject. Newcastle's suggestion of making Lord Dupplin Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hardwicke could not have thought of. His Grace knew how much he loved him, but it would not do in any shape. He agreed with the Attorney-General that it could not be thought of. All engines of ridicule would be set to work. It would give countenance to what was propagated, that his Grace would bear with nobody in that office but one they would, though opprobriously, call an absolute fool.[1]

While the King was at Hanover in the summer of 1755 Secretary Holdernesse concluded a Treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse for 12,000 men to be employed in the defence of Hanover or Great Britain; and on his Majesty's return in September a Treaty was concluded by the Secretary of State with the Ambassador of Russia, and signed at Kensington, with the approval of the Cabinet, for an auxiliary force of 40,000 men to be employed in Hanover, the cost of both to be borne by the British Exchequer. The negotiations which led to these conventions had been no secret to men in office; and Mr. Legge concurred with Pitt and others in deprecating their impolicy. It had been, in fact, repeatedly a subject of controversy within the circle of Administration.

On a draft from St. Petersburg for £100,000 being presented at the Treasury in October, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, acting in concert with the Paymaster-General, refused to honour it until formally sanctioned by the House of Commons, and the prodigality of Government, as they believed, might thereby be arrested, if not brought to an end. The First Lord was more surprised than offended. The spirit of mutiny must, indeed, be exorcised; but why need its actual presence be confessed? Better let the warrants go without a name, which, after all, was unessential, and wait till a more docile occupant could be found

[1] To Newcastle, 13th October, 1755.—*MS.*

for a second seat at the Board. So the Executive mechanism grumbled on for a few weeks longer, without anyone but Legge getting the credit of having forfeited his place for the benefit of his country.[1] His actual motives for this second breach of official discipline, and his subsequent severance from the new Leader in division may best be given in his own words: "With regard to myself, I can only say that the part I have acted has been a consistent one. After the manner in which I opened the Vote of Credit last year for a million, and the strict appropriation of that money to purposes of our own exclusively, I could never have shown my face in the House of Commons if I had set my hand to a warrant giving any part of that money to other purposes. I never was more clear in opinion, both as to the impolicy and irregularity of the measure. As such I resisted it to the end, but without noise or scurrility. But I do not impute my downfall either to political opinions or the manner of maintaining them. I know it was long ago determined that I should be added to that hecatomb which, from time to time, has been sacrificed to those two illustrious idols who delight in the blood of Whigs." [2]

During the autumn Thomas Potter, who sat for Aylesbury by the favour of Lord Temple, was busily employed in organising resistance in Parliament to the expected measures of the Cabinet. Without a continuation of disaffected officials and unplaced Peers and Members of Parliament nothing effectual could be done. It was necessary, therefore, to keep in concert the choirs of Stowe and of Holland House, though they could not be expected to be always in unison. Temple hoped by a visit to Woburn to remove the impression of the Duke that Pitt was resolved never to act again with Fox, and that he would be satisfied with nothing but personal ascendancy; and Potter was authorised to explain away his memorable expression in their last interview—that they were on different though convergent lines, as meaning only the natural reluctance of Pitt to go into battle with an ally who refused to give any pledge against coming to terms with a beleaguered garrison at some unexpected turn, and without his consent. Potter asserted plainly that the main, if not the sole, object in view was "the destruction of the Duke of Newcastle," for

[1] To Hardwicke, October, 1755.

[2] To Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 20th January, 1756.—*MS.* Devonshire Papers

which it was only necessary that all should declare decidedly against the Russian subsidy, for were it repudiated the First Lord said he would resign. Grenville might depend upon it that Bedford had come into this view, and was ready to support the policy of Pitt, which was, in fact, to oppose all measures tending to enfeeble our efforts in America or draw the war to another quarter; and he professed to be the bearer of a declaration of Bedford that he believed Pitt to be the only man who had virtue and abilities enough to retrieve the affairs of this country.[1] It soon appeared that he was either mistaken or had misrepresented these alleged vows of readiness to join "for the extirpation of the common enemy." Fox was already negotiating a junction with Newcastle on the terms refused twelve months before; and Bedford, over whom he exercised an unbroken spell, tacitly disclaimed any intention of breaking with him to engage under a leader like Pitt. Potter tried hard on a second visit to bring his Grace back to the position where, as he thought, he had left him three weeks before. Pitt's declaration to Fox that he "could neither go with him into Court or Opposition" had greatly dissatisfied him; and though he applauded the honesty that prompted Pitt to reject recent overtures of high office, he could not feel surprised at their being made to Fox or at his acceptance of them. His friend Rigby had been with him since with assurances from Fox that he was about to come in with a view to strengthen himself in the Closet and to undermine the Duke of Newcastle, and against all the efforts both of the Duke and the Chancellor by the influence of the Duke of Cumberland.[2]

Bedford confessed his fear of the consequences that might ensue from adopting the subsidiary treaties, but would hold out no promise of opposing them. Hartington hoped the alliance with Fox might prove durable. It "would, of course, make Mr. Pitt more outrageous than ever; and they might take for granted that he would flame out furiously." But as Government would have a strong majority it need not be attended with any bad consequences. He was much concerned to hear of his father being so strong against the Treaties. He was sorry there was so much opposition to them.[3] Prince William, and those who shared his

[1] Potter to G. Grenville, September, 1755.
[2] T. Potter to Earl Temple, 17th October, 1755.
[3] To Newcastle, 7th October, 1755.—*MS.*

confidence, as well as Devonshire and Legge, disapproved so strongly that the Viceroy thought it necessary privately to assure his father, from Dublin, that his own assent had been given to them without knowing the depth and earnestness of the Duke's aversion. The letter is highly characteristic of the affectionate ties subsisting between them.

"Dear Sir,—Lord Duncannon tells me that his Majesty and everybody in England are in great distress at the declaration you made against the Treaties, and are very apprehensive that, being publicly known, it will have very bad consequences, and will affect them very much. I had heard that Mr. Pitt and the Grenvilles had made use of your name, but as you never had said anything to me I was in hopes it was not so strong, and determined a resolution as I find it is, and when I have said this I beg leave to assure you that I know your good intentions so well, and have that deference to your judgment, that I am ready to follow you in whatever you think right. I had, two posts ago, a private intimation from Sir R. Wilmot that there was a rub about the Russian Treaty, and that if that did not come on that Pitt and Legge would not oppose the Hessian, and the latter said it would be protesting the King's own Bill in the face of Europe. Now, by the little I have heard, the Hessian seems to me to be most liable to objection, being for an unconscionable length of time, whereas if there is anything to be said for any subsidiary treaties, it seems to be for the Russian, because it brings a great strength, and may be a means of keeping Prussia in awe; and I find from the Duke of Newcastle that we are got into a negotiation with Prussia, and are in hopes of keeping him neuter. If there should be anything in it France might be induced perhaps to come to terms; for I cannot comprehend the meaning of their conduct in not declaring war against us. I should mot have said so much upon the subject had it not been for a message I had from his Majesty to send over what Members of Parliament there were in Ireland that would be for the subsidy; and therefore I must beg of you to send me word what you would have me say to my brother, who I am sure will obey your orders. . . . I hope we shall go on well. Peace is the universal language, and the only means of enabling me to strengthen my hands. Your most dutiful son, HARTINGTON."[1]

[1] Dublin, 21st October, 1755.—*MS.*

On the same day Fox wrote to him, giving his view of affairs :—

"His Majesty was this morning again very high indeed in his commendations of you, and eager in his wishes that you were here, though what influence the Duke of Devonshire would have upon you he could not tell. I told him that his Grace had wrote me word that to say he was a *declared* enemy to these subsidies was using too strong a word of one who followed his own opinion without meaning to stir up opposition, and who talked with very few upon the subject. And being matter of opinion, if yours was really different from his Grace's, I dared believe his Grace would wish you to follow your own, not his. I believed what I said, and there could be no harm in saying it at all events, as the question must be over before you leave Ireland. I saw Legge this morning. He says he has made two resolutions: one to be against these subsidys, the other not to go into opposition. But I find if Pitt should go out he would follow him, and that he (Legge) is grown in more favour too at Leicester House. In short, he is in league with Pitt; though I think when Pitt declared off with me, mine would have been the more natural, as well as the more reasonable, alliance. Pitt's behaviour is founded, without doubt, on ambitious hopes, which, if you love the King half so well as he (and I too) think you love him, you cannot approve. Legge's motives may be honest, but the manner of his pursuing his conscientious sentiments, if such they are, is weak, and I am sorry for it. Whilst we are disputing whether we should keep any connection with the Continent (even such only as is the subject of these subsidiary treatys) our Sea War seems already to fail in its own element. And our Island will, undoubtedly, be invaded. Whether yours may or not I can't tell. But there are preparations making and troops assembled at Brest, as well as Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. You know from the beginning my opinion of these things."[1]

A week later he wrote :—

. . . "I don't think you should seem to know it, I am sure not from me, but Leicester House is as much in opposition as ever it was formerly. On Sunday I was there, and at no time did the late Prince of Wales lay his designs before his drawing-room, or mark them more strongly than she and her children did hers.

[1] 21st October, 1755.—*MS.*

Pitt is quite master. Egmont does not like it. Pitt acted, and was treated as the Minister there as much as Sir R. Walpole in Queen Caroline's drawing-room. I am sorry to say Legge had a prodigious share of distinction too, because it shows he's deeply engaged, and engaged in what your father will no more approve than you will. He was here this morning, and did not deny that the Opposition could not stop at the subsidies. I think he wonders at and regrets his situation; but he will not know where to stop. It is a pretty time for the Royal Family to divide. And it is a pretty point too for any of them to hold out for discussion to the people; and yet there is as much industry used as in the Excise time, or in 1744, to show the clog Hanover is upon England. Bad as this may seem, it is nothing to the danger we are in from a provoked enemy to whom we are by no means equal, friendless and alone as we are."[1]

Pitt, incensed at the preference shown for Fox, took no pains to conceal his leaning to the war policy. That it was popular, and the most effectual means of embarrassing Government, determined his course. If they would not open the door to him he would break it open. Newcastle, in his clumsy and incoherent way sought to appease him; and when all other inducements failed made him the offer of a seat in the Cabinet. But his jealousy spurned subordination in rank to Fox; and he repelled the proposal with scorn. The Lord-Lieutenant, with intelligence often interrupted by the winds and waves in the Channel, grew uneasy regarding the prospects of the approaching Session. "I am sorry to find," he wrote, "that there is likely to be very warm work in England, for I understand that Leicester House is going to follow the steps of the late Prince of Wales, and that they will not stop at the subsidies, but continue an opposition, which, considering the King's age, will soon become very formidable. I am heartily vexed to think Legge is engaged in it. I am persuaded, whatever you may think about subsidies, that you will not approve of that sort of work; and if my friend, in order to court the rising sun, goes into measures to distress the King and disturb the peace of this country, I shall not think so well of him as I always have done. These things make me very uneasy, and therefore I wish to hear from you. As to Mr. Pitt, I have always been greatly prejudiced in his favour, but I

[1] 28th October, 1755.—*MS.*

know his ambition to be unbounded; and if he sees his way at Leicester House, the warmth of his temper and his passion will carry him any lengths; his former opposition sufficiently proves it."[1]

The Duke being ill, Lord John Cavendish replied for him:—

"My father does not approve of the subsidy treaties, but if they whose conduct he has approved of in this affair have any design to foment divisions in the Royal Family he thinks them highly to blame; but that subject he can as yet form no judgment upon, as he is not acquainted with any facts relating to it. His Grace has carried his prudery of influencing nobody so far that if I had not been employed to write this letter to you, I should never have got him to confess he did not like the measures, not that by his conversation it was not easy enough to guess what he meant, which made me walk out without voting on the day of the address."[2]

Notwithstanding their intimacy and confidence, Bedford was not disposed to support Fox in his new position. Fox wrote:—

"He will not come in with the Duke of Newcastle, though he will not, I fancy, be against the subsidies. He is much struck with seeing Pitt's government established in another Court, and however he may dislike Ministers or measures, he will never, he says, give into another Leicester House opposition. This is honest and open. And were he not afraid of being thought to be governed he would do right. How far that fear may carry him wrong (short of the opposition he mentioned with such horror) I won't say. Everything with regard to domestic affairs go well enough. I see every day more and more reason to know that I did right, and that I could have done no otherwise. In Parliament we shall, I verily think, triumph beyond expectations. Whether, with respect to foreign affairs in Europe, we are not even in a desperate way, I dare not examine. And yet the city is afraid of peace, and I am said to be *Le Bon feu de la Guerre*."[3]

On the eve of the decisive struggle the Government measured their strength in debate with that of their opponents. "Our line of battle is not so weak a one as may have been imagined. For:

[1] Hartington to Devonshire, 8th November, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] To Hartington, 15th November, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] Fox to Hartington, 4th November, 1755.—*MS.*

Fox, Murray, H. Campbell, Charles Yorke, Old Horace, Hillsborough, Barrington, Sir T. Robinson, Dupplin, &c. Against: Pitt, Dodington, Legge, G. Grenville, Potter, Jemmy Grenville, Beckford, if not, Egmont. Doubtful: George Townshend, Charles Townshend, Noel Henley, and perhaps Dr. Hay.[1]

The rival orators at St. Stephen's had not actually quarrelled, but on both sides stood at 'tention. Pitt called on Fox and said: "We, sir, stand now upon different ground. We were upon the same circumvergent ground, but now, sir, you have done what was right for you, and I must do what is right for myself."[2] Upon which, Dodington said, "The gods take care of Cato." Harwicke thought Pitt must have said "convergent ground." He had made up his mind to be against the Hessian Treaties.

As the Session approached, every vote was looked up, and even in the Lords, where Government did not affect any fears, renewed proxies were asked for carefully. Hartington received information from his father to send his to the First Lord, from which he was sorry to be obliged to infer that Chatsworth was determined to be against the subsidies. The Duke had not then received the Viceroy's letter on the subject, but he despaired of making his Grace change his opinion. Nothing ever gave him more concern than this affair. If his father should give him any opening, he would do everything in his power to dissuade him from opposition, but he feared it would be in vain.[3]

The Lord President having nothing departmental to do, and possessing beyond most other men the gifts and accomplishments that render versatility useful, had made for himself an undefinable, but not indistinct or unimportant, function—that of taking the measure and the mood of everyone politically worth asking to dinner. He loved wit, of which his own stock was varied, and wine, of which, when anyone fitly companionable would help him, he would sometimes take more than enough; but though still the delight of good society, from the death of his beautiful second wife he was insensible to female charms. Those who envied his personal popularity at Court or country house called his levity at small party perplexities want of

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 18th October, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Granville to Newcastle, 12th October, 1755.—*MS.*

[3] Hartington to Newcastle, 29th October, 1755.—*MS.*

patriotism ; and the freedom with which he poked fun at some of the Bishops, want of reverence for the Established Church : and many, who never sat late with him, affected to be able to tell how much he loved Burgundy. We find even Newcastle carping at his unguarded freedom of speech in Council, after he had dined ; but save the Chancellor and the new Secretary of State, there was, after all, nobody in office comparable with him in sagacity, experience, or mother wit, when called on at short notice to advise on public affairs ; and as he disdained alike Party prejudice and private jobbing, men of all shades of opinion freely availed themselves of fitting opportunity to be his guests, or when he chose, to make him theirs. Bedford had not made it up with Newcastle since the intrigue of 1751, when he was forced to give up the Seals ; and he made no secret of his energetic, though somewhat elastic, combination with the ablest critics and foes of the Cabinet from time to time. But the ice of exclusion having been once broken, the Lord of Woburn had no objection to dine with the Master of the Hawnes before coming to town for the Session ; and, in discoursing on public affairs, spoke very sensibly, Granville thought, and very moderately. " He seemed to have no intention of acting *ex animo hostili*, nor to be in any connection of Opposition. He did not pretend to answer for what might happen, but he verily believed that a certain person (Newcastle could guess whom he meant) could secure his assistance in the King's Measures." [1]

Subsequently, three hours' interview with Fox left the same impression of Bedford's placability, but none of a desire to join Administration. All the more Fox advised that the Chancellor should call upon him. He was sure the confidence would be very well received.[2]

Hardwicke was urged by Newcastle to spare no pains in softening old feelings of asperity towards himself, and frankly to trust their former colleague with everything of consequence in the state of foreign affairs. On the same day, when thanking Sir G. Lyttelton for his continued support, notwithstanding the alienation of Pitt, he declared that the growth of the French navy caused Ministers to fear it might ere long be more formid-

[1] To Newcastle, 27th October, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Fox to Newcastle, 1st November, 1755.—*MS.*

able than our own.[1] The visit thereupon took place and ended peaceably and even pleasantly though *re infecta.*

The supporters of Government were mustered at the Cockpit 289 strong the day before Parliament met. Pitt, who knew how great issues ultimately depend upon roll call on parade, resolved to give battle, and put up Mr. Martin, M.P. for Camelford, who had been Legge's private secretary, to move an amendment against further subsidies.

It was known that differences existed in the Government; and curiosity to witness the outbreak of mutiny on the Treasury Bench drew a crowded House. George Grenville, who loved office, was sorrowful at having to find fault with the increased expenditure the subsidiary treaties implied. Legge, who could ill afford throwing away the Seal of the Exchequer, was alternately taunting and trimming; sarcastic enough to win cheers from outsiders, and loyal enough, as he hoped, to keep well with the circumspect friends of the Court. No colleague save Murray made any effective reply, and a long evening was spent in desultory and pointless discussion.

To a weary House, Pitt's ebullition of long-pent-up spleen had all the fascination of a tragic part whose extravagance is forgiven in admiration of the versatility and vigour of the performance. He was furious at the offer of formal thanks to the Crown for engaging the alliance of the minor States of Germany on the condition of small subsidies, and prophetic of the disaffection their burthen would entail. The terms of the Address were, he said, those of adulation, for which, in other times, men would have been brought to the bar; but he had long perceived a Ministerial design to lower and humiliate the House. In a frenzy of exaggeration, he exclaimed that before two years had passed the King would not be able to sleep in St. James's for the cries of a bankrupt people. The last three wars with France had cost the country on an average £40,000,000, and left behind a burthen of £80,000,000; that upon which they were then entering would entail a far greater outlay and a still heavier load of debt, all for the sake of Hanover, which they could not save from being overrun. All this did not touch a conscience or turn a vote. That was not its drift or aim. It was meant, and understood to mean, only a transcendent effort of genius—an assertion

[1] Newcastle to Sir G. Lyttelton, 1st November, 1755.—*MS.*

of personal superiority to all competitors for the lead by virtue of super-excellence in Parliamentary talk. And it fully realised its purpose. Nobody expected to hear a vindication of personal conduct or motive, or a development of a better national policy in time to come. Those who remembered Pitt's passionate rendering of patriotic purity, and who had sneered or sighed at his subsequent grinding in the mill of misrule, did not expect him to prove that Cornet Pitt and Paymaster Pitt were consistent, or that he was prepared with vouchers to adhere to his renewed vows of retrenchment and reform. After listening for ten hours to an inconclusive and generally unexciting discussion, the House wanted to have something for their trouble, and they unanimously agreed that they had it in the rare combination of fancy, pathos, rage, and wit that for an hour-and-a-half wakened them to interest and admiration of the great actor. It would not have been pertinent then, as it would not be pertinent now, to ask how many hoped he would realise in practice the splendid professions uttered with such matchless suavity and fervour, or how many inwardly questioned whether the heart of the man was smitten with their truth when he smote his brow, as if by irresistible impulse, in attestation of his sincerity. His audience knew that in that Theatre Royal the managers had long kept him unemployed, and then taken him on as a supernumerary to keep him quiet; and that, tired at last of the cramping bonds of subordination, he had resolved to set at nought the rest of his Majesty's servants, and show without leave that he was fitter to play Brutus than any of them. There was hardly a man out of official livery in the crowded chapel of St. Stephen's that would have missed the specious harangue, or one upon whom next day it left any other impression than that the great artist was determined to try for the foremost place, if not for the managership of the company.

The amendment to the Address was supported by Dodington, Legge, Sir R. Lyttelton, Sir G. Lee, G. Grenville, Sir F. Dashwood, Alderman Beckford, Colonel Townshend, and Egmont; and opposed by Hillsborough, Sir G. Lyttelton, Murray, Sir T. Robinson, and Fox, now leader of the House. Ministers had a majority of 311 to 105, and, elated with their success, resolved to get rid of their faithless colleagues. Pitt and Legge were politely informed that their services were no longer needed, and his brother, George Grenville, and Oswald were also dismissed.

The scabbard was thus thrown away; and when Fox moved the Army Estimates some days after, a sharp altercation arose between the rival orators, in which Pitt declared that his character had been assassinated, because he had told the truth regarding the defenceless and forlorn condition of the country. Nothing had been done during the King's absence abroad worthy of the name of government; but now that danger drew near he was ready to vote any number of men that might be thought necessary to repel invasion. Fox asked why he had not laid bare the exigency while there was more time to provide for it, instead of keeping what he said he knew as material for reproach. For his part, he had not struggled for office, and would not retain it longer than his advice was attended to; but Murray led back the House to the question before it, and no division took place.[1] Sir G. Lyttelton, one of the cousinhood, supported the subsidies, and was requited accordingly with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

Temple, delighted with the fearless eloquence of his brother-in-law, wrote to Lady Hester, begging her to persuade him to accept £1,000 a-year as some compensation for the office her husband had thrown away, and in Pitt's straitened circumstances he did not think it prudent to decline. Lord Barrington was made Secretary-at-War, Lords Darlington and Dupplin Joint Paymasters-General, and Dodington Treasurer of the Navy. The Commons voted the instalments of £100,000 to Russia and £54,000 to Hesse.

Pitt, at length unmuzzled, broke forth in vehement deprecation of the humiliating position of the country in the eyes of foreign Powers. He had not objected to the four-shilling land tax, proposed by Legge, or to the standing force of 34,000 men proposed by Fox; but he denounced the bygone expedient of allowing great nobles to undertake the raising of regiments, half of which were never called out, though nearly all of them were paid for by the Treasury.

His fury against the Treaties waxed hotter day by day. It had been, he said, a long-standing source of trouble and contention what England should do for the defence of Hanover. Townshend had struggled manfully against the waste of British resources in Continental war; and Walpole, whom be highly

[1] Debate, 21st November, 1755.

praised as "a truly English Minister," and deeply regretted having in early life misunderstood, had kept a firm hand on the door of the Closet; but when he was gone the door was flung open to all manner of subsidising prodigality. Murray was unable to efface the sensation caused by the great actor, and Lyttelton, though earnest and conciliatory, failed to ward off the shafts of Legge's debating wit. Fox said little, for he knew with whom he had to deal; and a decisive majority practically declared by their votes how hollow the professions of patriotic frugality would prove whenever the leaders of party should change places. On each of the Treaties the controversy was renewed, but all of them were ratified by nearly three to one.[1]

Anson could not show more signally his sympathy with Pitt's yearning for success than by his disregard of traditional rule in the choice of men to command. Seniority and service had hitherto divided promotion between them, with no other exception than that of occasional jobbing in favour of high birth. Anson did not affect pretensions to organic reform, and party ties and attachments would, of themselves, have been sufficient to restrain him from attempting any general change of the kind. But in a season of national misgiving and danger he did not hesitate to look out the best men for command; and, though not regardless of age and standing, to promote men of promising capacity and daring. Hawke, a comparatively young officer, was summoned to the Admiralty, and surprised by being bidden to go forth and retrieve the drooping honours of the flag. Cavils and grumblings like those which afterwards greeted the selection of Amherst and Wolfe by a war-like Secretary of State saluted Hawke's promotion; but its justice was quickly and amply vindicated by the part played in the campaigns of the following years.

Fox was naturally anxious to confirm Bedford's disposition to forgive past faults in Ministers. If they gave Rigby and Sandwich place, Woburn would probably be with them. Its haughty master would ask nothing for himself, but if he was sure of not being refused he might possibly ask for his friends. The advice prevailed, the hint was taken, the second Lord Gower obtained the Privy Seal, which Marlborough gave up for the Master-Generalship of the Ordnance, and Rigby was assured of good things to come.

[1] 10th and 12th December, 1755.

By this time the terms had been settled of the Treaty with Frederick for securing the inviolability of all German States (Prussia and Hanover especially) from invasion in case of a European war; and Holdernesse on Christmas Day indited an elaborate despatch to Sir Hanbury Williams at St. Petersburg to prove that this change of front was not only compatible with previous engagements with the Empire, but was a legitimate Treaty of alliance offensive and defensive. He would diplomatically recognise in the new convention the same purpose that had inspired that which had been the particular work of his hands, namely, to deter the King of Prussia from taking arms; and this, it was hoped, would be thus accomplished. He was to keep the Treaty a profound secret until further notice; but if, driven by provoking hints from Vienna, the Czarina Elizabeth should question him as to England's new engagements, the Ambassador should then appeal to her magnanimity as a great Sovereign, whose dignity and grandeur more comported with the avoidance of blood-shedding than with any triumph of arms. The backsliding of Austria from the General Alliance and the possibility of her junction with France against their neighbours, would sufficiently appear from the correspondence enclosed; but all this, also, he must keep dark as long as possible;[1] for the compact with Prussia was not yet actually signed.

An aerolite from the unclouded blue could not have caused more surprise and perplexity to the Ambassador. European secrets, however dexterously devised, have never long been kept The Czarina was deeply offended by what she termed the clandestine compact with Prussia; and she resolved thenceforth to draw closer to the Courts of Vienna and Versailles.

In a long audience on the 28th December George II. showed how minute and varied was his knowledge of foreign affairs, and how many methods of his own he employed for keeping up with the shifting purposes of the time. He handed the First Lord an intercepted letter from the Swedish Minister at Paris to his master at Stockholm, disclosing confidentially the preparations and projects of the French for the ensuing spring. They proposed to have a great fleet, 55 sail of the line, besides frigates, ready for sea, their whole force amounting to 120 large ships, with 55,000 seamen. The cost already reached £3,000,000 a-year.

[1] 26th December, 1755.—*MS.*

Our Navy Estimates equalled, if they did not exceed theirs. From all which the Minister only inferred that they were sincerely anxious for a cessation of arms, as they said they were; and if these representations should be confirmed from other quarters, Newcastle thought proposals similar to those formerly offered by us might be accepted. Sir J. Barnard, on whom the Treasury mainly relied for guidance in financial operations east of Temple Bar, fell in readily with the Duke's hankering after peace as the simplest way of making ends meet next year.

Meanwhile, Anson's easy way of looking at things and lightening his correspondence with professional gibes and sneers at political faintheartedness, gave rise to no little vexation. Would the Chancellor expostulate with him without saying whence objection came?[1]

But as hopes vanished of friendly relations, or even the dissembling of hostile combination with France on the part of the Czarina and the Empress, the King daily turned more and more towards his ambitious brother of Brandenburg; and he looked with impatience for the ratification of the Treaty of German neutrality, which at Vienna and St. Petersburg became, when published in the January following, the absorbing topic of denunciation as evidence of English perfidy. He clung to the Duchess of Brunswick's project for the marriage of his grandson and her eldest daughter, which, though not yet formally negatived at Leicester House, had caused much uneasiness there. Stone sent a confidential memorandum from Kew, apprising the Duke that Mr. Cresset would wait upon him by desire of the Treasurer to the Prince on matters of extreme urgency. Mr. Cresset seemed greatly to apprehend his mistress being *committed* in the *report* that must now be soon made, and hoped all possible caution would be used in that respect. The cause of uneasiness seemed to have been the rumour that the King, while abroad, had made up his mind that his Royal Highness should marry a daughter of Brunswick. In December he sent for the Prince to have, as he said, an opportunity of talking to him, generally about expectations of a separate household, which could not much longer be postponed. What with his own shyness, and the inopportune warnings of his suspicious parent, the embarrassed youth was confused by the frank and good-natured

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 28th December, 1755.—*MS.*

manner in which he was received. The King did his best to put him at his ease and induce him to open his juvenile hopes and wishes to him concerning men and things, not saying a peevish word about his mother or a syllable about matrimony, but all in vain. The Heir Apparent was what he himself always described as "flurried"; the blood mounted to his face; his voice, when he tried to be responsive to kind questioning, stuck in his throat; and after three-quarters of an hour his grandfather was convinced that he was one of the dullest and most obstinate boys, and that there was no use in spending what he meant for diplomacy upon him. Waldegrave, who knew them both, *intus et in cute*, felt that the occasion had been thrown away, and hoped that it would not be reverted to. Anybody of tact and sense, more of his own age, would have been likely to do better with one so crammed with prejudices; and it required, to say the truth, long acquaintance with his Majesty to appreciate quickly or fully what his broken English was intended to convey. [1]

The relations between Ministers and Leicester House did not improve. George II. complained warmly of its extravagant behaviour, and the taking no notice there of anybody who had received Royal employments, and open countenance being given to those in violent opposition. The Court of Prussia would probably make some overture directly regarding the marriage. That would please people extremely, and make the refusal more difficult.[2] Had the Heir Apparent been of wandering or wayward disposition, the purpose of his grandfather would speedily have been fulfilled; but his Royal Highness, though desirous of having around him a staff of youthful nobles, whom he himself should name, was averse from any change of residence that implied separation from his mother. It was not easy to satisfy the claims of one-half the competitors for subordinate place, or to reconcile the other half to biding their time. The business-like leader of the Commons was not long in exacting his stipulated share of patronage; and Chesterfield, who could never resist the temptation to sarcasm, even when required to be stretched to snapping, wrote to Dayrolles (who was for him what Mann was to Horace Walpole): "Places are emptying and filling every day: the patriot of Monday is the courtier of Tuesday,

[1] Memoirs of Waldegrave.

[2] Newcastle to the Chancellor, 28th December, 1755.—*MS.*

and the Courtier of Wednesday is the patriot of Thursday. This, indeed, has more or less been long the case, but I really think never so impudently and so profitably before." He tendered some practical suggestions to Government upon the widening differences between Kensington and Kew, which they seemed to have valued highly, but could not see their way to carry into effect. Out of the fray himself, he saw the damage inflicted mutually, and thought he could play no more dignified part than that of impartial peace-maker. He cared as little in reality for Government as for Opposition, but the mortification of being nobody after so long having been somebody, and not being asked by anybody how it was or why, prompted him to write, and once more even to speak. He took part in the debate on foreign troops with his wonted animation and piquancy, but was so exhausted by the effort that he almost fainted, hastening home, seldom, if ever, to reappear on the scene. His deafness steadily increased; and to save his vanity the constant mortification it caused he shut himself up in the country on the pretence of historical research into questions of unravelled difficulty, gaily answering inquiries by letter as to his health, which he would have the world believe was improving. But though it improved, his deafness did not. Fine women's inquiries grew rare, and great men were content if they never saw him again. The *ennui* was intolerable. Now and then he affected fashion and dissipation, patronage of art, correspondence with foreign celebrities, youthful toilet, and deep play. Rigby met him at White's looking as well as ever, but "as deaf as a door post."

# CHAPTER IX.

## HENRY FOX OR WILLIAM PITT?

### 1755.

Hartington Viceroy—Parties in Irish Parliament—Unusual Balance in Irish Exchequer—War on the Ohio—What to do with the Fleet—Recall of Mirepoix—Defeat at Fort Duquesne.

EARLY in 1755 it became obvious to his fastest friends that his Grace of Dorset lacked the ability, and his Chief Secretary the discretion, requisite for the conduct of affairs in Ireland. The necessity for his recall was at last broken to the Duke in a conference with the Chancellor at Newcastle House on the 13th of February; and on the following Sunday he appeared at Court, when in audience he only submitted certain pensions on the Irish Establishment, about which he said no difficulty was made. His Majesty, who was not in the best humour, asked him "how things went now in Ireland, or if they were mended there." His feeble representative replied, "they were not mended in the North": of the rest of the country he said nothing. He still clung to the hope of retaining office; but neither he nor his presumptuous son could devise any pretext for staying their supersession. Speaker Boyle read a letter from London to his friends in Opposition on March 4th, announcing the approaching departure of the Lord-Lieutenant, of which the Lords Justices had had no official intimation. Primate Stone gave voice to their surprise and irritation at such treatment. But in a timely letter to Whitehall he adroitly suggested for Chief Governor the person who, he had confidential intelligence through his brother, was likely to be chosen. Hartington had in fact been already designated Viceroy by the Cabinet; and his reluctance to undertake the office

would certainly have not been lessened by perusing the Primate's epistle. His acceptance was finally due to the deference habitually paid by him to the judgment of his father whose experience in Irish affairs was still recent, and whose signal success in overcoming difficulties tended no doubt to depreciate the magnitude of those which had arisen since his time.[1] The new Lord-Lieutenant had married in 1748 the Baroness Clifford, by whom he became possessed of the large estate of Lismore, and thus, as well as by his family connection with the head of the Geraldines and Ponsonbys, he was entitled to represent the great Irish families. Colonel Seymour Conway, brother of Lord Hertford, and nephew of Sir Robert Walpole, was named Chief Secretary. It was the first indication, hardly understood at the moment, of a change in the meaning and method of provincial rule. Conway, though a young man, had served at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and had already acquired a character in his regiment for skill in discipline beyond and apart from drill. He was personally little known by the new Lord-Deputy; but his family had large possessions in Ulster, and the command of several seats in the Irish Commons, one of which he already held. He was Member for Higham-Ferrers, and continued to sit in both Parliaments for some years. The Irish Commons were out of temper with the Castle; and the Speaker's enmity to the Primate rendered the transaction of business more difficult than usual. Someone was wanted whose antecedents would not rekindle, or words inflame, the resentments which Lord G. Sackville's petulence and discourtesy had left behind; and the Member for the county of Antrim was greeted when he took his place on the Treasury Bench as the first Irish Member who had been made Secretary for many years. All parties professed satisfaction on the new Viceroy's arrival. To the Primate he spoke in a conciliatory tone and received from him assurances of support. Chancellor Jocelyn, whom he took to be a plain honest man, was full of regrets at the height to which party heats had gone, and longed to see an end of them. The Speaker held a different tone, his Excellency talked civilly but very firmly with him; but the King thought he had great reason to be displeased with him. Boyle justified the attempt of the Commons to exact the concession of an undertaking that

[1] Devonshire Papers, 1755.—*MS.*

heads of Bills should in all cases be agreed to by the Irish Parliament before measures were sent over to be introduced in either House at Dublin. He complained that all the influence and favour of Government had been "thrown into a certain person's hand," a thing neither his friends nor the country could be expected mutely to bear; and he concluded by asking what would be done in that respect. Hartington said that no man in Ireland should prescribe to him what he was to do, or to whom he should show favour. He had no view but to support the interest and honour of Government. If the Speaker and his friends would co-operate with him in carrying on public affairs, and endeavour to allay feuds and animosities, he would offer him his friendship, and assure him that he and those he led would have that share of power and influence that was due to them, for he would have no attachments in public life to any section, but would show consideration and friendship to all impartially as they deserved. The Speaker said that was as much as they desired; and upon that they would not bring on the question of Previous Consent between the Executive and the Legislature: his Excellency he hoped would not. He acquiesced in there being no retrospective censure, and went away apparently in good humour. "Thus far," wrote Hartington, "it seems to go well, and by what I hear the greater part of Opposition are for peace; but I shall not flatter myself that things will go quietly, until I have some further proofs of good intentions."[1] On a closer view of entangled parties, it seemed best to take the Speaker at his word, and give him some practical proof that Government were prepared to let much in the past be bygones. He wished accordingly for a discretionary power to include him in the next Commission of Lords Justices; and to offer him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, from which he might at any time be removed if necessary. "I have let him know that I would never have come to Ireland if I had not had assurances from the King and his Ministers that I should be able to turn out any man that did not support Government thoroughly as he ought to do; and he might depend upon it, that if necessary, I would make use of that power with firmness and resolution." He had written to the Secretary of State for leave to return

[1] 8th May, 1755.—*MS.*

to England when he had accomplished the immediate purpose of his coming over, which was ostensibly to inspect the condition of the army and the means of national defence.[1] But he was soon led to modify his intentions.

The hopes of a truce between parties disappeared. Anthony Malone, the leader of the Bar and the chief spokesman of Opposition, waited upon him to renew professions of personal goodwill, and disposition to be contented with the inclusion of his friend the Speaker as one of the Lords Justices. But he felt bound to acquaint his Excellency that he had changed his mind as to the efficacy of what had been proposed; for such was the prevalent enmity to the Primate "that were he left one of the Lords Justices, though the Speaker was added to the Commission and restored to his former place, it would not satisfy mankind." The Chancellor likewise thought he had much better defer his departure, and he agreed to stay till the end of the year, if his colleagues in Cabinet wished it: and he supposed they would not want any assistance he could give. He saw Mr. Ponsonby every day, who thought that they would go on very well. His leaving would only rekindle heats and party rage, that was subsiding, and would occasion new difficulties.[2]

The notice given by Malone had been considered by the Members of the Cabinet; and the First Lord apprised the Viceroy that Hardwicke, Grafton, and Sir T. Robinson agreed with him that this new incident greatly altered the question of restoring Speaker Boyle to the local Exchequer. Stone had lately confessed that for the interests of Government it was better that he should take a less prominent part. He, therefore, advised his Excellency to tarry in Ireland till after New Year's Day. He had no objection to the Speaker resuming the Exchequer; and he suggested that he himself might be left out of the Commission next time; but he was told that it was necessary for the honour of Government that he should remain. On the whole, Hartington thought that the Speaker's restoration was indispensable before the next meeting of Parliament. He believed the peace of the country depended on it; for unless some proofs were given of a reconciliation with him,

[1] 15th May, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Hartington to the First Lord, from Dublin Castle, 23rd May, 1755.—*MS.*

people would never be quiet. The flame throughout the Kingdom was very great, and wherever a vacancy happened in Parliament it burst forth with great violence.[1]

The Lord-Lieutenant had shown some vexation at the shilly-shally tone of the Cabinet regarding his suggestions; which, nevertheless, meant nothing more than the affectation of pondering what they cared in reality nothing about. In a fright lest he should get seriously out of temper, the First Lord repaired to Devonshire House to have all set to rights again, and begged Hartington not to be angry with him, who meant nothing but his service and the good of the whole, for he had really gone much further in a step not thought of when he left England: He meant the giving the Speaker his old employment, thereby putting him and his friends at the head of business in Ireland, certainly not with the inclination of the King.[2]

In reply the Viceroy said: "I am very sorry that my letter should give your Grace any concern. I assure you I wrote it out of friendship, and to prevent anything disagreeable arising. I was expecting the Speaker in town every day, and wanted much to know the King's opinion in order to judge the better how to talk to him. As to my being angry, indeed I was not, and I thought I endeavoured to show you that I wished and desired to live well and in friendship with you, and that, you may depend, is my real intention. I hope soon to have your opinion with regard to the state of this country. I shall lose no time in talking to everybody I meet with of the reasonableness of what I have offered, and the necessity of supporting the honour of Government. I have studied the list of the House of Commons, and talked it over with different people, and I flatter myself that if things should come to extremity I should be able to carry my point; but it will be, I fear, hazardous and by a very small majority. The lists are very near equal, and it will in that case be absolutely necessary that everybody that is in England that has any emolument under Government should come over. The Speaker dined here on Friday. I made him welcome, and, by what he said, I am persuaded that he wished most sincerely to come into my terms. Whether he will be able to bring his Party with him, or will have resolution to come with-

[1] Hartington to the First Lord, from Dublin Castle, 15th June, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hartington, 10th June, 1755.—*MS.*

out them, time only can show."[1] But, fond as Newcastle was of procrastination when the critical nature of affairs demanded decision, he was ever restless in devising subterfuge and make-believe when the course of ordinary events ran slow. "Could not the Archbishop be induced to request the omission of his name, which the King would be advised to grant? Something must be done before Parliament met or Ministers were undone. The only question was what that something should be: he was afraid he knew what it could not be."[2] His Excellency grew weary of the bickerings and personalities of provincial cliques whose politics lay in schemes for putting one another down. By midsummer his incarceration at the Castle, with its insanitary surroundings, became intolerable; and he was glad to escape to Castletown, the best country house near Dublin, which he rented during the residue of his stay in Ireland.

To avoid affronting susceptibilities, he suggested that he should be empowered to appoint a Lord-Deputy, as had formerly been sometimes done. His plan was readily assented to, it being understood that the recent Lords Justices should be acquainted in private that their services would not be required next time. Stone would thereby be dropped out of the Executive without any bubbling emotion; and then the Speaker might be restored to office without his party being afforded a personal triumph over that of his archiepiscopal opponent. If Lord Hertford would become Deputy, perhaps he would be best in his room. There was, however, no need of determining that point immediately, and as time went on the dream of resuscitating the obsolete name and function of Lord-Deputy passed away; and he reverted to the ideas with which his father sympathised, when they talked together ere he set out on his difficult mission for building up a strong and reliable Executive in Ireland of Irish materials. He had chosen Conway for his right hand help with this view, and had no cause to regret his choice. Representing a great estate in Ulster, the Secretary abjured, silently but steadfastly, the traditions of absenteeism and the official belief so long insisted on at the Cockpit, that the appendant realm could only be kept fast by the great offices, civil and ecclesiastical, being filled by functionaries sent across the Channel.

[1] Hartington to Newcastle, 20th July, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] To Hartington, 23rd July, 1755.—*MS.*

Grown tired of what he deemed equivocal silence, the Viceroy insisted upon knowing before the Irish Parliament met whether he should let it be understood definitively that Primate Stone was to be left out of the Commission of Lords Justices. He had stood out against it as long as possible, but without it there could not be peace or strength in Government, and when once this declaration was made, Government business would, he hoped, be done with ease, let who would be out of humour. It would come with a better grace at his own request.[1] There being, from contrary winds, two English packets due, Hartington was not aware that his suggestion had been anticipated, and the overdriven Minister excused his protracted silence by the absolute want of leisure from other anxieties.

It being resolved in any case to omit the Archbishop next time Lords Justices were named, Newcastle advised him confidentially to disclaim beforehand all desire for that trust, which, upon the whole, would be best for his own peace of mind and the welfare of the country.[2] Stone thereupon waited on the Lord-Lieutenant, and desired that his name might be withdrawn from any Executive Commission. There was at length a prospect that Government might be carried on without waste of time and temper in humouring the jealousies of cabals and cliques, and the country might be governed without respect of parties; and that those who sought favours from the Crown should think themselves obliged to it rather than to the strength of their local connections.[3] Hartington was authorised in disposing of places and preferments to do as he thought best; and, like Sunderland and Carteret, he thought it best in general to put Irishmen by birth or property into Irish offices.[4] In true consistency with his high sense of the value of paramount Imperialism, he recognised frankly the claims of native worth and merit, not merely as ticket-holders in the lottery of patronage, but as preferentially entitling loyal men in the vice-realm to honour and benefit. If his friend the Member for Antrim would rather fill some post in England or abroad, why should not his father be named Lord-Deputy when he himself was called to

[1] To Newcastle, from Castletown, 4th September, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] 30th August, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] To Newcastle, 4th October, 1755.—*MS.*
[4] See Vol. I., pp. 209, 339.

sit in Cabinet or Parliament? And why should not the Member for Mayo, where he possessed wide domains, be made Chief Secretary? Carter was gratified by the intimation, but declined to give up the Mastership of the Rolls, for the reversion of which he had paid £16,000, for an office of more distinction but less permanency.

At the close of the Session the Lord-Lieutenant complained that Opposition had served him a sad trick, by reinserting a paragraph which in draft the King had objected to, without a syllable of notice to anyone. He was extremely hurt at their breaking their word to him, but his friends advised him to lay aside his resentment. He had resolved to appear as easy as he could; but it would be impossible after this to trust the Speaker or have any regard for him. He saw Malone, who had been very ill. He said it was very wrong and not to be justified, and that if he had been well it should not have happened; that the paragraph was not very material, and he hoped it would be passed over. Hartington told him that though he was very sensible he had been used ill, he was determined that the public peace should not be affected by it; but that it would be impossible to go on if things of this sort were to happen. Malone said if he would forget it everything would go well.[1] The House adjourned for a brief recess, during which Secretary Conway wrote to Sir R. Wilmot that there were still many grumblers and they should want all the management that could be mustered.

Government just now "were very rich, their balance on the public accounts being no less than £471,000, which some said might create a hitch in the Supply, and they had schemes for lessening the duties. But this was not the time. My Lord had a mind, and a proper one, to get the hearth-money taken off." Conway, recalling to mind the sectarian principles of finance acted on by his uncle, Sir Robert Walpole, who imposed a differential income-tax on English Catholics as a penalty for their Jacobitism, thought something of the same kind might be done in Ireland by limiting the relief from taxation to professors of the orthodox faith. "His scheme was to take it off the Protestants only, in order to create an interest for conformity in the lower people, which was the only thing could convert 'em. His corre-

[1] October, 1755, Devonshire Papers.—*MS.*

spondent must keep these things quite secret, but let him know his opinion upon 'em. They had a Committee for considering of internal navigations, &c., appointed, Sir R. Cox in the chair, and twenty grand schemes on the anvil."[1] Wilmot enclosed the foregoing communication to the Duke of Devonshire, whose advice was still constantly sought on Irish affairs. The Under-Secretary approved of the remission of the hearth-tax, and thought "Conway's restriction a very wise one, and what might in time be the best means of conversion, but he doubted whether it was right to give the Papists any handle just at the time when invasion from France was daily expected. If the French did make any attempt, the conduct of the Papists at such a time would be the best guide to the Government how to treat them afterwards."[2] The threatening phantom faded from beyond the Castle wall; Parliamentary factions subsided, and ere they gathered strength again memorable events abroad and changes in the Ministry at home must be noticed.

All hope being quenched of active aid from Vienna, George II. had been advised by his German Ministers to offer terms of neutrality to Frederick, which they knew would be well received. Frederick had lately said that all he wanted was to retain Silesia; and that he would not take part in the impending quarrel if he could avoid it.[3] As the negotiation went on, Colloredo and Fleming began to suspect that the alliance with their Courts was about to be abandoned, and for touchstone urged a variety of auxiliary projects. The position of Holdernesse became no little embarrassing; all his excuses for coming to no point were worn out, and by the middle of August he "heartily wished himself out of the scrape."[4]

At a Council at the Duke of Cumberland's, the Lord President was exultant at the news that the King of Spain had declared he was fixed to abide by the Alliance, and thought the refortification of Dunkirk sufficient provocation for war. Granville said the withholding till now the hostile orders to Hawke proved to have been wise, avoiding as it did all offence to the susceptibility of Spain.[5] But on the same day eventful news

[1] To the Permanent Under-Secretary in London, 15th October, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] 24th October, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] Holdernesse to Newcastle (secret), 14th August, 1755.—*MS.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 17th August, 1755.—*MS.*
[5] To Hardwicke, 22nd August, 1755.—*MS.*

arrived from America, which for a time changed the whole aspect of affairs.

The campaign on the Ohio has been often told, and need not be recounted here. Lord Willoughby, who had been sent as a sort of Viceroy to advise and keep the peace between the thirteen colonies, had exercised but little practical influence in the development of their defensive strength, about the use of which they were ill-agreed. Halifax proposed to publish a map, to a proof of which, when laid before the Cabinet, Hardwicke objected, as pushing the British frontier to the Alleghenies, which he thought would prove dangerously untenable, and likely to prove an insuperable obstacle to diplomatic accommodation.[1] The publication by the Board of Trade of the map was accordingly suspended. But the inevitable struggle between French and English colonisation daily drew more near. Alarming news came from Paris, upon which Newcastle wrote to Bentinck to inquire if we could have six or eight thousand Dutch troops in case of need to protect the southern coast, for if worsted in America, M. Mirepoix had said openly that the French would carry the war elsewhere, and he hinted at an occupation of Flanders if not of Hanover. The reply to a general remonstrance of Holdernesse against French encroachments on the Ohio was so haughty and defiant that the Channel Fleet was thereupon augmented to thirteen sail of the line, and Lord Hertford, who had been named Ambassador to Paris, was confidentially served with a writ, *ne exeat regno*, as an excuse for his not proceeding on his mission. Braddock was ordered without delay to take the command of whatever contingents of militia he should find and such reinforcements as were ready to embark with him. The night before he sailed, he told an intimate friend of the Secretary-at-War that he knew they would never meet again, for "he was going with a handful of men to conquer whole nations, and to do this they must cut their way through unknown woods." Pointing to a map of the country, he said, "We are sent like sacrifices to the altar." The ominous presage was too literally fulfilled.[2] He found on his arrival that several of the Colonies desired only a compromise on any terms, and that they would contribute neither men nor money.[3]

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 16th February, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] See Letter of George Washington.

[3] Governor Dinwiddie to Washington, 17th March, 1755.—*MS.*

Anson's professional knowledge and administrative tact had contributed mainly to the success of Sandwich as head of the department; and when named his successor he professed to make no other change than that of infusing more energy into the service and enforcing greater punctuality in the execution of details. Everyone at Whitehall knew and liked him, and every seaman afloat or awaiting his turn ashore was proud of him and glad of his being placed at the head of the Board. Strong in the support of his father-in-law, he lost no time in submitting to the Cabinet a plan for the organisation of the marines, a force whose amphibious usefulness had long been acknowledged but never rewarded as it deserved. It was their boast that by their daring and endurance Sir G. Rooke had succeeded in taking Gibraltar; but half a century had since elapsed, and, though in every succeeding war they had played their part worthily, at every conclusion of peace their corps were disbanded, or, as it was called, broken. And now when England was preparing for another perilous struggle, the First Lord of the Admiralty felt the fitting time had come for establishing on a permanent foot and under distinctive discipline and standards, a force which was always popular with both Navy and Army, forming the connecting link between the two. His proposals were with little variation adopted; and on the 3rd of April, 1755, by an order of the Council of Regency, fifty companies under their separate officers, numbering when complete 5,700 men, were embodied on equal terms as to rank and pay with the regiments of the line to serve on land or sea as they might be required, and to be subject to a separate Mutiny Act which Parliament should be asked for without delay. Their numbers were soon after increased to 18,000 men. Ducal parsimony could not complain of so reasonable an addition to the fixed burthens of the nation, and the history of the marines under the organisation thus established has fully vindicated the policy of Anson; for in many a trying conflict they have more than justified the confidence of him who may be said to have been the administrative founder of this branch of the service.

Braddock, in concert with Governors Shirley and Lawrence, prepared to attack the French forts in Nova Scotia and on the banks of the Great river. Colonel Johnson with 4,400 militia undertook the reduction of Crown Point, while Shirley attacked

Fort Niagara. As no common fund was as yet forthcoming for military expenses, supplies must be relied on from home to a greater extent than was at first anticipated. Shirley was authorised to draw upon the Deputy-Paymaster, and Braddock, in accordance with his instructions, empowered Johnson to spend £2,000 in presents to the Six Nations, whose aid was indispensable.

At Alexandria, Governors of various colonies concerted with Braddock the steps to be taken in support of his advance to Wills Creek on the Ohio; but frequently complained of the supineness and unseasonable economy of the more southern colonies and the half-heartedness that prevailed among them; though if he had had more troops he could not have subsisted them. He had already given warning that the expense of the expedition would be greater than allowed at starting, and it must be further increased by the behaviour of the Provincial Governments. His way had to be cut through steep mountains for a distance of 110 miles.[1]

June passed away before Ministers could make up their collective mind what to do with the Channel Squadron. They were all of opinion that the fleet might go to sea, but they shrank from issuing any hostile orders. War, with a declaration or without a declaration, was the question: the First Lord inclined to the latter. Hardwicke was in favour of a middle course: to attack the French fleet and merchantmen if together; their fleet alone, if there was a considerable number of great ships; but not to attack their trading ships unless convoyed by a formidable number of men-of-war. Anson said "the French Fleet would never come in their way except they went to look for them. They were cruising off Cadiz: would it be right to go after them along the coast of Spain and attack them there? As all the Cabinet were to be summoned, they would agree, he supposed, to lay the affair before the Lords Justices." Meanwhile they had written to Hanover to learn the disposition of the King.

When the Council of Regency met, the Duke of Cumberland induced them to send Hawke to sea with orders to capture or destroy the French fleet wherever they might find it. A night's reflection left the First Minister in a state of deeper perplexity

[1] 5th June, 1755.—*MS.*

than ever. "I own I tremble when I reflect that we shall begin a war in Europe without a single ally and (as it now comes out) without a single object but what will always result from a war with France when we are superior at sea. We may very probably force Spain to take part with France. They will distinguish between hostilities in America (where we justly say France is the aggressor) and those in Europe where France hitherto has not taken one step either against us or our allies. What should we have said of France if, on account of our American disputes, the French had four months ago invaded us with 20,000 men, or taken our East India ships in their passage home? God knows how they may resent this which they will call breach of faith and treaty. The most probable thing is an immediate attempt upon Hanover. Suppose they should take the King prisoner? The only prudent method now left is, in my opinion, to soften a little the advice of sending out Hawke with hostile orders, which I would do only by giving the opinion to-morrow that the negotiation being, in these circumstances, to be broke off, *it may become necessary* to send out hostile orders. If you object to the alteration of the advice by putting in the words *may be necessary*, we must afterwards reconsider this Great Question when the orders come to be finally adjusted."[1] The Chancellor sought to tranquillise fears which he hoped were groundless. It was quite right that the Cabinet should consult together before meeting his Royal Highness. On the critical occasion of their last night's meeting his Grace had not joined until within a quarter-of-an-hour of the time appointed for the meeting of the Council of Regency. His previous letter had assented to the view that there need be no declaration of war. Hardwicke would have been content that the fleet should not stir from Spithead, for that would have been so far a guarantee of peace to Europe. As for the addition of the words *may become necessary*, he thought they made no difference, and would therefore agree to them.

No definite agreement was found possible at the meeting, after all the "softening" by Newcastle and rehardening by Anson, and wrapping up of the two together by Hardwicke in a confidential conundrum to be guessed at sea in unforeseen circumstances. As a last device for salving everyone's supposed consistency and relieving everyone's individual sense of responsibility,

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 30th June, 1755.—*MS.*

the question or questions, with an exceptional air of deference, was left to the arbitration of the King to say whether, as our naval preparations were now complete, further delay might not be inexpedient in striking a decisive blow, or whether the fleet should sail farther into the deep, without any direct instructions to the Admiral to fall upon the French fleet or their trade whilst negotiations were still pending.

Anson read a letter from Boscawen confessing that his success in American waters did not answer expectations.[1] To Hanover it was only reported that the Admiral had had ill luck, taking but two French ships, while the rest escaped in a fog, probably up the St. Lawrence. Accidents would occur, and it would now be no doubt deemed right that Hawke should go to sea. The secret agents in Paris wrote that on tidings of the naval engagement, orders to augment all the French forces were issued; but that being unprepared for an immediate rupture they only talked of doing great things in the spring.[2] Instructions were at last sent to Hawke to seize all French ships of the line, but not to molest isolated merchantmen, which would furnish a pretence for saying that we had begun the war in Europe for nothing: otherwise the war might be most probably begun here in forty-eight hours. By the manner in which the French had taken this affair, it was almost certain that they would begin by committing hostilities upon us, and then the Admiral would act without any restriction. The First Lord hoped "the King would approve of a caution which in his humble opinion could have no ill consequence, and which if not observed might, perhaps, have exposed us to disagreeable ones"[3]—(another low bow to the phantom of dead prerogative).

The Lord President resented strongly the refusal of Legge to sign the warrants under the Hessian Treaty, saying that Hanover must be made safe. Newcastle long wished him out of the Treasury; but thought he must not be totally disobliged. His late behaviour made it, however, impossible to keep him.[4] Meanwhile better news arrived from Governor Shirley, and Dunk Halifax felt justified in congratulating his colleagues on the

[1] To Newcastle, from the Admiralty, 14th July, 1755.—*MS.*
[2] Through Hatton, received in London 20th July, 1755.—*MS.*
[3] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 22nd July, 1755.—*MS.*
[4] To Holdernesse, enclosing minute of the previous day, August 1st, 1755.—*MS.*

taking of Beausejour, which he thought outweighed many recent disappointments.

Letters of marque and reprisal were to be got in readiness for issue on a declaration of war. The Chancellor took the drafts with him to Wimpole to ponder at leisure each ingredient phrase; so that Robinson comforted himself that "when digested they might serve both as a simple naked declaration of war, and afterwards, with proper references, in a quarto edition (*sic*), to the said documents, as *pièce justificatif*."[1] Granville was strongly against issuing the letters of marque as long as possible; and Newcastle was of his opinion, as the French had not molested our trade; for he thought we should be put to it why we did not declare war when we did the other.[2]

Disastrous news arrived that Braddock's army had been utterly routed near Fort Duquesne, on the banks of the Monongahela. He was taken by surprise by the combined forces of the French and Indians; and a prolonged struggle ended in his sanguinary discomfiture, with the loss of standards, guns, and stores, and he himself was slain.

With his dying breath, the unhappy General commended his officers to their superiors for their intrepidity and fortitude, but declared that nothing could be worse than the behaviour of those they led.[3]

Orme, who succeeded to the command, made honourable mention of several officers, especially Washington, than whom no man could have behaved better.

A letter from Adam Stephens, who was in charge of the commissariat on the ill-fated march, confirmed in every particular the report of Orme. The private soldiers were entirely at a loss in the woods. The savages kept on their bellies in the bushes and behind the trees, and took deliberate aim, at our officers especially, most of whom were killed. The British regulars were thunderstruck to feel the effects of a heavy fire and see no enemy, and throwing away their arms they turned their backs and fled. "It ought to be laid down as a maxim to attack first, to fight them in their own way, light and naked as they come against us,

[1] Robinson to Newcastle, 15th August, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to the Chancellor, 22nd August, 1755.—*MS.*

[3] Despatch from R. Orme, only surviving Aide-de-Camp, Fort Cumberland, 18th July 1755.—*MS.*

creeping near and hunting us as they would do a herd of buffaloes. Whereas you might as well send a cow in pursuit of a hare as an English soldier, loaded with a coat, jacket, &c., after savages in their shirts, who could shoot and run well, being accustomed to the woods."[1]

Washington reported to the Governor of his colony: "We continued our march from Fort Cumberland to Fraziers without any extraordinary event. At that place we were attacked (very unexpectedly, I must own) by French and Indians. Our numbers consisted of 1,300 well-armed men, chiefly regulars, who were at once struck with such a deadly panic that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed. The officers in general behaved with incomparable bravery, and greatly suffered, there being above 60 killed or wounded, a large proportion out of the number we had. Our poor Virginians behaved like men and died like heroes, for I believe that out of three companies that day scarce 30 were left alive. The dastardly behaviour of the regular soldiers exposed all those who were inclined to do their duty to certain death; and at length, in spite of every effort, they broke and ran like deer before the hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and everything else a prey to the enemy: and when we endeavoured to regain our loss, it was with as much success as if we had attempted to stop the wild bears of the mountains. The General was wounded in the shoulder and in the breast, of which he died three days after. Colonel Burton and Sir John St. Clair were also wounded, but I hope will recover. Sir Peter Halkett with many other brave officers were killed in the field. I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me. It is supposed that we lost 300 dead on the field; about the same number were brought off wounded."[2]

The news everywhere spread dismay, and settlers on the Western border "thought it was better for them to relinquish their possessions at once than remain where they must become an easy prey to an enraged and victorious enemy." Governor Sharpe called the gentlemen of Maryland together to take their advice, and wrote circular letters to have the slaves and convicts well-observed and watched, in case any insurrection should be

[1] Adam Stephens to John Hunter of Virginia, 18th July, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] To Governor Dinwiddie, from Fort Cumberland, 18th July, 1755.

occasioned by this most unhappy event: and then with his fencibles joined his beleagured countrymen at Fort Cumberland. At the first Cabinet that could be called together, it was decided that Governor Shirley should take Braddock's place, but with limited command for the time being. It was clear that war must be waged on a new system. Indians must, if possible, be employed, and Americans must fight Americans. Orders were given to all his Majesty's ships to take all French ships they should meet. "This new act of vigour so soon after the arrival of the bad news would show spirit,"[1] and gratify, it was hoped, the popular instinct of revenge.

Reinforcements must be despatched at once. The Duke of Cumberland was vehement for sending a regiment from Glasgow, and upon reflection Ministers thought it might be necessary; for they were in such circumstances at home, that their refusing anything that had the appearance of energy might greatly hurt them in Parliament. A regiment would therefore be made up to a thousand men and despatched. The estimated cost, naval and military, of hostilities in North America daily rose in amount, and by the middle of August had reached six millions in the calculations of the Treasury. Economy in every other quarter became more and more expedient; but until the return of the Court, Ministers would not express any decided opinion on the little subsidies for little armies in Germany.[2]

Just before they left Hanover, M. Fleming, the Saxon Envoy, persuaded Munchausen and Steinberg, apparently without objection by Holdernesse, to induce George II., in his capacity of Elector, to agree to a subsidiary treaty with his brother-Elector of Saxony; which in England once more startled the Lord Keeper, and caused the First Lord to tremble. "For God's sake, my Lord, be cautious," wrote the unhappy Duke, "I have not told you half what you will find about subsidy cabals. Combinations, too strong to be resisted, are formed upon that point; they have blown up the City against it, and it is not in the power of man to quiet them. I know Fleming very well. I honour and love him; but he is very dexterous."

Privateers already swarmed on every sea, and by the end of autumn three hundred French vessels with their cargoes awaited

[1] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 26th August, 1755.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 14th August, 2nd September, 1755.—*MSS.*

the decision of our prize-courts. Meanwhile, a rigorous use of the press-gang had enabled the Admiralty to place under the command of Hawke a formidable fleet; and nothing was wanting but decisive instructions, and a declaration of war. The popular appetite for plunder at sea showed itself in the response to a proposed lottery of a million; for which nearly four times the amount was immediately offered. George II. rejoiced at the belligerent temper of the people, which encouraged him to enter into new subsidiary treaties with the minor German States for the protection of Hanover,—the only part of his dominions he could be brought to regard as in any danger in case of war.

Keene, from Madrid, made known the offer of the French Government to hire the fleet of Spain, which General Wall, on the part of his Catholic Majesty, repelled, expressing his "astonishment that England would suffer even the French merchants to pass unmolested, after so flagrant a breach of faith in the reparation of Dunkirk," contrary to the express stipulations made at Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle.

# CHAPTER X.

## HENRY FOX.

## 1755-6.

War Inevitable—Devonshire's Policy Successful—Lyttelton's Failure in Finance—Attack on Minorca—Militia Bill—Fox as Leader—Loss of Minorca—Outcry against Byng—Governor Fowke Cashiered—Tyrawley's Report of Gibraltar's Defencelessness—The Secretaries Quarrel—*Three Kingdoms to Let*—Bute and the Heir Apparent—Groom of the Stole—Fox Resigns.

THE year 1755 closed in the gloom of a conviction that a great conflict was impending for which we were ill-prepared, and the only rift in the cloud was that which revealed an alliance with Frederick of Prussia. To quiet fears of invasion, several thousand men were brought over from Hesse and Hanover, and the Government were scolded by Opposition for giving way to apprehensions for which there appeared no ground. The Court of Versailles still professed a desire to maintain diplomatic relations, and to limit the sphere of actual war, leaving hostilities arising out of Colonial rivalry to be fought out in the new world. Peremptory demands were made for the restoration of all French ships that had been seized during the past six months, the memorial containing what the Chancellor called some very rough expressions, such as *pirateries et brigandages*. The answer required much consideration and delicate handling, but the Cabinet thought it best to return a short negative answer, insisting that what had been done in Europe was in consequence of what had been done by France in America. Some were for an immediate declaration of war, but others still thought it inexpedient.

Ministers assembled at the Duke of Cumberland's to consider

the measures necessary for Canada. Halifax, though not yet of the Cabinet, was summoned to attend, and requested to put his ideas on paper for the information of the First Lord. The extreme unpopularity of the German auxiliaries suggested a recurrence to the old alternative of an agreement with the States-General to hold in readiness a contingent of 6,000 men whenever called on; and Sir J. Yorke was instructed accordingly. Until the Dutch, however, were satisfied about the conditions of the Anglo-Prussian Alliance, they were hard to bring under such an obligation. And other alternatives seemed within easier reach. Devonshire, confident in the success of his conciliatory policy in Ireland, proposed to raise seven regiments, if necessary, three for home service and four for the Colonies. This would increase the total strength of men under arms to 40,000.

Ministers offered a Bill for the enrolment and pay of four Swiss battalions, to aid the defence of the Colonies. Pitt objected to the plan, and asked why Lord Loudon was to be sent with only two wretched battalions raised at home. Charles Townshend, said to be best informed on the subject, declared that any attempt to blend foreign soldiery with local levies must fail; and James Grenville denounced the Bill as a breach of the Act of Settlement. Barrington and Murray undertook to amend its terms by a clause for the naturalisation of the Swiss. Pitt grew more angry, accused the Government of playing with poison by trying to dilute it; and denounced the resort to foreign engineers and recruits when British officers like Sir Henry Erskine were cashiered for voting independently in Parliament. Fox rose to order, and challenged him to prove what he had said. On the Speaker's ruling the point, Pitt fell back on his right to assert his belief that Erskine had been broke for no other cause; and Fox asked why, when Pitt and Cobham were cashiered in Walpole's time, no Act was passed taking away the discretionary power of the Crown. The House, by nearly three to one, voted the Swiss Brigade.

All the suggestions of Fox were complied with, and Bedford was propitiated by the gift of the Privy Seal to Gower. His Grace was so far softened towards his former adversary, the First Lord, that visits passed between them. Dodington's readmission within the official circle caused no little grumbling, but it would have its use. The most reasonable man they had

to deal with was Lord Cholmondeley, whose moiety of the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland was £4,000 a-year, and who had agreed to allow that the whole should be partitioned among three in order to provide for Wellbore Ellis and Sandwich, for whom something must be done. Compensation might be made out of the Irish Establishment when Parliament was up.[1]

Speaker Boyle, who had refused to retire during Dorset's Viceroyalty, was now willing to accept an earldom and a pension. This would make room for Ponsonby in the Chair, and for Malone as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and if a peerage were conferred on Sir Arthur Gore the leaders of all parties would be satisfied: none of them being left powerful enough to dictate, and the authority of Government being restored.[2] Boyle had presided in the Irish Commons for many years, and was in every way entitled to a place among his numerous friends and kindred in the Lords. His resignation of the Exchequer, and the honours and the emoluments assignable to his chief associates in the Commons had removed the only obstacles to his giving up the Speakership with dignity, and he was created Earl of Shannon. It would add an influential voice to the support of the Executive in the Upper House, and the choice of Ponsonby as his successor was not likely to be opposed in the Lower.

No one was made aware of the intended arrangement but Malone, and when it eventually became known, Sir Arthur Gore, who had aspired to the Speakership, was much put out; others likewise complained that they had not been consulted; but all agreed that opposition would be useless as parties then stood. Sir Arthur did not care, he said, to be a Baron, but would like to be a Viscount. He was told that the King liked honours to go by steps. So he took time to consider. Malone wished to succeed Boyle as Chancellor of the Exchequer, but could not afford to give up his practice (worth £4,000 a-year) for a salary of £600. If it were doubled, he would make the sacrifice. The Lord-Lieutenant said the King would hardly agree to it; but it was certainly of consequence to have Malone in good humour, as he was the only man left that could raise any opposition in the country. At the next Drawing Room Gore told Ponsonby that he had no intention of opposing him, and wished him every

[1] Newcastle to Devonshire, 2nd Jan., 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Hartington (now Duke of Devonshire) to the First Lord, 19th Jan., 1756.—*MS.*

success; so that there was a fair prospect of tranquillity on College Green.[1]

His colleagues in the Cabinet congratulated the Viceroy on his success. Newcastle characteristically exulted in the cessation of controversies that wore the hated aspect of local patriotism, and chuckled at the acceptance of offices by members of the Irish Legislature, indistinguishable from those he was constantly offering with flattery to respectable men at St. Stephen's.

Fox was as little troubled by scruples regarding the use of Ministerial means of management; but his broader nature led him to rejoice at the abatement of strife which he thought his friend had secured.

"His Majesty's consent has been obtained with Difficulty, and I cannot too much commend the Duke of Newcastle's behaviour. I followed him in the Closet where he gained the Consent this morning, and His Majesty began with me. He did not like rewarding Enemies, &c. I told him that your Grace found the opposing Party the majority; but that I did not look upon this as buying the Speaker, but as buying the Government of Ireland into His Majesty's hands again. He said the next Speaker might behave well to you, to whom he was related so nearly, but might be as troublesome to Government hereafter as his predecessor. I answered that I verily believed you did not intend to put the next Speaker in the Government, but to lessen the power of the employment as well as change the person. (I know this was your intention, and hope and believe it is so still.) I fancy I did not say too much, and what I did say I thought pacified Him. But I claim no merit at the Duke's Expense, for he had got His Consent before, and looks upon it as I do to be a great and thorough Measure, that will make a peace, and a lasting one, and I heartily congratulate you upon it.

"I hope I do not mistake your intention to leave as Lords Justices the Chancellor, Lord Kildare, and Lord Bessborough. But of this your Grace is best judge, and you have shown your judgment, and will leave the country with the greatest honour and, I might say, triumph; and, so leaving it, I most ardently wish it may be very soon. In the meantime we wrangle about nothing here; and Pitt and I, upon a Motion to give some money

[1] Devonshire Papers, 2nd March, 1756.—*MS.*

to His Majesty for America, have been warmer than ever this very day." [1]

Three days later he wrote :—

"I must now explain the necessity of the sending two Battalions from Ireland to America. We cannot spare a man from hence ; on the contrary, we have required both Dutch and Hessians ; whether the former will be sent us is uncertain. But at present if we have secured the Metropolis, it is all. There is not in all the West and North of England a single Soldier. But your Grace will say, Ireland is in danger of Invasion, too. It is so ; but you have a Militia and ability to raise troops, which we have not. Recruits come in very slowly. But then will your Grace consider that if Invasion or threats of Invasion from France can effect the keeping our Fleets and Troops at home, while they send regular Troops with their Fleets to North America, the object of the war will be lost in the first year of it ; and delay would be as bad : for our being able to send to our Settlements before they can to theirs is our only advantage. America is in the utmost danger, and, without speedy assistance, our Military affairs there desperate. If a landing of any considerable Number of Men is effected in either Great Britain or Ireland, the one Island must certainly immediately assist the other. But America must not be given up to avoid danger incurred only on account of America. Ireland will not willingly *see* Her Troops drawn away at this time ; but it is, I think, unavoidable. I will show your Grace's letter, you may depend, to the Duke only. The King leaves Councils of this sort to other people. The Proposal of sending two Battalions to America came first from the Duke of Newcastle.

"Pitt has, the four last times he has spoke, made such violent Speeches (not good ones of their kind) upon such trifling matter, which I have been obliged to take such advantage of, that he is lowered and I am raised by it beyond what his Enemys or my warmest Friends could have wished. On Wednesday, upon moving Money to be given to N. America, he said I talked Gibberish, had moved the Money perhaps in order to get sham Receipts from the Colonies, and let the Money be sunk in some corrupt, avaricious, etc., corner of the Court, and he believed there was such an Intention ; then he arraigned all that had been done

[1] Fox to Devonshire, 28th Jan., 1756.—*MS.*

this Session, defied the Gentleman and his House of Commons, and said the Ministers clashed in everything else, and hated one another, but united only in a formal design to subvert the Constitution. I replied that it would ill become me not to be warm on such an occasion; but I feared I should not be warm enough, because I could not be angry, whilst I felt the good he had done me, and was doing me every Day: that the Applause (for it was great) was owing much more to what he had been, than to what I was, saying: that he had been telling the House I had moved and they had dared to support many Measures this Session, notwithstanding he and several of his relations (for this was the Opposition in a manner of a single family) had declared, and still declared, that they were wrong: that these proceedings of theirs *should be remembered* and *they would repent of it.* This was not Gibberish, perhaps, but it was a Language they must like less than utter Nonsense. I said a good many more very provoking things, and concluded with saying that it was apparent there was an Union among the Ministers, for if there was Disunion some part of them at least would, I believed, be used with more Civility. Your Grace cannot imagine how excessively angry he was at this last, I think only *smart* thing; but I suppose his Anger was at the different reception his and my Speech had met with, which was indeed beyond what I have seen. He and Grenville were like Men beside themselves, lost in Passion, and then Lord Dupplin stupidly took Pitt down to order, and prevented him from exposing himself and me from exposing him, still more. But it was enough. You may believe it is strongly as I represent it, when I tell your Grace that the Speaker (not apt to be expressive) says I had a complete *conquest*, and that if Mr. Pitt goes on as he has done these three last days, and does not provide better matter to make his fine speeches upon, he will soon grow as insignificant as any man who ever sat in the House. These are the gentlemen who said they could put me in a passion when they would. But your Grace knows I often told you that, whatever the appearance might be, I was never in a passion in the House of Commons. At Leicester House it is as bad as ever. The Prince of Wales is entirely the Mother's, the Mother is entirely Lord Bute's, and the Order given to the Prince is to caress every Opposer, and discountenance every Friend to His Majesty's Measures, which He carries further, if possible,

than ever His Father did. You may be surprized to hear me say that I don't care for this one farthing. But I have no view to another Reign ; and the Situation of this Country is, in my mind, so very dangerous, that I cannot spare a thought to future Courts and favourites. We are undoubtedly going to be invaded in more parts than one, and perhaps in Ireland at the same time. And we—that is, the People—despise it. The more they fear France, the less they will, I imagine, do in their own defence when the time of danger comes."[1]

Scarce a trace of these notable deeds of fence are to be found in the authorised version of Parliamentary proceedings.

Having got rid of the Primate, and satisfied the Speaker, Devonshire desired to identify the landed aristocracy with the business and the influence of the Executive, and recommended the nomination of Lord Kildare as one of the Lords Justices along with Chancellor Jocelyn and the Earl of Bessborough, when he should leave for England to resume his seat in Cabinet. Newcastle on behalf of his colleagues and of the King ratified this, as well as all other portions of his administrative policy ; thanked him for the discernment, temper, and judgment he had shown in dealing with past difficulties ; and endorsed without reserve his hopes of better and quieter times for the future. The chief of the House of Fitzgerald, as he had fully explained, was no personal intimate or political ally of his ; the head of the Ponsonbys had been the colleague in the Executive of the Primate ; and the head of the law, though upright and diligent in his judicial way, was politically a colourless man, and socially of no account. But all three were Peers of Ireland, untinged by sectarian rancour, and all capable, respectively, of rendering permanent service to the cause of order and the stability of the Empire. He had pondered carefully the practical worth of the rival systems of Administration that his predecessors had been urged to pursue ; and he was convinced of the preponderating advantages of that which enlisted men of old family, great estate, and eminent talent, in the Executive Government of their country. But as if nothing could ever be frankly or thoughtfully done to draw the two nations together, the First Lord of the Treasury proposed, as the price of the new arrangement, that they should try and get from the local Parliament a subsidy of £200,000, for the impending war ; or if

[1] From Holwood (then Calcraft's residence) in Surrey, 31st Jan., 1756.—*MS.*

that could not be obtained, £100,000 would be better than nothing.[1] In reply the Viceroy offered to raise additional regiments in Ireland, which he thought he could do without much loss of time, "in lieu of asking for a sum of money, which he was afraid would never go down. The Dublin Parliament were willing to be at any expense if the money were spent in the country; but the jealousy of its going out of the Kingdom was inconceivable, and the torrent would be so strong against such a measure that he was convinced there would be no withstanding it. If 2,000 or 3,000 men were raised in Ireland they would be useful to defend their own country, and to assist England when called upon; but he hoped they would not be sent for at once, unless there should be some actual necessity; and then there would not be one syllable said against it."[2]

The First Lord clutched as an alternative at the promise to lighten the burden of his Army Estimates; and, without reflection or advice, he expressed the hope that the suggestion would be acted on by the Provincial Executive without delay.[3] But doubts were raised by his more circumspect colleagues, on Constitutional grounds, as to the method of procedure. The force allowed by Parliament for the garrison of Ireland, for which provision was made by votes in Committee of Supply of the Local Legislature, was 12,000 men, and until that number had been declared insufficient, by resolution or otherwise, at St. Stephen's, it could not lawfully be increased.

At a special meeting of the Cabinet on the 12th of March, at which the Chancellor, Lord President, both Secretaries of State, Sir T. Robinson, and the First Lord were present, it was resolved that the proposal for raising additional regiments to be borne on the Irish Establishment could not be proceeded with in the Parliament at Dublin until after its necessity and expediency had been declared, by address or otherwise, in the Parliament at Westminster. No difficulty was likely to be made in the latter.[4] But it is observable how tenaciously the limits of jurisdiction were still preserved between the two Legislatures long after the occasion had passed away, that had led to the jealous

[1] To the Lord-Lieutenant, 16th Feb., 1756.—*MS.*
[2] To Newcastle, 24th Feb., 1756.—*MS.*
[3] To the Lord-Lieutenant, from Claremont, March, 1756.—*MS.*
[4] Newcastle to Devonshire, 13th March, 1756.—*MS.*

rule being laid down. Danger from the sudden raising of troops in Ireland without the previous sanction or assent of the paramount Legislature was as much a thing of the past as the danger of pensions to English Royalty from Versailles, or foreign bribes to English Statesmen; but the lapse of a century had not effaced the remembrance of the dynastic strife whose embers had grown cold: and in presence of a keen opposition, Fox and Murray, with all their reliance on numbers in division, were not disposed to risk the resuscitation of such a topic of dispute.

At first, Sir G. Lyttelton, it was hoped, would have done well as Finance Minister, but he was criticised unsparingly from day to day by the friends he had left on taking office; his practical deficiencies became obvious; and it required all the forensic tact of Murray, and the logical humour of Fox, to retrieve his failure in personal conflict with G. Grenville and Pitt. He was strong in economic generalities, which his critics superciliously admitted, but helpless in details about which they quizzed him of not being quite sure. One of them said he stumbled over millions, and strode pompously over farthings. Pitt attacked him for mortgaging the Sinking Fund, which seemed fated to be held sacred whenever it could be done without, and to be rifled whenever it was wanted; but his arguments had little effect. Lyttelton's speech in introducing the Budget ran off the reel of memory as quickly and quietly as an angler's line on a sunny day with a small catch at the end of it; but it was rudely crossed from the other side of the stream, and after some time spent in vague attempts at disentangling, was found to have caught little or nothing. His new proposal of ways and means were £30,000 a-year on silver plate, £7,000 on cards and dice, and £30,000 on bricks. Legge ridiculed the two first as futile and the last as unfair. In some localities dwellings were built of stone, and almost all those of the rich and luxurious. If Government wanted more money for foreign war they had better reduce taxes on imports, which experience had proved would double the yield, as in the cases of raw silk and tea. The House thought he talked more like one who was up to his business than his successor. The Attorney-General came to the rescue with special pleas and forensic platitudes, but in Committee of Ways and Means the impost on bricks was abandoned, and licenses on beer-houses sanctioned instead. The new tax on plate was opposed by Legge, Dash-

wood, and Coventry ; and on a division was only carried by 129 to 120. But an amended scale exempting all under one hundred ounces and graduating the charge by an increase of five shillings on every hundred up to four thousand, carried the measure eventually.

Though the French were not ready to attempt invasion, a ceaseless *mitraille* of threats and rumours kept Whitehall wakeful, and the city in a low fever. Marshal Belleisle, lately named to command the troops concentrated in Normandy, was reported to have boasted that he would make three attempts at invasion, two feints and one a real one, in England. The chief nobles were raising in their respective counties regiments of Cavalry ; and provision was making for considerable augmentation of the line. Newcastle declared that " the people were wild for war," but for himself he still clung to hopes of accommodation, and their new ally, the King of Prussia, who was behaving well so far, had undertaken to bring it about if possible. How they were to meet additional expenses if war went on, the First Lord knew not. Every new tax like those proposed on bricks and tiles and plate met with opposition.[1] His Excellency replied that he was strongly for peace if any reasonable condition in America could be had. He would make no scruple of declaring these opinions : " People who do not think may be wild for war, but if such terms are procured as can be justified, I am strong for peace."[2]

Lord Clanricarde had in 1755 tendered his services to organise resistance in the west of Ireland to French invasion. Being the chief of the old nobility beyond the Shannon, his zeal might probably be deemed of importance.[3] He more than once asked that the Peerage of Somerhill, in Great Britain, which his great grandfather had forfeited by his attachment to King James, should be revived in his favour ; and this being refused, he prayed that he might be allowed to devolve upon his eldest son the estates and honours held in Ireland since the days of the Normans, he himself being desirous to take military service under some Prince in amity with England, at whose court he would not be treated with undeserved disdain. The law officers when consulted, declared that his Majesty had no power to

[1] Newcastle to Devonshire, 7th March, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] 18th March, 1756.—*MS.*

[3] To Newcastle, 22nd Aug., 1755.—*MS.*

demit titles of nobility to the heirs of English or Irish Peers. And his offer to raise troops in Galway was also declined; on which he wrote with great bitterness, that "such treatment could not be other than a melancholy prospect for the old loyal families of Ireland, to see themselves neglected and the scum of the earth put over their heads."[1]

The difficulty of recruiting seemed greater than ever; the jails were emptied periodically by the reprieve of culprits we should now class as misdemeanants, but whom the merciless code of the time had subjected to the penalties and the brand of felons; and some scores of runagates in the large towns were crimped by the combined seductions of ready-money and gin. But enlistment had little charms for the reputable youth of the working classes in either town or country; and the resort to foreign substitutes wherever they could be had can thus only be accounted for.

Meanwhile good news came from Hanbury Williams that, despite all the grumbling, muttered or threatened, about the Prussian Treaty, the Czarina had exchanged ratifications of the Treaty of September with England; and Bestucheff declared that she was willing as ever to do all we could reasonably desire. The Court of Vienna would thereby be prevented from working any immediate mischief; and Frederick himself would feel that his alliance with us had gained for him what he most needed—the keeping of his North-Eastern Frontier inviolate from attack.[2] Thus wrapped in foreign flannel, the shivering First Lord thought he might lie down and doze once more, and sleep the sleep of the jockey who believed that nearly all the other horses had been, or would be, scratched. To save money and avert discussion and keep competing rivals out of place were the great aims of official life; and as far as could be seen (which as usual proved not very far), these precious objects were secured.

The Ambassador at St. Petersburg pressed for the payment of £10,000 to Chancellor Bestucheff, and £5,000 more, in various sums, to subordinate officials, for their help in obtaining the signature of the Treaty that had already come to be looked on as of doubtful efficacy, if not propped and bolstered up by new assurances and guarantees. M. Bestucheff actually had his com-

[1] To Newcastle, 24th Feb., 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Devonshire, 13th March, 1756.—*MS.*

plimentary present in cash advanced by the commercial house of Wolff on the credit of the Embassy.[1]

Circumstantial details came at last of the preparations at Toulon for the threatened expedition to Minorca. Six ships of the line were in the roads and five frigates ready to follow. Fourteen battalions and a train of artillery awaited embarkation. Spain was invited to join with fifteen men-of-war, to take a detachment of the Irish Brigade on board, and attack Gibraltar, which, with Minorca, was to revert to Spain. A squadron under Admiral Conflans was getting ready at Brest, gathering trading and fishing craft to be used as transports, in order to oblige the British Government to keep large armaments near home. Eight men-of-war were to be fitted out with eighteen 24-pounders, each on their upper decks, with 4,000 men on board, to reinforce the garrisons in Canada. They had tried every method to obtain the services of the young Chevalier, but he had refused every offer; and without a body of 15,000 men he would not move. They had even tried to bring the old Pretender to France, but he declared that he would pass the remainder of his days in peace, and Court rivalries at Versailles paralysed effective action.[2] Charles Edward was at this time living near Paris, but was known to be averse to any attempt at invasion he was not himself to head, as in spite of all that had happened ten years before, he still dreamt that the Highlanders would rise at his call.

Cressener, writing from Cologne for remittances, said that he had advanced his agent in Paris £1,500 and paid him besides the £1,000 sent in June, 1755, by the First Lord of the Treasury. The extraordinary expenses incurred at Liège in dealing with the Chapter there—the Etat Noble, and the Tiers Etat, amounted to £900, and his own at Brussels were £200 more; but he would give an aquittance in full for another thousand "and balance the account. He fancied this would be deemed a very moderate and just demand. He hoped that £1,200 a year would be the least that would be given him for his expenses at Cologne, though he must spend more: but he was willing to leave all to the equity and humanity of his Grace."[3]

Corroborative information of the threatened expedition against

[1] Despatch from Sir C. H. Williams, 19th February, 1756.

[2] Secret despatch from Versailles, through Cressener, 17th March, 1756.

[3] M. Cressener, 22nd March, 1756.—*MS.*

Minorca was received early in March through Gibraltar. Twenty-two sail of the line, and a well-equipped force were under sail for Port Mahon; for the defence of which General Blakeney had collected in Fort St. Phillip, a place of great natural strength, what troops were left in the island.[1]

Sir Benjamin Keene was confident that the ideas uppermost at the Court of Madrid were "peace in general and friendship in particular"; and that if England continued to observe the distinction at sea between the ships of Spain and those of her belligerent neighbour, she had nothing to fear from the enticing offers which had recently been made, for the Court had been taught to believe that the preservation of England's interests in the New World had a nearer relation to Spain than to any other Power. Slow but steady progress had been made in the French alliance with Austria. The chief terms were: Silesia to be recovered for the Empire; Prince Charles of Lorraine to be King of Poland; Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla to be restored to the Empress-Queen; Flanders to be given to Don Philip, and Minorca to Spain. Their Catholic Majesties looked with distrust on the Franco-Austrian Alliance, which they regarded as dissolving all existing Treaties.[2]

Having, as they really seem to have believed, hushed the innocent ambition of Frederick to sleep, the Cabinet directed Holdernesse, in a long argumentative despatch, to instruct Keith how he might lull Maria Theresa into abandoning all thoughts of recovering Silesia, and in future keeping the peace of Europe. Keith was, therefore, to ask an explanation from the Austrian Government as to its intentions.[3]

To meet the contingency of invasion, German auxiliaries were said to be necessary; but the Cabinet were divided as to whence they should be sought. Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Anson were for calling on the Dutch to send over the six battalions they were bound to furnish. Granville, Gower, and Fox, more discerning and energetic, foretold a refusal, and urged an immediate summons of the Hessian contingent in British pay. Their advice was over-ruled, and after another month had been wasted in futile correspondence with the Hague, Murray was desired to

[1] George Burges, to Secretary of State, from Gibraltar, 21st February, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Keene to Secretary Fox, Madrid, 1st and 22nd March, 1756.—*MS.*

[3] 23rd March, 1756.—*MS.*

frame a Bill authorising the adoption of their advice. It was received with audible murmurs in Parliament, and Lord George Sackville, hoping to please the King, and desiring to avenge Primate Stone for having been superseded as one of the Lords Justices in Ireland, proposed that the Hanoverian regiments should be sent for; a suggestion which, in spite of a railing diatribe from Pitt, and some caustic criticisms from Lord Winchester in the other House, in a few days became law. Dodington could not resist the temptation of making Leicester House and the clubs laugh at the expense of His Majesty for having put up Lord George, as he said, to get his Hanoverians hired for the defence of Great Britain, being too good an economist himself to lend a farthing.

Instead of substituting Hanoverians for Hessians, Fox persuaded his docile majority to vote supplemental estimates for both: whereon Pitt justly exclaimed that had either of these resources been called upon in time Minorca might have been saved, which he now believed was lost; or the American colonies might have been made safe from French aggression. Had we been secured here in time, a great fleet might have gone safely to Minorca. The neglect looked wilful, and as if we hoped that trade would call out for peace. "I don't call this an Administration, it is so unsteady. One is at the head of the Treasury; one Chancellor; one head of the Navy; one great person head of the Army: is that an Administration? They shift and shuffle the charge from one to another: says one, I am not General; the Treasury says, I am not Admiral; the Admiralty says, I am not Minister. From such an unaccording assemblage of separate and distinct powers with no system, a nullity results.

"One, two, three, four, five Lords meet;—if they cannot agree,—Oh! we will meet again on Saturday;—oh! but says one of them, I am to go out of town, so nothing decisive is done." Fox asked if Pitt wished to see a sole Minister. Pitt said "No, but he wished to see system and decision: the loss of Minorca would be caused by infatuation or design." Lord George Sackville said he had moved for the Hanoverians from the considerations of our unprovided state and because the fleet sent to the Mediterranean was not superior to the French and might be beaten.[1]

[1] "Memoirs of George II.," H. Walpole, II., 189.

In a private letter to his brother, Sir G. Lyttelton described the grave anxieties that engrossed the Cabinet during the spring. Although the attenuated ties of amity with France were not yet actually severed, and M. Mirepoix lingered still in London, both Governments in March were preparing for war. Various estimates were formed of the strength of the expedition fitting out at Toulon ; but week after week was allowed to pass without sailing orders for an English fleet to intercept it. Fox could not assure the Cabinet that the fortifications of either Minorca or Gibraltar were in an adequate state of defence, even if fully manned; and more than a single regiment of the line could not be detached from those destined under Lord Loudon for North America. Reliance must therefore be placed altogether on the Navy.

Sir E. Hawke, with sixteen ships of the line, was cruising off Brest ready to challenge the fleet of Conflans should they put to sea. Anson did not believe they were equal in number of guns, or that they would try issues with us unless reinforced by another squadron said to be waiting for fine weather at Rochefort. Boscawen was making ready to join Hawke with eight line-of-battle-ships newly manned and equipped.

To guard Minorca and Gibraltar from surprise, Byng and West, with a squadron of ten ships of the line, were at last dispatched to the Mediterranean, but too late it was feared to intercept the hostile expedition. The naval forces were believed to be pretty near equal, exclusive of a squadron of five ships under Commander Edgcombe in Port Mahon. It was supposed that these would join Byng in the Bay of Gibraltar ; but Edgcombe thought proper (Anson said not unwisely) to keep his ships and seamen to be employed in defence of the harbour and fort. It was possible that the French fleet would fight ours as they were rather superior ; and upon the success of that battle peace or war in Europe would depend. If Byng were victorious he would reinforce the garrisons of Minorca ; and Sir J. Ligonier thought the Fort might hold out for two months. The Governor, Lord Tyrawley, who was on home leave, thought it would not be eventually taken. "Blakeney and Edgcombe wrote with great spirit, as if they feared nothing. The first was a good officer ; but rather superannuated ; the other a mettled young man, without much experience or knowledge."[1]

[1] Chancellor of Exchequer to Lord Lyttelton, 28th April, 1756.

Telling as these statements and the inferences from them were, Ministers could not put up Dodington to answer his predecessor by disclosing the fact that many of the best ships mustered but half their due complement of men from the untoward prevalence of disease.

The Cabinet were unanimously of Anson's opinion, that so long as invasion was apprehended it was impossible to lessen further the naval guard of the southern and eastern coasts. Granville, the most venturous advocate of a spirited foreign policy, had throughout the spring and summer doubted in Cabinet whether a single line-of-battle-ship could be spared for the Mediterranean.[1]

On the other hand, the Directors of the East India Company called on the Secretary of State to provide a sufficient naval force for the security of commerce with the East.[2]

Before the Session closed angry altercations arose regarding a vote of credit for £1,000,000, proposed by Government to meet contingencies that every day appeared more probable. Pitt and G. Grenville asked: Would Ministers say what the money would *not* be applied to, and what rate of interest would *not* be exceeded in raising the amount? Lyttelton could not give either assurance, and he incurred the bitter gibes and scoffs of his once most intimate friend as "an innocent with a pretty poetical genius" unsuited to the place once occupied by Pelham.

But Pitt professed to be too apprehensive of impending disaster to take the responsibility of refusing the vote. Four days later war was proclaimed, and within a few weeks tidings of discomfiture arrived that seemed to realise Pitt's forebodings.

George Grenville, whose experience at the Admiralty entitled him to speak with authority regarding the Fleet, said that in December it had consisted of 150 sail, of which more than half were line-of-battle-ships, with 36,000 seamen and a force of Marines besides; was this inability to send fourteen ships to the Mediterranean? In January there were sixty-two men-of-war at home capable of being employed, and fourteen under Hawke had been enough to keep the Brest and Rochefort Squadrons in harbour. Was the Admiralty to blame for not

[1] Sir G. Lyttelton to his brother, 8th August, 1756.

[2] Memorial of East India Co. to H. Fox, 19th May, 1756.—*MS.*

furnishing Byng with a more adequate force, or had the Department been restrained by the First Lord of the Treasury? In America, since Braddock's defeat in July, not a man had been sent across the ocean until the other day. Throughout the conflicting speculations regarding impending war, the loss of Minorca, should Byng's squadron prove inadequate, was openly discounted as an inevitable contingency.

The project of a national militia, advocated by Pitt and Temple, still remained unrealised, Hardwicke, Granville, and Newcastle having dissuaded the Cabinet from its adoption. But, as the aspect of foreign affairs darkened, Fox insisted on their making a show of yielding, and a Bill was brought in limiting the entire force to be raised in Great Britain to 60,000 men, and requiring the previous assent of Parliament to their being called out on permanent duty. The provisions of the Bill did not satisfy Opposition, and the authority of Walpole was cited as having spurned the notion of such means of defence as a distant and forlorn "*succedaneum*:" and though treated with undisguised indifference as practically unavailable for many months to come, it was pressed through Committee, which sat till six in the morning, but fifteen Members being present to complete details. In the Lords, Newcastle and Granville persisted in disparaging the measure as useless, absurd, and oppressive. Bedford, Temple, Stanhope, and Bath argued that without such an assertion of national readiness to accept the responsibility of self-defence, it would have been shameful and futile to have called in auxiliaries from abroad. Halifax, tired of subserviency that year after year had failed to procure either a seat in the Cabinet or the Garter, asserted his independence by supporting the Militia Bill. To answer Lord Stanhope and the Duke of Bedford, the Chancellor, from careful notes, delivered a discourse, which he was at the pains to print and circulate as the best defence of Ministers. The Militia Bill was a revival, he affected to believe, of the revolutionary policy of the Long Parliament, whereby that Assembly subverted the Throne. Not sounder were his fears that the heads of the people would be turned by show of drill and beat of drum from diligence in business and soberness of spirit to love of noisy pastime, light-handed ways when from home, and at last to clanship, strife, insubordination, and plunder. Habits of

arms had made the Highlanders what they were; and having disarmed them should we train our peaceful people in their old practices? A community whose time was money could ill-afford the general habit of soldiering, and they would be far better defended by keeping up a disciplined army that knew no other pursuit. It was the Chancellor's last speech from the Woolsack; and as a specimen of Ministerial pleading, it was praised at the time for its sagacity. But the rejection of the Bill by 59 to 23 hastened the fate of the Cabinet. With majorities in both Houses it was unable to endure the mildew of contempt, or to disguise its sense of inherent weakness from the eyes of the King.

Men naturally asked, were the Cabinet really divided on the question, or was the whole proceeding mere make-believe? Murray, with his usual astuteness, foresaw the ultimate success of the principle at stake, and confidentially advised that means should be found to prepare the public mind for the reproduction of the measure in amended form.[1] Appreciating the importance of keeping Fox in good humour, and being one of the few capable of sympathising with his susceptibility and impatience of temperament, Murray saw with concern the growth of his discontent, and in his own way took pains to appease it, not only by never-failing praise of his tact and wit, but by extolling his business capacity and real eloquence to Granville, his closest friend in the Cabinet. Fox took him aside at Leicester House to thank him warmly for his kindness; and in doing so could not help complaining of what the owner of a thinner skin would probably have felt, or would have affected not to feel, the frequent indications of neglect and slight he experienced from his jealous and exclusive colleagues. Murray, he well knew, was still devoted to Newcastle; but because he knew the man, he lost no time in warning him of the imprudence of letting such impressions take root.[2] The stolid vanity of the First Lord rendered him impervious to warnings which implied the indispensability of Fox to the strength of the Administration; and when retrieval was too late, it contributed no little to their fall.

Long experience of personal attachment and vigilant regard

[1] To Newcastle, 24th May, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] W. Murray to Newcastle, 24th May, 1756.—*MS.*

to his interests had not taught Newcastle the duty or the prudence of treating Andrew Stone as he deserved. The Attorney-General was present at an altercation on the 29th of May, arising out of suggestions from the devoted subordinate, which, when peevishly and foolishly spurned, he urged with an earnestness of remonstrance, not disrespectful, but in terms challenging ducal infallibility. His courageous candour drew forth a repulse so full of insult and scorn that on leaving Murray found the too-faithful confidant in tears. Without an hour's delay, he wrote expostulating warmly and manfully with his graceless Grace: "I am so grieved at what happened this morning that I don't know what to do. You saw my embarrassment, and in a moment recovered yourself. When we left you I saw Stone crying bitterly and too deeply mortified to talk upon the subject. I have, upon another pretence, requested him to breakfast with me to-morrow, when I will say everything in my power to heal the wound. I do not wonder that, agitated with many cares, teased by folly, and persecuted by villainy, you should break out into hasty expressions to your best and most affectionate friend. What you said, meaning no hurt, would not have affected me in the same manner; but, indeed, I have often deserved it more. Where I suspect or don't love, I can be as guarded as another; but where I love most cordially and don't suspect (the case in everything I say to your Grace), I follow my argument with an impetuosity which does not permit the measuring expressions. Now his are always measured, I have sometimes thought, too much; and, indeed, upon recollection, you will, I am sure, say he did not drop a word that should have given offence. I am not afraid of his making the least complaint or showing the smallest uneasiness; but I am afraid of his feeling to the quick and never presuming to speak again. I will do everything in my power to prevent it and to calm his mind. I would not for the world that any mortal should know of this unhappy incident." [1]

The expostulation brought the Duke to a sense of his folly and ingratitude. He confessed his error promptly, and thanked Murray in eager terms for his interference. He never doubted Stone's ineffable devotion; but he had lately vexed him by speaking of the Prince of Wales and of Mr. Fox as if he under-

[1] Attorney-General to Newcastle, 29th May, 1756.—*MS.*

stood better than anyone else their motives and manners. Others, who thought themselves equally fit to judge, spoke to him in directly the opposite vein; "and if Stone only knew half the strong things he said to them, he would think himself very well off. He included every friend he had, except Murray and Stone, not excepting the King. This ought to mollify him, and prevent his taking advantage of a hasty expression."[1] But he had not the manliness to offer to say half as much to him whose real fault was that he felt his intellectual superiority to his patron.

Fox had conducted affairs in Parliament during the Session with signal ability. Excepting the Militia Bill, all the measures of Government had been carried by disciplined majorities, and if all his promises to pay in honours and rewards had not been realised, it was not his fault. Peerages were conferred on Thomas Villiers, second son of Lord Jersey, and Sir Dudley Ryder, who had for two years filled the office of Chief Justice, but whose sudden death occurred ere his patent was completed. The Chief Justiceship was not so easily disposed of, and it became the subject of prolonged discussion for months to come.

Symptoms of declining capacity to guide, on the part of Ministers, were manifold during the Session, and towards its close there were not wanting many who prognosticated their fall. From Chatsworth, the unambitious Viceroy noted the expressions of discontent in the manufacturing towns, and the numerous addresses and gold boxes voted to Legge and Pitt.[2] Still, there seemed upon the surface no reason to suppose that uncombined manifestations of distrust could seriously disturb the tenancy by prescription of Government, though the wax-lights of St. Stephen's and the Cockpit burned dim.

Rigby kept the only chief to whom he really felt allegiance faithfully advised of all that was going on in the official world. While Court and fashion languished through the sunny days of May in trying to devise novelties of amusement, and Whitehall had nothing more interesting to talk of than subordinate pensions or contingent election schemes, he sent few missives to Woburn, and spent his leisure hours in hard drinking or high

[1] First Lord to Attorney-General, 30th May, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Notes on his own Administration.—*MS.*

play. But on the 3rd of June he had to report a sudden change of scene long unprecedented at the headquarters of English rule, the strange and startling cause of which remains to this hour unexplained, if not inexplicable. "An express arrived yesterday from Gibraltar, and the intelligence has occasioned the sitting at this instant of perhaps one of the wisest councils in the world."

Anxious suspense regarding Byng was terminated by the receipt of a despatch from Gibraltar announcing the arrival of the squadron there on the second of May and the decision of a Council of War refusing to denude the fortress of any portion of the garrison. At the same time, the Spanish Ambassador furnished Secretary Fox with the copy of a letter from Admiral Galisonnière to his Government describing an indecisive collision of the two fleets off Port Mahon, and the disappearance of the English the following day without any attempt to relieve St. Philip. Acting on the first impulse of indignation, and without waiting for further details, the Cabinet ordered Admirals Hawke and Saunders to proceed forthwith in the *Antelope* to Gibraltar with what was described as a small cargo of courage, consisting of Generals Tyrawley and Panmure, and to bring home in arrest Admirals Byng and West. Tyrawley was appointed Governor of Gibraltar. Fox lost no time in acquainting Devonshire with the evil tidings:

"On Monday came cursed letters, and more cursed Council of War from Gibraltar, together with a Letter from Byng to the Admiralty of much the same tenor. One Expression is that He shall go and see what can be done to relieve Minorca (carrying no Relief), and if he finds things as he expects, he will return to save Gibraltar. You will see by the Extract of D'Abreu's Letters and relation enclosed that he did go, found the French fleet where we wished them, and inferior, and how infamously and fatally our Fleet behaved. We have nothing from them, but I doubt not our first news will be that Byng is returned to Gibraltar, and that a Council of War says he did wisely. The Consternation, anger, and shame of everybody here on this occasion is extreme. Lord Tyrawley is going to supersede Fowke, and two Admirals, who will be fixed upon to-night. If Byng and West can excuse themselves, amends must be made them. But the Fleet, sufficiently dispirited I dare say already, must not be left so till

Enquiry can be made. Adieu, my dear Lord; I am sorry to send you such news as makes me almost ashamed that I am an Englishman. But you commanded me to send whatever was extraordinary. This is but too much so."[1]

The Spanish Ambassador, D'Abreu, read to Anson a letter from Paris reciting the contents of a despatch from M. Richelieu. It told of the gallant defence made by the garrison, and confessed to more difficulty than he expected; but with the reinforcements promised from Toulon he did not doubt of mastering the place. Admiral Galisonnière, who expected six additional ships at the same time, reported that Byng's squadron had been seen steering for Gibraltar, three of his ships appearing to be disabled. "There was an article in the letter which D'Abreu did not read, but Secretary Cleveland, looking over his shoulder, saw it related to a Treaty between France and Austria."[2] Fox received on the same day from the Spanish Embassy a copy of the suspected Treaty, which Holdernesse forthwith forwarded to Berlin; and Fox, distrustful and dismayed, begged from the First Lord, without delay, the warrant for his brother's patent, creating him Lord Ilchester.[3]

Previous rumours regarding the actual condition of Fort St. Philip when Byng's fleet was first ordered thither were forgotten, and the defenceless condition of the Rock was unknown. Lords Cornwallis, Effingham, and Robert Bertie, had signed with the rest the decision of the Council there against detaching any considerable force to save Port Mahon. The King was reported to have exclaimed that it would be his death. As for the affrighted Government, they took comfort only in their imports of troops from Hesse and Hanover; but Dodington translated the motto, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*, on the Hanoverian caps—we never mean to go back again.[4]

When the adequacy of the naval preparations was discussed, Pitt laid the blame on Anson for being deterred by Newcastle from sending a sufficient force in time to relieve Fort St. Philip. Almon ascribes to him the expression that the First Lord of the Admiralty was not fit to command a cockboat; but, libertine in exaggeration as he was, one is slow, without absolute proof, to

[1] 3rd June, 1756.—*MS.* Devonshire Papers.
[2] Anson to Newcastle, 8th June, 1756.—*MS.*
[3] To Newcastle, 8th June, 1756.—*MS.*
[4] H. Walpole to John Chute, 8th June, 1756.

debit him with such extravagance. Fox being accountable, with the rest of the Cabinet, sought to attribute the loss of the island to the refusal of the Dutch to furnish their contingent when called on early in the spring, and declared that Byng's worst fault was an excess of prudence in not risking a battle which, if lost, would have left Gibraltar defenceless.[1]

The news of Byng's withdrawal without encountering decisively the French fleet struck the public with surprise and the Government with dismay. Newcastle, regardless of what explanation might be given, spoke of it as infamous; and scared by the hooting of the crowd, who did not discriminate between supreme and subordinate shares of accountability, he told an angry deputation that the "Admiral should swing for it." Anson, while he saw clearly the sinister effect on the public mind, was too true a man to swell the outcry against a brother officer before he could be heard in his defence, but he owned that somehow it came to pass that "unless our commanders had a great superiority to the enemy, they did not feel themselves safe in giving battle."[2] Pitt could not help recalling his forewarnings of what might happen from the inadequacy of the forces sent to hold Richelieu's expedition in check; and, not being of the Cabinet, he felt free to show himself just and impartial. The clamour against Byng and Fowke knew no bounds, but there were not wanting many who asked why were not succours despatched in time? Hardly anyone in office, and no one out of doors, had a suspicion of the perilous plight into which Gibraltar had been suffered to fall from want of indispensable repairs and stores, and the strong reasons that consequently deterred the Council of War from divesting the place from any considerable part of the garrison. Fort St. Philip was defended by 4,800 men, and Blakeney had recently said he could hold out for several weeks; but from the beginning of the siege he was unluckily confined to bed, and during its prolongation the troops suffered severely from the great extent of the lines they had to man. It was not, however, until several redoubts were taken, and the soldiery were dispirited by the absence of their energetic leader, that a flag of truce was followed by proposals of surrender.

[1] Almon, I., 12.
[2] 6th June, 1756.—*MS.*

So many questions of delicacy and difficulty awaited decision, and the Ministry felt their position so impaired, that it was thought necessary it should be reconsidered in full Cabinet before any further step of importance was taken.

Having been consulted at the Treasury how far it might be possible to raise the supplies in the next Session, which could not be less than eight millions, Sir John Barnard "seemed confounded." The advantage it would be both at home and abroad if this amount could be raised within the year being laid before him, Sir John doubted greatly the practicability of it, and thought the income of the country could not bear the weight. The Secretary of the Treasury reassured him by the expedient of adding threepence a bushel to the Malt Tax, which, though of course it would raise a certain amount of clamour, would be in truth an additional charge on expenditure—not on income, but on the proprietors of land. Sir John approved this plan extremely, seeing that the £250,000 it would raise would provide the interest on an additional loan of four millions. People in the City seemed deeply grieved by the loss of Minorca, though the news did not affect the price of Stocks, and no one seemed to blame the Administration. A timely display of spirit on the part of Government "would dissipate turbulent clamour. The hearts and purses of the people in general were open."[1]

In France the success of Richelieu's Expedition was turned to account by the Government in the imposition of further war taxes to the extent of millions.[2] Would the spirit of the British people prove irresponsive when appealed to in adversity?

The blame of inefficient succour was mutually thrown upon each other by Fox and Newcastle, but the whole Administration came in for a share of the obloquy; and, in a vain attempt to divert popular anger from themselves, pledges were shamefully given that the Commander who had been left without adequate instructions or resources should be brought to trial for cowardice.

George Grenville, habitually circumspect and cool, wrote to his brother-in-law, then at Bath: "I believe Byng was not backward in personal courage, and this induces me to wait for his own account of it before I form an opinion. What can be the excuse

[1] Secretary West to Newcastle, 16th July, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Cressener from Compiegne, 17th July, 1756.—*MS.*

for sending a force, at the utmost scarcely equal to the enemy upon so important an expedition, though, in the venality of the hour, it may be deemed sufficient to throw the whole blame upon Byng?"

Ministerial cowardice could not afford to baulk popular clamour with so short a measure of injustice as the suspension of Fowke for a year, as had been recommended, and he was cashiered, his regiment being given to Jefferies, the officer who had last succumbed when Fort St. Philip fell. He was not, however, to be the principal victim. Fox acquiesced in if he did not relish the proceedings against the Admiral. He agreed that all care should be taken to prevent the possibility of escape, and that could best be done by sending for him immediately under a strong guard, and committing him to the Tower. The majority of the Cabinet, who felt their collective existence shaken, were ill qualified to sit impartially in judgment on the case. Lyttelton was among the bitterest zealots for remorseless rigour, and to the end was unrelenting: "Should he die by the sentence of Court Martial, his death will make poor satisfaction to his country for the mischief he has done."[1]

The City in their address denounced Parliament for throwing out the Militia Bill, and an incompetent Cabinet for not providing in time the ships and battalions necessary for carrying on successful war. His colleagues complained that Fox meant to repudiate his share of responsibility for the failures by sea and land, and to shelter himself from culpability in the first degree behind those who were primarily answerable for want of care and foresight. The Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary-at-War stood in a different position; and they could hardly hope to be acquitted of departmental negligence if it should appear that the works at Gibraltar had been suffered to fall into decay, or that its garrison at the outbreak of war had been left too weak to afford any substantial help to Fort St. Philip if first assailed.

Soon after his arrival as Governor, Tyrawley reported that he could not adequately describe "the bad and almost scandalous condition of Gibraltar. The town was granted away to fellows perhaps escaped out of Newgate, to the utter impossibility of lodging the troops suitably, and things must be worse when Blakeney's corps returned, though for garrison duty they were certainly

[1] To Governor Lyttelton, South Carolina, 8th August, 1756.

wanted. Buildings for hospitals were sadly deficient, but they were not to be had. A military Governor was not so much wanted as a civilian. Justice Fielding or Saunders Welch, Esq., would be as much use or more than himself, and if it were made a borough town and returned two members of Parliament, the thing would be complete. They were almost without powder, ball, beds, or ordnance stores of any sort, though repeatedly long since demanded; the whole extent of the line wall, above three miles in length, was undefended for the want of a sufficient number of cannon to plant upon it or carriages to plant them upon, and storehouses and warehouses at the foot of it or otherwise filled with rubbish, where batteries *a fleur d'eau* ought to be made. Every gun was planted so high that one would imagine the town was to be approached through the middle region, and not through the earth or sea. Let anyone imagine himself at Kew, and the opposite side, which was the back of the houses at Brentford, was exactly the line wall next the sea at Gibraltar, and pretty near in as good a posture of defence. Former Governors put all the money arising from the town into their pockets. Bland sent it all home to the Treasury, when in truth it should go neither way, but be employed for the service of the place, which was gone to ruin. If Gibraltar was of consequence, something must be done, and that speedily, for if it could be done to-day it should not be delayed until to-morrow. All the stores demanded should be sent out immediately, without the abatement of a single nail. All the property so ruinous to the defence of the place must be resumed and restored to its first intention, *une place de guerre*, whereas it had dwindled into a trading town for Jews, Genoese, and pick-pockets."[1]

And it was from this dilapidated refuge of public and private jobbing that the council of naval and military officers were reproached for not sending forth effective succours to Port Mahon; while Governor Fowke and Admiral Byng were deprived and denounced for concurring in their unanimous judgment.

But with such testimony from their own specially chosen witness to their Executive shortcomings, it is not strange that they should have shrunk from bringing their unhappy victim to trial.

[1] Lord Tyrawley to Barrington, 25th July, 1756.—*MS.*

Fox, in conversation with Count Viry, Minister from Savoy, and also with M. D'Abreu, had thrown out the idea of an exchange of Gibraltar for Minorca. But this may have only been said to overtrump the offer of France to secure the alliance of Spain; and however incautious on the part of the Secretary of State, it did not, and was not understood to, commit his colleagues who had not, in point of fact, been consulted; but to the suspicious mind of Newcastle it was a crowning proof of duplicity and treachery. "Fox flung out something of this sort the other night at the end of the Cabinet meeting. I replied that it was a bold stroke, a great concession, or something to that purpose, but I really thought no more of it. D'Abreu, in talking over Wall's last letter to him, mentioned particularly what is said about my late brother's scheme to give up Gibraltar on certain conditions to fix the union between the two kingdoms and I dare say he has told Fox, from whom he has taken the hint. I must tell the King of this, but I am sure he will be extremely angry. If such hints and advances are flung out by one of the Administration unknown to the others, what will be the consequence of it? What a scene is here of imprudence, folly, ambition, and double dealing with us all!"[1]

From peace at any price, could it be obtained, the unscrupulous mind of the First Lord swung violently in the opposite direction. Some attempt should be made somewhere to vindicate their shattered reputation in arms. Why should not the recapture of Port Mahon be attempted? Even if it failed it would show spirit, the thing that Government was supposed to be lacking. Their chief hope lay in America, where there was recent news of a French ship having been captured: very encouraging. "Send away the 1,600 men (ready to embark). Let Lord Loudon know that conquest in North America is our point. Suggest to him the several objects of Louisburgh, Montreal, Quebec, &c. Send a squadron thither, if necessary. For my part, I think no expense should now be spared; we have gone too far for any consideration of that kind."[2]

Fox was ready to try any reasonable venture, and told the Secretary to the Treasury that he marvelled at his chief's intre-

[1] Newcastle to the Chancellor, 12th July, 1756.—*MS.*
[2] To Fox, 24th July, 1756.—*MS.*

pidity, but he thought it was absolutely necessary to get the Earl of Bute or Mr. Pitt and that family.[1]

Now and then Chesterfield loved reminding his late colleagues of how able an adviser they had lost, particularly with regard to foreign affairs. Lord Marchmont had told him that nobody above a *Chargé d'affaires* should be sent to Berlin, in fact, a sort of M. Mitchell. Things were happily well with that Court, but "no one of a superior order would go there who was fit to go; and one who was not fit for it would, however, think that he must be busy and probably spoil business. Rank without ability and dexterity make a very bad foreign Minister, but it is easy to be shrewd, witty, and patriotic out of office, when one has not to think of all the nonentities and well-bred importunates that remain to be provided for."

A Cabinet was summoned for the 20th of July, the Lord Privy Seal, Marlborough, and Dorset were out of town, but Devonshire, Rutland, and Grafton were summoned. The Lord President, the Chancellor, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Newcastle, and the two Secretaries of State, remained. The loss of the island seems to have been exaggerated by the craven fear of administrative blame. There was hardly any possession beyond sea, except Ireland, on which so great a value had been set, and no expense was said to be too great for its recovery, were that possible. The first Lord set forth in a letter to Hardwicke what he called the facts. "The honour and reputation of the King and the Nation must suffer greatly by its being so scandalously torn from us—and with it all the weight and influence it gave over all the considerable powers in the Mediterranean; not to mention valuable employments possessed by good friends which must now drop. When the Nation suffers, ill-humours and malicious representations will have their effect, and we must not expect to be without our share of it." In a letter to the Chancellor, he said, "I know the Opposition will endeavour, if possible, to fling it singly upon me, or to make me answerable for other people's neglects and weaknesses. It cannot be expected that I should take the blame of a miscarriage where I had no other share than every member of the Council who was consulted. In the first place, I don't know that there was any fault; I don't remember that anyone proposed sending

[1] West to Newcastle, 24th July, 1756.—*MS.*

out a ship to the Mediterranean until the order for Byng's squadron was given. The fact is, we had not ships to send without exposure at home. Mr. Fox does not believe we had; but his mode of talking gives credit to the contrary, as well as to the notion that *he was for sending sooner and more.* But if Byng had done his duty, it is certain that the French fleet would have been beat, and the siege raised. Sir John Ligonier says the assault was a very desperate attempt though it succeeded. To this, therefore, we must bring it, and those who will not assist us in it are not our friends. I hope you will talk seriously to Lord Anson to prepare materials for our defence, and also—what is of more consequence—for the immediate trial and condemnation of Admiral Byng if, as I think there can be no doubt, he deserves it. The sea-officers should be learned to talk in this manner, and not to think to fling the blame upon civil Ministers. You know how little share we have in military operations, or in the choice of military men either at sea or by land, and it would be very unjust for us to suffer where we have scarce been consulted:"[1] utterly ignoring the fact, already stated, that he had forced the unhappy Admiral to take command against his prayer to be passed over as unfit.[2] Such was the thesis on which the Cabinet was to deliberate; and here at last we have revealed the secret history of Byng's immolation.

Hardwicke, to whom these cowardly suggestions were addressed, noticed them only as too important to be answered in writing. He was the keeper of the King's conscience, not of his chief Ministers', and he deferred committing himself to any judgment of life or death where an honourable man and the character of the British Navy were concerned before he had had the benefit of trial. What passed at the Cockpit the following night, where three-fourths of the Cabinet assembled, we know not, but it is not too much to say that if, before they met, Hardwicke had knocked on the head the iniquitous suggestions of Newcastle as incompatible with every feeling of self-respect or public justice, Byng would never have been their victim.

A scene of unusual animation occurred when the two Secretaries of State met in the royal closet on the 19th July. Fox attacked his colleague pretty warmly for agreeing in opinion

[1] Newcastle to the Chancellor, 19th July, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] See page 96.

with his Majesty that Colonel Yorke had acted prudently by delaying to present his Memorial peremptorily calling on the Dutch to declare war. George II. himself took up the dispute, and the altercation was carried on by Fox with more warmth than usual, drawing forth strong expressions from the King.[1]

Before the arrival of the accused commanders notice was given in the *Gazette* of orders sent to every port to arrest Byng in case he should not have been sent by Sir E. Hawke. Amateur caricatures by G. Townshend represented Fox and Newcastle as Peachum and Locket exclaiming, "Brother, brother, we have both been in the wrong," and an advertisement was affixed to the Royal Exchange, "Three Kingdoms to be let; on very low terms. Inquire of Andrew Stone, broker, 66, Lincoln's Inn Fields." A broadsheet figured at the entrance in which the Ministers were lampooned. The First Lord, like another unhappy *Heatontimorounos*, took all the mischief to himself, and piteously complained to the Chancellor that it was clear who was aimed at by its authors, whom he supposed to be the Bishop of Norwich (Hayter), or his ex-colleague, Legge. The placard was soon torn down by some friend of the Treasury; but that was small comfort to a misunderstood and miserable Minister.

Oddly enough, the same hour Mr. Stone called to say that Fox wished to see his Grace, that the matter did not immediately press, but would take up half an hour. Stone said he had not seen the Secretary for some time, and could not tell what he wanted to talk about; but he was confident that the subject of his visit was the increasing difficulty of carrying on business in the House of Commons, and the necessity of making Pitt Secretary of State, and finding some lucrative post for himself instead. Mr. Cresset had been with Stone to urge the policy of not breaking openly with Leicester House, and a letter from Secretary West confirmed this idea. Stone was confident that Lady Yarmouth wished for the change. She had spoken kindly to Lord Lincoln a day or two before, but hung upon the *mauvais choise* that had been made of Fox as leader. Where all this would end nobody could tell; but as his Grace must see Lady Yarmouth next day and communicate the paper agreed upon, which must tend to some discovery of her real

[1] Holdernesse to First Lord, 19th July, 1756.—*MS.*

intentions, and perhaps the King's too, about Pitt, he would be glad to know if the Chancellor would have him tell Lady Yarmouth what Fox said about Bute and Pitt: it might certainly contribute to the measure about Pitt, but it would as certainly still more alienate the King and her from Fox.

To Chatsworth Holland House made known its troubles and perplexities: "I wish your Grace was here. I cannot fully explain my disagreeable circumstances. The rage of people and of considerable people for the loss of Minorca increases hourly. I have not more than my share of blame, which falls on the Duke of Newcastle in so violent a degree that if he were not of a very different make from what he has been represented he could never be so cheerful as he is. But when the Parliament meets the scene of action will be the House of Commons, and I, being the only figure of a Minister there, shall of course draw all the odium on me. When I have seen these two little great men again I will write to your Grace."[1]

"Your Grace agrees entirely with the Duke that I should take their promises. H.R.H. added, *and not depend on them.* Will that make my situation much more eligible than it was before? But there may be, and I believe is, nothing else to be done. I am just come from the Lord Chancellor. A most courteous and barren conversation. In my last I told you they had empowered and desired the Duke of Argyll to treat with Lord Bute. I have desired this may go on, and if he is not to be had on their terms, that they would come into his, provided he will bring the countenance of his Court with him. I have talked of their trying, if there is any likelihood of gaining him, to get Pitt (the surest means of getting Leicester House, for that Court could not show against us without adherents). They seem to think, and I own I fear, it is impracticable. I will give way to Pitt, and yet join with him, and have said so most sincerely. And on my conscience, the King had as lief he were Secretary of State as I. Lady Yarmouth said about a week ago, *Le Roi était fort adouci envers Monsieur Fox depuis peu.* Think of that word after what your Grace has seen and heard of me this winter, and I vow to God you know as much as I do of what could possibly *l'aigrir contre moi.* Being *adouci*, he has spoken to me at his levee twice since you went. I am abused, and prints made of

[1] 31st July, 1756.—*MS.* Devonshire Papers.

me, and I am to be hanged with the Duke of Newcastle; I fancy his Majesty has heard this, and likes me the better for being hated by his subjects. I know not how soon some striking bad news may cause your Grace to be sent for; but on my personal account you shall not, I assure you. I think my situation like that of the publick, bad, but not incapable of being mended. . . . I am to see Stone to-morrow. He assures me the Duke of Newcastle is sincere. I ask him whether his Grace was not sincere last year? What vexes me is, that if he were as sincere, and as wise, too, as any man living, he would not retake Minorca, or save this sinking nation. Stone talks very freely. He really wants that the Duke of Newcastle should go out of the dangerous and unmanageable post he is in. He says his Grace wishes the same. I much doubt that."[1]

Fox not only proposed, but pressed the taking Pitt into the Cabinet, and could not, therefore, in any case make that a reason for his own withdrawal. Nor did the impracticability of their acting together as Chesterfield supposed seem to the Chancellor a reason for not offering Pitt the option of coming in. The union of the Royal Family was a specific which everybody recommended; and he agreed with Chesterfield that satisfying Leicester House was the best turn they could give to the affair, as it would abate materially the presumption of coming in by conquest. But if nothing would reconcile the Princess but the appointment demanded for Bute, should the Cabinet invite it? "After what he had said himself, and after what he had heard the King say on the subject, he (the Chancellor) could never give an opinion for it, but he could acquiesce in silence. If it were true that Mr. Fox had said that they might have sent sooner and more, he must be made to be very explicit in explaining the part he would take in Parliament before it met. Was it true, as the newspapers said, that he was very ill at Holland House? He was quite sure there would not be war in Germany that year.[2] Here is wisdom! On that very day Frederick had broken into Saxony with three divisions, fully equipped for war, and within a week he had taken possession of Dresden. The poor old King, whose judgment his Ministers so frequently despised and summarily overruled when it pleased

[1] H. Fox to Devonshire, 4th August, 1756.—*MS.* Devonshire Papers.
[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 29th August, 1756.—*MS.*

them, had a clearer instinct of what was coming and was then even at the door. His bewildered First Lord of the Treasury was indeed full of alarm, but it was on his own account, not on that of the nation or the peace of Europe.

Waldegrave's description of his ward is not prepossessing. His understanding, though not excellent, was capable of being rendered by salutary exercise adequate for the discharge of the duties of his station; but he had from childhood been secluded within influences ill fitted to develop his abilities or train him in the exercise most necessary to his happiness and credit as a King—that of judging for himself and judging justly. Averse from study and everything approaching intellectual work, he idled most of his time in harmless but aimless pursuits, continually in the society of his mother, whose disposition and example were destitute of the qualities calculated to strengthen or ennoble that of her son. He was strictly honest, but wanting in that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty most appreciated and beloved. When his allowance as a boy was small, he excused himself frequently from beneficence by the proverb that "One should be just before he was generous"; but his Governor adds that his generosity did not expand with his income. His religious feeling was sincere, but not very charitable; and free himself from the vices of youth, he was rather too fond of dwelling on the faults of others. He had spirit, but hardly of the active kind; and a resolute will which was apt to take the form of obstinacy. If he erred it would probably be from his mistaking wrong for right, for he had been brought up in misleading prejudices. When displeased his anger did not break out with heat and violence, but he became silent and sullen, and retired to his own room, not to compose his mind by reading or reflection, but merely to indulge in ill-humour; and when the fit was over his recollection seemed only too vivid of its cause.

His preceptors, though assiduous and able, failed to awaken in him any taste for study; and Waldegrave himself and his deputy, Andrew Stone, never seemed to have won his iking or regard. In the latter years of his minority, Bute became his chief confidant, and doubtless contributed mainly to possess him with the hopes and dreams of reactionary Royalism which subsequently led to so many bitter struggles in the administration

of affairs. But while his grandfather lived such designs were unsuspected, and Pitt himself humoured and favoured Bute without a thought of his one day possibly becoming his supplanter. Ministers, too, well aware how the last year of the Prince's minority had passed, wished if possible to extricate him from the political guidance of Opposition, and the social quarantine which his mother's guardianship imposed. Pitt, Grenville, and Legge were already his Cabinet all but in name; and the infatuation of the Prince for Bute rendered his continued presence a source of stifled uneasiness and compunction to Waldegrave and Stone. Newcastle and the Chancellor, with the approval of Fox and Grenville, advised George II. to send a message in writing to his grandson, granting him £40,000 a year, with the apartments of the late Queen at St. James's, and those occupied by his father at Kensington, with a suitable establishment, the members of which would be named without delay. Legge, who happened to be at hand, was requested to frame the Prince's reply, which gratefully accepted the proffered endowment, while earnestly praying his Majesty not to separate him from his mother. The suggested change of residence had not been made a condition of the Royal gift, and peremptorily to order its compliance might have provoked resistance which there was no legal power to overcome, and to retract the offer would, under the circumstances, have been inevitably taken as impugning the conduct and character of the Princess. But what was to be done? In vain the King called on Ministers to say whether they had contemplated the possibility of such a reply, and if so, what his next word should be.

George II. had asked the opinion of Chesterfield, who, he knew, had no personal or party interest to warp his judgment, of his forecast of what the world would say. He was ready to give his grandson suitable residence and allowance, and, to his surprise and chagrin, hesitation was expressed about accepting the offer by a youth of seventeen, because he was to be torn from the tender care of a beloved parent and had not the nomination of all the offices in the new Household. The Earl had gone to Blackheath for change of air, and though, as he said, weak and crazy, took some pains to explain in writing his notions on the subject. The allowance was certainly ample; the pretension to make appointments not to be thought of; but upon the question

of domicile he shrewdly suggested doubts whether the point might not better be yielded. "Inadvertencies, negligences, and perhaps insolences of the favourite were more likely to happen in the uninterrupted familiarity of sixteen hours out of every twenty-four at Leicester House, than in the fewer and more guarded hours in any of his Majesty's Palaces. Accidents might possibly happen to disgust and offend the Prince of Wales himself.[1] George II. recurred to the advice of Waldegrave, who now only wished permission to retire. He spoke very strongly about the young Prince going to Kensington and not allowing Bute to be about him. Waldegrave had had several conversations with the Princess and her son, and acted with firmness and integrity. He told the Prince his grandfather seemed extremely dissatisfied that a proper return had not been made to the gracious message sent him. To speak plainly, the way the Prince was in would not do. He and the Princess Dowager were on the brink of a precipice. The King ought to have power to place and displace his servants, and he was determined to make use of it. The Prince asked what the Duke of Newcastle would do. The Earl told him that he would be willing to oblige his Highness, but he would do nothing to offend the King, or that he thought was not for his service. Next day H.R.H. asked him to repeat what he had said the day before, that he might be quite sure of it, which Waldegrave did with the same plainness of language. The Prince said he wished the Earl to remain with him, and saw nothing inconsistent in his doing so along with Bute. The Princess confirmed what had been said by her son of his desire to retain the services of Waldegrave. The King was mistaken in Bute's character or behaviour. So far from encouraging Opposition, Bute had constantly told her son he should have no politics but the King's, and in everything act according to his wish. There could be no dispute about the King's power: the Prince only asked a favour relating to Bute. He also wished to have Lord Euston, Mr. Evelyn (Lord Godolphin's near relation), and Mr. Onslow. The Princess said she would try once more, through Stone, to gain the support of Newcastle, and if that failed she would trouble him no more. There were signs of his Majesty repenting of the liberality of the allowance he had offered, but Fox told him it

[1] To Newcastle, 17th May, 1756.—*MS.*

was impossible now to go back. Lady Yarmouth was strong against any retractation, and thought it would do the King great prejudice in the opinion of people.

Nothing would induce Waldegrave to take part in the new arrangements. In his letter asking permission to retire, he said that recent circumstances had been such that no temper not absolutely callous could remain unmoved. "Things had been said to him which he could never forget; and he had made such answers as could never be forgiven."[1] The Cabinet repeatedly discussed the matter, but came to no conclusion. Devonshire said their duty was to prevent a rupture in the Royal Family. Granville said it was certain to happen. The King would treat Bute like a footman, and he would treat the young Lords appointed to be about the Prince in the same manner. This Royal Family had quarrelled and would quarrel from generation to generation. After all, Royalty, as usual, had to yield. The King informed Waldegrave on the 17th September that Fox and Barrington had represented to him the necessity for the conduct of Government business that they should have the support of Leicester House in the coming session, and he wished him, therefore, to see the Princess Dowager and her son, and obtain from them, in writing, binding assurances to that end if he yielded about Bute. His Lordship urged that someone of more weight, not so intimate and less inveterately distrusted, should undertake the mission, "with whom they would be less likely to shuffle than him," and in deference to the First Lord he named the Chancellor as the person to exact the essential terms; or if he declined it might be thrown upon the Lord President, who would not refuse, and might, after all, do it as well as anybody. This caused the delay of another week, at the end of which Hardwicke was to be in town. In the prevailing discontent and depression, of which fresh proofs reached him daily, Newcastle was sorry that his correspondent could suggest no way of stemming the torrent in the House of Commons.

The King, though uneasy, doubted that things were as bad as they seemed, for the Duke of Grafton had told him that the people of England went back as fast as they came on when once it appeared that their clamour had been without foundation. The King said that when the truth should appear he did not

[1] Waldegrave to the First Lord, 14th June, 1756.—*MS.*

imagine that they would lose so many in Parliament as would leave Government in a minority. Newcastle replied, that "they did not so much fear numbers as *hands and tongues* in the House of Commons. How could they depend solely on one man? His Majesty said they must get others and seemed on the point of making some proposal, but stopped short abruptly." Lady Yarmouth would give no opinion about Bute, for Waldegrave had told her he was not sure that even yielding with regard to him would secure the support of Leicester House. If it was necessary, the King would take Mr. Pitt, in the room of Mr. Fox.

She had before said that Mr. Pitt had a better turn for the Closet than the other. She certainly wished him to be Secretary of State, and would not yield in the case of Bute. She talked much against his rival and would have the King insist upon his giving his thoughts in writing. It is clear that on Newcastle's offer to resign more than one of those concerned in a change of Executive hands bethought them of new combinations. Fox, as his letters to Chatsworth and Woburn show, thought the Cabinet not only water-logged, but fast settling down in the troubled sea; and he began to prepare for his own escape to shore. To call in Pitt as was suggested, in order that they might act conjointly in the House of Commons, involved the contingency of his being left, he foresaw, at some critical moment, the choice of submitting to be overridden by his only rival, or of flinging himself out of the window to be pitied or jeered at for his pains. He could bear the prospect of neither contingency; but was it not possible, under a splendid show of magnanimity to make a stroke better than any that had been proposed to him? He had been Secretary of State and successful leader of the House. What could he be more? The crowd were noisy and unjust; the King fretful and difficult; his Cabinet colleagues suspicious and jealous; and at threescore he was tired and wanted to enjoy in the evening of life the liberty and luxury he loved. What if he should offer to descend a round or two of the ladder for sake of permanent hold of the Pay Office, where his grandfather had grown rich before him, and where Calcraft and Rigby and other devoted subordinates showed him there were perquisite mines hitherto not half opened, but which would prove inexhaustible in time of war. Warily unfolding his self-denying scheme to Lady Yarmouth and the

King, he gradually brought them to look upon Pitt—not as desirable, reliable, manageable, but as *l'homme inévitable.* Faithful to the only ostensible purpose of her life—that of promoting the quiet and comfort of the King—Lady Yarmouth objected that the Great Demagogue was the hero of Leicester House and intimate with the Highland Earl who wanted to be Groom of the Stole, and whom George II. had sworn he would not submit to the humiliation of appointing. But why not sound Pitt and ascertain whether he thought that the safety of the realm really depended on their acting together. What could Fox mean if sincere? The idea of his subsiding from the first rank in European politics to an office of profit which Pitt had recently thrown away never occurred to the First Lord: nor does it seem to have been as yet divulged to any of his colleagues.

Ruminating at Tunbridge Wells, whither he had gone to see his invalid Duchess, the unhappy First Lord could do no more than recount his perplexities at Wimpole; not trusting, however, to the post, but sending them express by Private Secretary Jones. "Can we go out? Can we go on in the House of Commons, with Mr. Fox in the temper he is, and in the circumstances we are, without either Leicester House or Mr. Pitt? Can we get either, or both? By what means can we get either? Should those means be tried, or not, with either, with both, or which of them? These questions I hope we shall determine on Tuesday night."[1]

With characteristic sagacity Fox alone among his colleagues advised the King to confer on Bute the appointment desired for him by his patrons at Leicester House. Anticipating their disapproval, he wrote: We are to have a meeting on Thursday, in which I suppose I shall be alone for advising the employment being given to Bute desired for him. I will give it, and insist on the King knowing I give it. I suspect his Majesty has been told that I have been making court there, which is very false. He shall know my opinion and the honest reasons for it."[2]

Newcastle made up his mind to outbid his colleague. By his account of the transaction, the promotion of Bute was recommended by the Chancellor himself without any allusion being made to the subject in Council, while his Majesty was led to

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 4th Sept., 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Fox to Devonshire, 7th Sept., 1756.—*MS.*

believe that the opinion of Fox was really against it, "which was in some degree the occasion of his frowns."[1]

On the 14th October George II. sent a message to the Prince of Wales conceding his request that Bute should be appointed his Groom of the Stole, and likewise consenting that he should continue to reside with the Princess Dowager. Holdernesse on the same day forwarded a copy of the message to his colleague, who was then out of town, with felicitations on the happy termination of the disagreeable controversy. Little confidence was placed in the effusive promises of devotion that came from the Princess Dowager and her son. The Session drew near, and if Pitt, Legge, and Grenville were disposed to join (which Newcastle still doubted) and they did not see the Cabinet door open, they would take their parts, and then it might be too late. The King thought he had carried his complaisance far enough by what he had done in Bute's case, and he would be very adverse from making another sacrifice of his resentment by taking in Pitt. The Prince was in raptures of joy when Waldegrave told him of the concession regarding Bute, and went off to inform the Princess. He also seemed pleased at Stone being named for his secretary, but on this his mother was rigidly reserved. Stone knew too much. The Speaker declined the offer of a place in the new Household for his son, for whom he desired an opportunity of learning public business rather than of making his way to Court.[2]

To cement the adhesion of Leicester House it was agreed that eight of the most prominent of the party in the Commons should have office, to which the King assented. The names were then for the first time communicated in a letter to Fox, who, without objecting to any of them, said that such a disposal of patronage without his being consulted rendered his position as Leader of the Lower House untenable. He told his private secretary, in order that his Grace might know, the inference he drew from the proceeding. Newcastle's substitute in the Commons was a person who was to have his full share of the odium of any measure or misfortune, and who by the nature of his situation must have twenty times more trouble in Parliament than any other man and yet was not to have any share in the

[1] Holland House, 10th Sept., 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Lord Chancellor, 10th Oct., 1756.—*MS.*

distribution of favours there. It was plain that his total insignificancy was a matter fixed and settled in his Grace's mind. The Duke of Cumberland, whom he consulted, thought that he could go on no longer as Secretary of State; and he wrote to the Duke of Devonshire wishing for his approval. His intention was to tell Lady Yarmouth that though the terms he was on with Newcastle had made him retract his consent to the Treaty with Pitt, yet it was his desire that it might be concluded; but, that he could no more appear as Secretary of State in the House of Commons. He was ready in any other employment not of the Cabinet or Court to do all the service he could."[1] He said he was in the most disagreeable situation imaginable, hated by the King and by the Princess of Wales on account of his attachment to Prince William, exposed to the resentment of the nation more than anybody on account of his being the principal person in the House of Commons, responsible for the majority there without any credit to support it. Newcastle forthwith related this to Lady Yarmouth, expecting it would make her resume, in some degree, her former thought about Pitt; but to his great surprise and concern it took another turn. She said they must do the best they could, for they could not change the present Secretary, and she feared that they would be expected to be more complaisant than ever in order to keep out the other.

This at once destroyed all thought of breaking into the Opposition. Fox was now in worse temper than ever. Under these circumstances were they to name Pitt to the King or Lady Yarmouth with a certainty of rejection, or offer a Peerage to Legge, which was the only means of detaching him from their opponents? The Townshends were not likely to come in, and if they would they were the last the King would like to have. Confounded at these changes in discourse both above and below stairs, Newcastle appealed once more to the Chancellor to tell him what to do, and he would follow it.[2] Hardwicke thought the talk of his being more than others blameworthy for their failures abroad merely colourable. Little store need be set on what the Lady had said against breaking in upon Opposition, but really in such cases it was necessary to speak frankly. Was his Grace really for it? If he was, ways might be found to try.

[1] H. Fox to Devonshire, 11th Oct., 1756.—*MS.*

[2] 12th Oct., 1756.—*MS.*

He would advise that without further delay the King be spoken to. "He would not shock him at first with the name of Pitt. It were best to begin with Legge, who might remain in the House of Commons for the Session, with an absolute promise of being carried to the Lords at the end of it. If this could be done, others would be more tractable. As for the person to sound Legge, would not Devonshire be the rightest of all?"[1]

But ere this letter was received Fox had made known his resolution to resign, in terms curiously unlike those which might have been expected of him: "The step I am going to take is not only necessary but innocent. It shall be accompanied by no complaint: it shall be followed by no resentment. I have no resentment; but it is not the less true that my situation is impracticable."[2] On the same day he gave Lady Yarmouth a paper to be laid before the King, who told the First Lord to preserve it, in which he said Lord Barrington had told him that his place would be offered to Mr. Pitt if the Duke was sure it would not offend him: "Though he had behaved in the best manner he had been able to the First Lord, yet he found that his credit in the House of Commons diminished for want of support, and he thought it impracticable for him to carry on affairs as they ought to be carried on. Therefore, he wished some new arrangement to be made in which, if he was thought worthy of some employment, not of the Cabinet, he would attend and give all the assistance he could in Parliament." He added that he hoped his offer made six weeks before to give way to Mr. Pitt was already in negotiation.[3]

Granville, who best understood his meaning, owned tacitly, though probably not in words, that his aim was to secure the office of Paymaster-General, but Newcastle, far from being satisfied at his withdrawal from the Cabinet, bitterly complained that "he made use of the opportunity of distress to put the knife to their throats to get his own terms."[4]

At the end of a long letter to Wimpole, the Duke thus sums up conflicting claims and contingencies: "Lord President said Pitt would not come. But I think Pitt must come. I know his

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 13th Oct., 1756.—*MS.*
[2] To Newcastle, 13th Oct., 1756.—*MS.*
[3] "Life of Hardwicke," III., 70.
[4] To Hardwicke, 13th October, 1756.—*MS.*

demands will be high. He will come as a *conqueror*. I always dreaded it. But I had rather be conquered by an enemy who can do our business, than by one who has deserted us, assigned false reasons for so doing, and has it not in his power to do his own or our business. Your old friend stands alone, beset on all sides, scarce knowing what to propose. The whole is levelled at me—*Pallas, te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat*. You must see who is at the head of this scheme. I saw an unusual coldness there on Monday last (the 12th). I thought Lord Gower much altered in his manner to me."

To the crowd of traders and pettifoggers in politics, the unasked surrender of the Seals and Leadership of the Commons was a mystery for which there would eventually be revealed some dark explanation. Anything was believable of Fox except self-sacrifice: of that he was never suspected, and, in truth, never deserved to be; but his nature was incomprehensible alike by the well-bred mob with whom he lived and the wondering multitudes without. No man was ever more ambitious or less scrupulous in ambition. But it was not his only passion: avarice was its twin; and they fought together inaudibly and unseen, like the children in Rachel's womb. So long as men whom he felt to be his inferiors in council were placed over his head, he was restless, bitter, and tempted to be disloyal. Tired at last of subordination he felt to be wrong, he refused, in the autumn of 1755, to be anything less than an equal in the Cabinet and *primus inter pares* in the House. But having asserted what he deemed his right, and having for twelve months enjoyed ostensibly the privileges it conferred,

> The splendid toy so fiercely sought,
> Had lost its charm by being caught.

He told Lady Yarmouth that his ambition was satisfied, which was not quite true, but nearly so. Of course, he would have liked to be at the head of the Treasury, and would have striven for it had he believed in the possibility of his holding it; but could it be? Though he could delude others, he could not deceive himself. Henry Fox was not to be duped by the flatteries of dependents or the cheers of expectants, and when Lady Yarmouth, to save the King the mortification of having to take his rival, pressed him to stay, he said "his ambition was satisfied." He

saw that the Newcastle system was breaking down, and that whatever might be set up in its stead, Pitt would inevitably be the Leader in the Lower House, and to this, as a colleague in the Cabinet, he would not submit. Meanwhile, his avarice, which for the past year had complained of being half-starved, in round terms, rallied him on neglecting to make his fortune. Hence his sagacious choice of an unpolitical office that might be held for years by one who was believed to have put aside ambition; and when he had once made up his mind that the perquisites of the Pay Office were better worth having than the salary and the patronage of any other, his resistance to all entreaties and expostulations from Devonshire House, Windsor Lodge, and Woburn proved inflexible.

## CHAPTER XI.

### GOING TO WRECK.

### 1756.

Newcastle Offers to Resign—Death of Ryder—What would Murray do?—Pitt's Plan of a Ministry—Newcastle and Hardwicke Retire—Leicester House for Pitt—No Premier—Fox Fears he has Over-reached himself—Who at the Head: Devonshire or Pitt?—A New Cabinet—Pitt Secretary, Devonshire First Lord—Murray Chief Justice.

EVERYONE had come to the conviction that Pitt was indispensable. But how was he to be assimilated and absorbed? After an audience with the King, the First Lord wrote: "The business is done; but we must strike while the iron is hot. I found the King in good humour. I began with the paper I had seen, and showed how insidious, and even false, it was in every part: the introduction, as if we had proposed or mentioned Pitt to him, and he always deferring to the King. What is to be done, my Lord? The King said: 'I know a person of consequence, sense, and good intention' (which person I know to be Lord Hyde), 'said that there were but three things: to take in Pitt; to make up with my own family; and, my Lord, I have forgot the third. Pitt, says the person, is a man that, when once he has taken a part, will go through with it steadily, honourably, and more ably than Fox.' 'That, sir,' says I, 'everybody says.' I then read him an extract from your last letter, which had such an effect that he bade me have Pitt sounded as to whether he would come and be Secretary of State, and if he would, he should have a good reception. Granville told me he found the King was so angry with Fox that he would rather have anybody than him. He underlined the paper in Granville's presence, to show him what part he was offended at. He said he had had too much of Fox. He enumerated all the places

and graces which he had shown him (I put his Majesty *au fait*), and he told Lord President to tell Fox that he was much offended at this step." Granville undertook to report what had been said, but omitted the strong things, which could only tend to further alienation: for he wished him still to alter his mind if only for one Session. But the question of the King, "What is to be done if Pitt will not come," Newcastle "owned he could not answer. The King asked: 'Suppose Pitt would not serve with Newcastle?' 'Then, sir, I must go.' He said most graciously, 'I know your faults, but I know also your integrity and zeal for me.' 'That, sir, will be the same.' 'But you will not be able to do the same service when you are not in the Ministry?' 'If, sir, there is a concert between Fox and Pitt, they must make the Administration.' Holdernesse went into the Closet after Granville. The King gave him the paper to give to me; told him the parts he had marked, and why he had marked them; but said not one word of Pitt."

Newcastle and Holdernesse went next to the Lady, whom they found quite altered, and speaking good things of Pitt. "There was not a moment to be lost; for if Granville should persuade Fox to let his Majesty know that as he was offended with him he would stay, where would they be?" But Holdernesse, Newcastle, and Lady Yarmouth agreed that the Chancellor should come forthwith to town and in person open negotiation with Pitt. "This is now in your Lordship's power; don't boggle at it. You see the King wishes it. Lady Yarmouth advises it; and if it is not done before Lord President returns to Court, to-morrow, and the Duke of Cumberland sees the King on Sunday, nobody can tell whether it will be done at all."[1]

All this ferment and fuss was to no purpose. Granville sincerely strove to accomplish what he had promised; but he reasoned and pleaded in vain.

The Lord Chamberlain, Grafton, was summoned immediately to town to confer on the new condition of affairs; but as yet there was no definite plan for reconstructing the Cabinet.

In rejoinder to kind expressions from Devonshire, who deprecated resignation, Fox passionately replied, in terms that fix indelibly the oligarchic brand upon the system of rule against

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 15th Oct., 1756.—*MS.*

which his ambition naturally prompted him to mutiny. "I give your Grace a thousand thanks for your very kind and obliging answer to my long letter. Lord Granville carried the paper, which Lady Yarmouth declined delivering, and did the business as I thought he would do, as ill as possible. But it is done, and the King took and kept the paper. He then, as heretofore, talked of my ambition, was very angry, and said he had given me more power than he ought to have done. He had never thought of Pitt, and was afraid he would not do his business. But it is plain they will try him when the Chancellor comes to town on Monday. The King concluded with bidding Lord Granville put it to my conscience how I could quit him. It is plain that neither His Majesty nor the Duke of Newcastle can yet depart from their proud, foolish and impracticable scheme of governing without communicating any power to a commoner. I hope Pitt will come, and then my path is plain. But if he does not, the more I think of the generous plan, and the point of honour, the less I think it practicable; and if it is not practicable, neither H.R.H. nor your Grace can approve of it. I shall be a Minister that the House of Commons know will not remain such. The Duke of Newcastle will be a Minister who they must know cannot stay. Pitt will be with popular clamour on his side against both. Whom must the Members look to? Who must combine and direct the majority? My dear Lord, if utter confusion happens, remember it was not my fault. I am to see the Duke of Cumberland to-morrow morning. You shall hear again very soon. When do you come to town, if this cursed situation don't bring you sooner than you intend?"[1]

The Duke responded in terms of approval, and intimated his belief that the Ministry thus weakened could not go on. "I have," he added, "but one piece of advice to give you, and in that, H.R.H., as well as yourself, will agree with me; not to let ill-usage drive you into opposition, or to connect yourself with those that are engaged in it, for I do not think it honest or honourable to suffer personal resentment to hurry one into measures that may at any time distress the King's affairs, much less at this season, when both King and country are in so dangerous, nay, almost desperate a situation. Nothing has hurt Pitt so much as his having shown to the world that he did not

[1] 16th October, 1756.—*MS.*

value the confusion and distress that he might throw this country into, in order to gratify his resentment or satisfy his ambition, and I own it has, in some degree, altered the good opinion I had of him, for I do not think anything can justify such conduct."[1]

There were vague suspicions of an understanding between the outgoing and incoming Leader of the Commons. Hardwicke mentions in a private letter having heard that "Pitt's little place in the country (Hayes) was very near Mr. Calcraft's,[2] where Fox used frequently to go down on a Saturday."[3]

On his arrival, the Chancellor asked the First Lord if Fox wanted to be coaxed back, or was his threat of retiring only a make-believe, to get absolute power in the management of the Commons? What other motive could the most unscrupulous of politicians have for offering to subside from Secretaryship of State into inferior office? Fox knew his colleagues so well and knew that they knew him so well that he could not but suspect his motives would be suspected. He would make a great effort to convince them for once that he was really saying what he meant. He accordingly wrote reminding his correspondent of the exacting conditions regarding patronage made by Newcastle on succeeding to his brother's place. "I always knew the system begun at Mr. Pelham's death was impossible. I own I feared it would not, however, be at all departed from when I took the Seals, which I took unwillingly. How I have behaved to the King or to the Duke of Newcastle since I took them I leave to the Duke of Newcastle to relate. When I wrote the enclosed I had some hopes a negotiation with Mr. Pitt was begun. It is the only good party, my Lord, that the King can take, and don't imagine that I only say I will act in an inferior employment; I mean it and will do it. If I have had ambition, this year has thoroughly cured me of it. And with my ambition all possibility of resentment is gone likewise. At Mr. Pelham's death, some things, which I don't care to recall, happened which made me angry. I have now, upon my word, no anger, and could, with as much ease of mind, converse with the Duke of Newcastle on this, as with any man on any subject. I will, in any

[1] From Chatsworth, to H. Fox, 20th October, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Holwood, many years afterwards the residence of the younger Pitt.

[3] To Newcastle, 16th October, 1756.—*MS.*

station (not of the Cabinet) support the King's measures. I should indeed except that measure of governing the House of Commons by the Duke of Newcastle only; but it is unnecessary to except what its own impossibility must put an end to. Give me leave to wish H.M. may not desire that I should continue in the station I am in; it would not be for his service, and it would look as if I did what I do in a struggle for power. Whereas my aim is to get out of Court, and my justification in so doing, the impossibility of my carrying on the King's affairs now, even if I had more power given me."[1]

In an audience which lasted a considerable time, the King gave vent to his dissatisfaction at the conduct of the retiring Minister. There is a touch of grave comedy in the description given by Fox in a letter next day to Devonshire. He describes his Majesty as being "calm, serious, angry, but determined not to show it. On my side submission, cool to a degree, ready to serve him in the House of Commons, not as a Minister but only as one of the Government. H.M. cursed; he was angry that *I* had *made* him put that puppy Bute about his grandson. I never gave that opinion to him nor in Council. I was not of the opinion till I had heard of the message sent from Kew to the Duke. I then advised his Grace to do it for his own sake; he does it for *his own sake*, and makes the King angry with me for doing it."[2]

The Chancellor felt himself authorised to offer Pitt *carte blanche*. He said he must know the service before he talked of the price, and he could not on any account think of acting with Newcastle, whose measures he so disapproved that he could take no part in defending them. Hardwicke suggested his taking time to reconsider; but he had made up his mind and was resolved not to swerve. Next morning, lest what he had said should be represented otherwise than he wished, he took the extraordinary step of calling on Lady Yarmouth and relating to her exactly what had passed between himself and the Chancellor. Repeating that he could in no measures act with the Duke of Newcastle, he begged her to return his Majesty his most humble thanks for having condescended to think of him. Hence it was thought that he would treat but with the Court

[1] 18th October, 1756.

[2] Fox to Devonshire, 19th October, 1756.—*MS.*

directly; and that Munchausen would be sent to try him, perhaps next day.

Hardwicke reported the result of his conference after three hours and a half, an absolute final negative, without any reserve for any further deliberation. In short, there never was a more unsuccessful negotiation. "We fought all the weapons through, but his final answer was totally negative. He was very polite, and full of professions to me, but the great obstacles were the Duke of Newcastle and measures; and without a change of both it is impossible for him to come. Fox has not yet delivered up the Seals, but appears determined to do so."[1] The measures with which Pitt found fault were those connected with the war by sea and land, which the whole nation condemned, and for which they held the First Lord chiefly responsible.[2]

Newcastle despaired of being able to hold on, and desired the Chancellor to tender his resignation. Both Fox and Pitt had declared they would no longer take office under him: "Though a consciousness of my own innocence and an indifference as to my own situation may, and I hope in God will, support me against all the wickedness and ingratitude which I meet with, yet you cannot think I am unmindful or senseless to the indignity put upon me by these two gentlemen. Allow me to suggest to you the necessity of making the King see that the whole is a concert between Pitt and Fox; the views and principles upon which they act the same,—to make themselves necessary and masters of the King; that the accusation against me is grounded upon false or rather no facts; that the only thing Pitt alleges against me is the conduct of the war, &c. It is above me to give any advice. The King must talk to his other servants—the President, Grafton, and Devonshire. Lay me at the King's feet, with the utmost resignation to his will; but assure him that as my continuing in his service is made the excuse for others to decline it, I shall, with the same zeal, receive his command to retire, and serve him as a private person."[3]

On the original of this letter Lord Royston wrote: "There was no other concert between Pitt and Fox than uniting to get rid of the Duke of Newcastle. The latter had certainly a desire

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 19th October, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] To P. W. O'Brien, M.P. for Cockermouth, 21st October, 1756.—*MS.*

[3] From Newcastle House, 20th October, 1756.

to be connected with the former, who, when he came in, would have nothing to do with him. The Duke of Cumberland was Fox's principal abettor and adviser"; but the writer was evidently not fully aware of Fox's real views and aims. He had so often mystified friends and foes, that he was not believed when he spoke the truth regarding himself—that he did not covet a share of political power any longer, but preferred the comparative irresponsibility and quiet of permanent office. It would in no way have served his personal object to make a pretence of readiness to join with Pitt in forming a new Administration; and on the other hand Pitt had no motive to volunteer a refusal to act with one who offered to cease to be his rival. The pride of each, no doubt, refused to acknowledge the administrative primacy of the other; but when Fox had made up his mind not to contend for it, there was no longer a bone of contention. The break-up of the Administration seemed thenceforth inevitable to everyone, including its chief, who alone "could not bear the thought of it." Fox congratulated himself at what he had done towards bringing it about, and wrote to Chatsworth that he had named his correspondent through M. D'Abreu as the most suitable successor. He begged that Devonshire, on his arrival in town, would see him before Newcastle or the King.[1]

On the same day Lord Duncannon described the state of Administrative affairs as one of anarchy, and expressed the prevailing surprise that Devonshire continued out of town. Lord Frederick owned that he was often asked the reason of his brother's absence, but frankly hoped it would be prolonged, as he could hardly get any credit by seeming to meddle with the impending changes.

It is clear the old Minister expected that many of his adherents would not only sympathise with his difficulties, but make common cause with him in language, if not in act. He was mortified at seeing Andrew Stone smiled upon at Leicester House, remembering with what different looks he had been received when first placed there by him, and he was weak enough to say so in writing to his too-faithful *protégé*. Stone replied that he could not have persuaded himself that his Grace could consider his conduct as an object of jealousy and reproach. The smiles

[1] Fox to Devonshire, 21st October, 1756.—*MS.*

which occasioned his letter were unobserved by him, unless those of Lady Archibald Hamilton were meant, who was good-natured to everyone. From anyone else he had not a word. "If in four-and-twenty years he had acted contrary to the duty and devotion which he owed to his Grace, he was prepared to acknowledge all his accusers had laid to his charge, and which he had thought proper to remind him of. He appealed to his cooler thoughts whether he had deserved such treatment, but rather the reverse of it."[1] This brought the outgoing First Lord to a better way of thinking, and juster feelings revived. But another difficulty, that seemed almost greater than all the rest, was still unsolved.

In the Session of 1756, Ministers had carried every measure about which they were in unity among themselves; and though there were grave misgivings as to the course of events abroad, there was no apparent cause to anticipate any formidable diminution of their influence at home. Pitt and Temple had done their best to thwart and damage in debate without being able to inflict any serious wound, and though jealousies and squabbles about the disposal of patronage every now and then disturbed the temper of the Cabinet, there was scarce a whispered doubt of its stability. It had been taken as of evil omen that while the patent creating Chief Justice Ryder a Peer was completing, the eminent magistrate, whose honours no one grudged, should be stricken by the hand of death;[2] but few, perhaps, troubled themselves to calculate what the political consequences might be of his unexpected fate. To every lip in Westminster Hall the question speedily rose—What will Murray do? Usage, though not invariable, gave him, as Attorney-General, a paramount claim to the great office; transcendent ability as leader of the Common Law Bar made the claim incontestable. But the same ability exercised in Parliament rendered his withdrawal from the Lower House a thing to be deprecated by all who valued the dignity and reputation of that Assembly. There was something beside that stood much more in the way of Murray's elevation. He had become the ever-trusted, ever-ready, ever-eloquent lieutenant of Newcastle at St. Stephen's, on whom, above all others, he relied for defence of his policy and character against merciless critics and implacable foes.

[1] To Newcastle, 25th October, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Died 25th May, 1756.

Murray could not bring himself to ask for the first judicial place at Common Law. It was his right, beyond all question or quibble, as *facile princeps* in the profession, and, except the Great Seal, there was nothing the Crown could offer him worthy of being named in comparison with the Presidency of the Court of King's Bench. He had fought a long fight for the party in power, and on all hands it was acknowledged with signal ability and success. Nor friend nor foe would ascribe to vanity his admission that to quit the arena of debate for the judgment-seat would be an irreparable loss to Government, and that on the other hand the gain would be all his in safety, ease, and length of days. His ducal patron did not pretend the contrary; but could no elements be found of compensation for the waiving of such advantages?

On one thing only Murray had made up his mind, but about that he would not argue or listen to argument: he would not consent to be passed over. For the rest, they might do what they pleased, and they might do so without unworthy fear that he would in any case turn against them, for he had in him a spirit, incomprehensible to most men of his time, that of self-respect, above the respect, affected or real, of those around him. In the long discussions that ensued he failed, of course, to make this understood by either Newcastle or the Chancellor. To them he spoke as one that mocked. They went on for weeks spinning elaborate webs of cajolery and compromise, in the hope that in some one of them their incomprehensible friend might be caught at last, and induced to remain their official adviser and advocate, suffering some third or fourth rate practitioner to be put above his head as Chief Justice. At first Newcastle threw himself abjectly on the generosity of his friend: "Every man who pretends to be Minister in this country is a fool if he acts a day without the House of Commons; and a greater fool if he depends on any of whom he cannot be sure. Experience shows that I must answer for everything. The same experience shows me that nobody but yourself will or can support me in the House of Commons against a formidable opposition and in such a critical conjuncture. No man—no ten men—can be brought to supply your place. The Speaker says it must be done out of Opposition; others will say Mr. Fox. What a case should I be in if that was my sole dependence? But if I was dupe enough to do

it I am sure Fox cannot if he would. Pitt would bear him down before the Session was half over; and that Chesterfield said to me yesterday, though he is much your friend. What then must be the consequence?—a coalition between Fox and Pitt, sacrificing me, could I with honour to the King retire from business; and if you can suggest to me, or even give it as your opinion that I can retire with honour and credit, I will not say one word more to you upon the subject. Our friend Stone said wisely: the Attorney-General out of the House; Fox disobliged; the probability of a breach in the Royal Family; an alliance between Austria and France; four terrible events—and, what is worse, not in my power to prevent any one of them. All you can say is, Fox will be sincere if I will let him. I answer, he can't do it if he would. Debates must be of foreign affairs, and the difficulties occasioned by the war. Of the first he is totally ignorant, and Pitt must be his master. As to the latter, he will not, like you, probe the wound to the bottom; he will endeavour to skin it over, and naturally to let it light upon himself as little as possible. But if I was as satisfied as you may be that he would do his best, and act a right part in everything towards me, my own friends with whom I must live and act are so firmly convinced of the contrary that I could not bring one of them to act towards Mr. Fox as they ought to do. And in what situation am I then? I agree Fox thinks it his interest to show all possible regard and attention to you. I really believe he means it; but I don't believe that he would long be sorry to be without you in the House of Commons. The world and Mr. Fox know your goodness to me. That may make him depend upon me. That once gone, I must depend upon him—and that is a sore dependence. But I own it would be most cruel to insist upon your remaining in the House of Commons if you don't see the force and reason of it. You have a right to the Chief Justiceship. It would be hard in the King to refuse the Peerage. I would blame you for taking the position without it. But I cannot agree with you that all considerations to induce you to stay in the Commons are but honourable pensions. Your case is Sir Robert Walpole's, though in a higher degree. Sir Robert might have had a *deputy* in the House of Commons who could have done his business, if his own jealousy would have permitted him to have had one. The King can have no deputy but yourself. No one has seen a word

of this letter but you. Pity, but don't blame me. I owed it to the King and myself to try everything."[1]

Murray said that if he had a ruling passion, it was that of cordial friendship for his Grace, and gratitude as well as affection for the King. "I have neither friend nor foe but to this end. I am sorry for my own sake, for yours, and consequently for the King's, that the late incident has happened; but as it has happened, I can soon take a decisive resolution in what concerns myself, either publicly or privately. I have considered it over and over, and listened to the echoes of all classes, denominations, parties, and professions of men, and find but one voice. If I could bring myself to submit to what I consider my disgrace, I am convinced it would tend to your dishonour as a man and ruin as a Minister. I should not be able to stand the shame, or you the reproach of such a measure, especially in our present situation. Don't think my having said nothing hitherto upon your letter was neglect. It has cost me many hours' sleep. I sent Lord Dupplin word that I shall be at Claremont next Sunday. I shall be detained so late at the Old Bailey to-morrow that I shall not be able to come sooner. Be assured that I do not like abstractedly the part which my judgment tells me is the only one I have to take; but I am convinced that, under the circumstances, it is the best for your Grace, as well as for me."[2]

Hardwicke, habitually given to recommending further time to consider what was to be done, thought that as the Courts were nearly up at the end of June, and the Circuits ready to go out, there was no actual need of a Chief Justice for three or four months to come. Yet he felt that Murray would have reasonable cause to complain if the appointment and the Peerage were deferred so long. Murray saw no advantage to the public or his friends by the delay, which might be liable to inconveniences and hazards, and Ministers, consistently with the assurances they had given him, could not force him to agree to undefined postponement. But Newcastle said: "Every day convinces me that it is almost impossible for me to oblige anybody, or to avoid being suspected of falsity and duplicity, even by those for whom I have, and have always professed, the greatest friendship. This is at present the case with Mr. Attorney-General, who, I own, I thought

[1] 30th May, 1756.—*MS.*
[2] 4th June, 1756.—*MS.*

was the last man in England capable of suspecting me. Sure your good nature must pity. Never was poor man so used by his best friends. But I must bear all, and all I can bear but being suspected."[1]

The Chancellor hinted that the King might hesitate about the Peerage, to which Murray firmly replied that without it he should decline the office. Hardwicke put Murray's claims in the strongest light to the King. His Majesty heard him out, and then said good-humouredly that as Newcastle and Hardwicke thought it right, he would agree to the Chief Justiceship; but as it was an office of great distinction, and £6,000 a-year, any man might be content with it; and that he did not like making a precedent for conferring the Peerage in all similar cases. He had refused it to Ryder, whom he respected and loved, until he had been two years on the Bench, and he would do the same regarding Murray. Hardwicke expostulated, saying that the Attorney-General would certainly refuse to quit the Commons without having a seat in the Lords. "He urged the difference of the two cases; that Murray was of an ancient noble family; had made a great figure in Parliament; and would naturally wish to continue there, though in another house, and not to be thrown out of all business at his time of life." The King remained firm in his opinion, dwelt upon the many importunities he had to resist just then for the same distinction, and the clamour that would be raised by so many disappointments. He directed Murray to be informed of his conclusions. It was agreed that nothing should be done until Michaelmas term, in hopes that the difficulty might in the meantime be removed.[2]

On the 1st July, the King, in conversation, asked if his Grace had seen the Attorney-General, and what he had said. The First Lord told him that though sensible of his Majesty's goodness, Murray did not wish to accept the ermine without the coronet. "Why! Must I be forced?" said the King. "I will not make him a Peer until next Session."[3]

As the day of reckoning drew near, the biddings rose. The Chancellorship of the Duchy for life, (£2,000 a-year) with a right to retain the Attorney-Generalship (£7,000 a-year) were

[1] To Hardwicke, 25th June, 1756.—*MS.*
[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 20th June, 1756.—*MS.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 2nd July, 1756.—*MS.*

declined, as was supposed, from unbelief in the stability of the Cabinet; and then a pension of £2,000 for life; then the reversion of the first Tellership of the Exchequer for his nephew, Lord Stormont, was likewise refused. Finally, the offer of a pension was raised to £6,000 a-year, at which the unpurchasable aspirant was said to have exclaimed: "What have I done to be buried under such a load of resentment by a plundered country? Chief Justiceship or nothing."

In the wreck now imminent everyone clutched the spar within his reach, in the hope of making for shore. Murray had an early intimation that the coming change should make no difference to him, and promptly wrote to his great friend bewailing the contingency of being obliged to owe his promotion to anyone else than him. "The idea almost distracted him; but, happen what might, he felt it right to stand on the ground his Grace had fixed. It was impossible, under all the circumstances, that he should stand upon any other. His heart bled for his King, his country, and for his Grace. As he had lived he hoped to die—marked as Newcastle's friend; but he dreaded universal ruin, and it would then be of little consequence in which niche it should overwhelm his affectionate, &c., MURRAY."[1] It was truly said that Murray was equally the buckler of Newcastle against his colleague Fox, and his antagonist Pitt, in the House of Commons; and the prospects of his translation to the Lords filled him with dismay. Charles Townshend, anticipating his promotion as inevitable, said: "I wish you joy, or rather myself, for you will ruin my uncle Newcastle by leaving him a prey to Fox; and you will ruin the Chancellor by taking the leading part in the Lords."

Pitt had suggested that Devonshire should be First Lord of the Treasury, and Legge Chancellor of Exchequer; that Temple should be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and he himself Secretary of State. Legge consulted Wilmot as to whether he ought not to insist on being head of the Treasury, and declared he would not act under Granville or Temple; but he suspected that Pitt would not choose to have him in an office that would ostensibly make him the Minister. Should Devonshire refuse to accept the trouble and responsibility, and he were not named instead, he would prefer a Peerage and the Admiralty to continuing in a subordinate post under anyone else.[2]

[1] From Caen Wood, 20th October, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Wilmot to Devonshire, 22nd October, 1756.—*MS.*

On the 24th October a second conference took place between the Chancellor and Pitt, in which the former stated the objections of the King to the scheme of Administration proposed. Pitt, on his part, expressed his wonder that anyone should expect him to serve with a man under whom the things he had so much blamed had happened. Others, who thought they knew what was going on, but were only half in the secret, clung to the impracticable solution of difficulties—that of yoking as leaders of the team the two that were least compatible. The Duke of Marlborough, one of the most devoted members of the contingent Cabinet, urged upon Bedford that, what they had jointly wished for being accomplished, nothing was wanting but a conjunction between Fox and Pitt, which nobody could bring about so well and with so much authority as his influential relation.[1]

Newcastle and Hardwicke having signified their readiness to resign, Pitt was invited by the King to say on what basis a new Administration might be formed. His refusal to serve with Fox as Minister implied that he should have the Leadership of the Commons. Lord Temple and George Granville he seemed to take for granted were indispensable, and Legge as Chancellor of the Exchequer, which he thought would render him supreme. Bedford "found everything confirmed. He had before heard of the impracticability of Mr. Pitt, who seemed determined to make himself and family governors of everything. It was hoped, however, by some that by the King's nominating Devonshire First Lord such a control would be laid on Pitt and his friends that Fox, though not in a Cabinet Councillor's place, would still keep such a weight in the House of Commons as would hinder Pitt and his party from getting ascendancy over the King himself, and confine them to that proper degree of power in which they might be useful. Devonshire gave an account of all that had passed between him and Pitt, and though he condemned his impracticability, and declared his predilection for Fox, he plainly leaned to the coming into their terms, though he absolutely refused coming into the Treasury with Legge."[2] From hour to hour during the ensuing days efforts were made to reduce the pretensions of the great demagogue, but to little purpose. The King lamented the state of public affairs, and bitterly exclaimed

[1] To Bedford, Marlborough House, 26th October, 1756.

[2] To the Duchess, 2nd November, 1756.

against Pitt's insolent treatment of him. At an audience after the levée he hardly gave Bedford time to speak at all, being very eager in discourse the whole time. Granville then went in, and carried the King a paper drawn up by himself, which, though short, was replete with good sense, and which tended to make such offers to Pitt and his family as he could not reasonably refuse.[1]

A meeting was held at Devonshire House to hear the result, and the Duke visited Pitt in consequence the following day, who complained of gout. Far from lowering, he fain would have raised his terms, requiring Lord Holdernesse to be removed. This was too much, but he refused to come to any decision till the sixth, when he should have been able to consult Temple.[2] Meanwhile Fox himself took the unlooked-for course of sustaining (if he had not actually prompted) the scheme of Granville, that he should quit the Cabinet to occupy the Pay Office with an honourable understanding that its possession was to be unaffected by future changes of party while he continued to sit in Parliament. Objections numerous and strong came from his ducal friends to his thus leaving them without a leader in council or debate capable of grappling with Pitt. However, his sagacity saw through the irresolution of their friendship in time, but only just in time to save him from the mortification of its disclosure to the world. With all their professions of unwavering confidence and preference, they were evidently not prepared to stand by him against the votes of Newcastle and the diatribes of Pitt.

After Newcastle had successively tried Pitt in vain, then Egmont who refused the Leadership of the Commons because he would insist on being a peer, and Granville with whom he offered to change places, but whom nothing would tempt back to the drudgery of a department, he at length resigned and the Chancellor with him. What followed is best told in the simple words of the chief actor. "I was sent for from Derbyshire; and after much persuasion from the King, I took the Treasury with a promise that I should be at liberty to resign it at the end of the Session. A scheme was proposed to me to form an Administration with Fox and the Duke of Bedford. While this

[1] To the Duchess of Bedford, 2nd November, 1756.

[2] Fox to Bedford, 4th November, 1756.

was in agitation Pitt became more reasonable, and I advised the King to close."[1]

Leicester House is described as openly aiding and abetting Pitt, and already the name of Bute frequently occurs in the hum of rumour as the trusty negotiator with Court and Cabinet. Pitt, Bute, and Temple were in constant communication, acting in the supposed interest of Leicester House. When, however, the Chancellor invited Pitt to meet him at his own house, with the obvious view of making some Ministerial proposal, he told G. Grenville he was resolved to act without previous participation with Bute. He would report the issue afterwards, but he begged that both his relatives would be at his house in Brook Street, in case anything should be proposed to require consideration.

Devonshire was requested by the King to take the chief place at the Treasury, and authorised to inquire on what terms Pitt and his friends would serve, the only condition annexed being that Fox should not be excluded from office. Pitt, still ignorant of the real object of Fox, interpreted this stipulation as indicating a design to keep an alternative interest in the Cabinet, and as implying want of confidence from the outset in new men and new measures. He consequently refused. On hearing this reply, Fox, believing it was intended to ostracise both him and Newcastle, resigned. For some days there was literally no Administration. Devonshire again visited Hayes, to learn how Pitt would have the great offices filled. He proposed that he himself should be Secretary of State, and lead the Commons, that Temple should have the Admiralty; G. Grenville his old office at the Navy Board; and Legge his former place at the Exchequer, all of which were agreed to.

The unconfessed difficulty throughout every negotiation was as to who should be chief. Premier as a title claimed or acknowledged never occurred in conversation or correspondence. It seldom occurred even in leading articles of the time, or in the platitudes of debate. Legge persuaded himself, and tried to persuade others, that he could not without loss of dignity be Chancellor of the Exchequer in a new Administration, unless he were also First Lord of the Treasury. But, after waiting in vain for a fortnight to have this plurality of honours thrust upon him he came to believe in the wisdom of more moderate preten-

[1] Devonshire's Notes on his own Administration.—*MS.*

sions. He told Wilmot "that upon cool reflection he could not expect that Pitt would let him be both, which, in fact, would be making him Minister; and that, therefore, he was willing to accept the second place at the Treasury under a proper person (not an old sour Courtier that should be like a schoolmaster over him), and under no one so soon as Devonshire." [1]

The Duke asked Fox his opinion of Pitt's list, and he returned it at once with one in his own handwriting, relying on its never being shown to anyone as his, which comprehended several additional appointments and promotions and substituted for Dupplin's name his own as Paymaster of the Forces. He stipulated that Hamilton and Sloper as his personal friends should be provided for. He did not want a Peerage for himself, but thought one should be conferred on Hillsborough. He proposed Temple for the Board of Trade instead of the Admiralty if Anson resigned; replacing him with Halifax. Berkeley in this curious document is named as possible First Lord of the Treasury, in case Devonshire should be disinclined to undertake financial responsibility; and preferred being President of the Council or Privy Seal.[2]

The omission of Devonshire in Pitt's lists can only be accounted for on the supposition that his acceptance of the Treasury was taken for granted. Yet in some of his communications with Woburn and Chatsworth, Fox would seem to have forgotten in his excitement the indelible distinction of birth and fortune between him and the haughty allies he was tempted to treat as if they were adherents. Instead of obeying his beckoning to conference at Holland House, the Lords of Chatsworth and Woburn intimated through the Lord of Blenheim that they three would dine with him at the King's Head at Kensington, where he only ventured to bring Rigby with him to receive them. Bedford, who had no political secrets from his wife, describes what passed. On his arrival at the Inn he found only his Grace of Marlborough, the Treasurer of the Navy, and their host. All were hopeful and exultant over the subversion of the decrepit despotism they equally disliked, and all seemed confident that the possession of power was at hand. "When the Duke of

[1] Wilmot to Devonshire, 30th October, 1756.—*MS.*
[2] Devonshire Papers, November, 1756.—*MS.*

Devonshire came in, and we had dined, and Mr. Rigby had retired, we began to talk of the business of our meeting with assurances of good wishes each to the other."[1]

While pondering opposite pretensions and counsels, the Minister designate received a letter from Pitt which has still in every turn of phrase the freshness of vigour and vanity of that most singular man. Unwilling to be thought an invalid at the crisis of his fortune, and equally unwilling to be even suspected of dancing attendance on the wearer of anything less than a crown, he wrote: "A little medicine I have taken hinders me from doing myself the honour to wait on your Grace at this hour. I will therefore beg leave to trouble you with this line to let your Grace know that I have talked with Lord Temple upon the subject of the Admiralty, and that though I found him full of just apprehensions of taking such a load upon him, yet if it be His Majesty's pleasure, and shall be thought by your Grace right for the whole, he will not decline, dangerous as it is, to endeavour to do his best in that most difficult department. The more I consider, the more strongly I am struck with the endless and incurable prejudices to the King's service which must, in this temper of the world and state of things, result from Lord Holdernesse continuing to serve his Majesty as Secretary of State. His Lordship still in that station, I have no ground to hope that the spirit of inquiry can be temperate or that public jealousies will ever be cured. If Sir Thomas Robinson could be made a peer, and Secretary of State, the King would find in him an old servant his Majesty would be easy with, and I a colleague very able to supply my very many and great defects, in an office I am a stranger to. I will likewise add that if his Majesty can ever honour me with his confidence, I can certainly be of far more use to his affairs in the Northern department than in the Southern. It is surely, my Lord, for his Majesty's dignity and repose to do whatever his Majesty shall in his great prudence judge proper in this very dangerous conjuncture, in a manner effectual to the object proposed to compose, and at the same time reanimate the nation. Without this I foresee instability, fluctuation of councils, no system, and impending ruin. All this I submit to your Grace, and to that dispassionate and truly public spirit with which I have the comfort to see you actuated, and

[1] To the Duchess from Bedford House, 2nd November, 1756.

from which alone I conceive the smallest hope for this distressed country. Pardon, my Lord, the fulness of my heart, and the freedom it suggests, and believe me with the most respectful and warmest gratitude, Your Grace's most faithful and devoted servant, W. PITT."[1]

Newcastle maundered over the instability of fortune and the instability of official friendships. He only hoped that as the Chancellor had so long stood by him he would now generously fall with him; and what he had to do he wished him to do quickly. He himself must quit in a few days, and he would do so without retiring favour or pension of any kind; but as Walpole, on going out, had provided for several of his family, it would seem hard that he should not, now his turn was come, take care of particular friends. Lord President still professed to be one of them; but was talking, and would probably act, like a madman. Newcastle heard that his brother-in-law, the Duke of Leeds, lately appointed cofferer to the Prince of Wales, was to be turned out, which he took as another affront put upon him. It would be much more reasonable that Dodington and Ellis should be displaced.[2] Granville, Fox, and Holdernesse exclaimed against the excessive pretensions of Pitt, and were not indisposed to "work the King up against him, which would not be difficult; but it would not be easy afterwards to show him how to stem the tide. Granville coaxed and flattered Holdernesse in the name of self and company." He was evidently against a meeting of the Cabinet, and said "what can a meeting signify, until something is determined to be said to the assembly?"[3]

Newcastle feared, above all other things, the Chancellor's continuance in office; for his reputation as the greatest magistrate in the realm was untarnished; while his own, as a politician, never was so low. He had, in fact, been floated over many shallows in the Commons by Fox and Murray, neither of whom would again be heard in his defence, and by Hardwicke in the Peers, who, to the last, had towed him through. Times might change, and with their old friendship unbroken, they might one day return together to power; but once let drop,

[1] W. Pitt to the Duke of Devonshire, 2nd November, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 2nd November, 1756.—*MS.*

[3] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 2nd November, 1756.—*MS.*

what hope could he cherish of restoration? He could not persuade himself that Hardwicke would forsake him; neither could he conceal his misgiving lest he should. In his anxiety he wrote what he had not the courage to say to his only great friend—"My dearest, dearest Lord, you know—you see—how cruelly I am treated, and, indeed, persecuted, by all those who now surround the King. The only comfort I have is in the continuance of your Lordship's most cordial friendship and good opinion. The great and honourable part which you are resolved to take will be my honour, glory, and security, and upon which I can and do singly rely. I despise testimonies from others, who, for their own sakes as well as mine, I should desire not to give any of that kind at this time. But, my dearest Lord, it would hurt me extremely if yours should be long delayed. I submit the particular time entirely to you,—grateful for it whenever it shall happen."[1] But Hardwicke had not waited for prompting or cajolery to decide upon his course. His own sense of what was due—not to Newcastle, but to Hardwicke—determined him to retire.

George II. had no temper to be kept waiting, and already distrusted Pitt's effusive protestations of Royalism. Granville, he knew, had survived all wish for office that implied work, and desired nothing more than to remain in the confidential circle of rule, and to dine every evening in the best society. Lady Yarmouth was desired to ask him for a scheme of Administration; and his brief outline, in a shaky hand, without the tails filled in, as if that would have been too troublesome, still remains: "Devonshire, First Lord of the Treasury; Fox, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Pitt, Secretary of State; Legge, a Peer. When this was done, his Majesty would be pleased to command the Duke and Fox to consider how far it would be proper to agree with the other recommendations of Pitt, and to prepare a scheme to be approved of by his Majesty, and by his order to be communicated to several principal Lords in town, and to the Speaker, and by their advice tendered to Pitt. If accepted, there would be an Administration for the present; if rejected, the dignity of the Crown must be supported at all risks."[2]

[1] 2nd November, 1756.

[2] 3rd November, 1756. Devonshire Papers.—*MS.*

In rejoinder to a pressing request to see him, Pitt wrote from Hayes: "The honour of your Grace's letter has found me under a circumstance that renders it impossible for me to obey your Grace's commands to-morrow. I am in as severe pain as I ever felt with the gout in my left arm; it seized me this morning and, violent as it is, I may the better hope to have the honour to attend your Grace in two or three days. The moment I can bear clothes and motion I will put myself in my chair and come to town."[1] Severe indeed must have been the pain he would not have gladly borne for sake of the delight of keeping the world waiting till it was over. But even the ecstasies of egotism pass away, and when he was tired of the gout or the gout of him, he solemnly put himself in his chair and proceeded by tedious paces to Piccadilly.

Legge, having accepted, pressed for Oswald as Secretary of the Treasury, without whose aid in dealing with the existing state of the finances he would rather remain in the country.

Pitt's demands, Bedford's refusal of Ireland, and the doubts and importunities to which suspense gave rise created a temper of uncertainty at Court, favourable to resuscitation of hopes in Newcastle that after all he might possibly be permitted to go on. Fox, who knew him better than most people and had the most permanent stake in the game, feared this result more than perhaps any other; and warned Devonshire not to be drawn into partial or informal confidence as to his intentions so long as his predecessor continued daily to wait upon the King. When he was actually out it would be time enough to explain fully details as to persons and employments; and if exceptions were taken to more of his recommendations than he could yield, it would be better to give up the undertaking altogether.[2]

In a letter of congratulation, Lord Strafford thanked Devonshire for his generous demeanour towards "cousin Bute, who was looked upon as one who now trod in air."[3]

When all seemed settled, Fox became suddenly alarmed, lest he should at the last moment be left out of his share of the prizes he had striven so hard to secure for his associates. He

[1] William Pitt from Hayes, 3rd November, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] From Privy Gardens, Whitehall, 9th November, 1756.—*MS.*

[3] From Wentworth Castle, 10th November, 1756.—*MS.*

believed it was in Devonshire's power to do more for his service within the next few hours than it ever might be again. "Lady Yarmouth does not love me; the King does not love me; suppose I should say both are owing to H.R.H.'s loving me so well. Could your Grace write a note to say that upon consideration you cannot accept if certain things are not done? She will then lose hopes of gaining you by one without the other, and do both. Sir G. Lyttelton, Lord Sandys, &c., are instances, and your Grace may promise to ask no more peerages. Let her but think for the half hour that she sees the King this evening, that you won't accept without, and she will try; otherwise she will not. If, notwithstanding this, it is not done, I'll see you through this Session with my best ability; and then see Court, or perhaps town, no more. I have a part to act this Session. I shall have none but what you would be ashamed to see me in afterwards. If you write it must be with her by six, better if before. Paper won't blush, or be modest, as your Grace most commendably is on all occasions." [1]

If he were asked who was to be head of the new Administration, Lyttelton owned he could not tell. Some said Devonshire, some said Pitt. "For a month past there had not been even the form or appearance of a Government. A new Parliament was demanded, a Parliament to be chosen without corruption; and a law for triennial Parliaments. Pitt was said to have promised these things, particularly the first. The foreign troops were to be sent away; and 8,000 men to be despatched to America. What would remain for the defence of the Kingdom? The Militia Bill was to pass; but would the Bill be an army? Another declaration was that we were to pay no subsidies to any foreign Prince; but what would become of Prussia next year, and what of Hanover?" [2]

Pitt had been so long tantalised with office without power that to break the spell of mortifying exclusion he was ready to embark in any Cabinet, however crazy, and his confidence in his individual strength of will and personal ascendancy blinded him to the lack of instruments for realising any scheme of policy, however brilliant or beneficial. More upright and loyal associates no man could have than Devonshire, Temple, Legge,

[1] 11th November, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Lyttelton to his brother, Governor of South Carolina, 25th November, 1756.

and Grenville; but none of these, nor all of them together, could conciliate the support of the great Whig families, whose domination he had set himself openly to break down, and who were not to be appeased by one of their number consenting to act as arbiter of their conflicting claims.

At length, however, a new Cabinet was complete. Granville remained President of the Council; Marlborough, Master-General of the Ordnance; Gower, Privy Seal; Holdernesse, Secretary of State; Grafton, Chamberlain; and Rutland, Lord Steward. Devonshire took the Treasury; Pitt became leading Secretary of State; Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Temple, First Lord of the Admiralty; Bedford, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; the Great Seal was placed in Commission; Barrington remained Secretary-at-War; and Ligonier, Commander of the Forces. The outgoing Ministers were Newcastle, Hardwicke, Lyttelton (made a Peer), Anson, and Fox.

On the first appearance of the new Ministers at Court, George II. did not conceal his ill-humour. He was especially rude to Temple, who hastened to complain to his brother-in-law, still unable to attend. Pitt was under too many obligations to him, and lived on terms of confidence too unreserved to disguise his vexation. "Philosophy itself, in order to deserve a good name, must have its bounds, and he owned he began to fear that the King must have had much vexation and plague to form a thing his Majesty would not suffer to last."[1]

On the fall of his old friend on the Treasury, the Chancellor had determined to resign. The new men would gladly have had him stay; and as the party colour of the new Cabinet was the same, there was no Parliamentary reason why he should not do so. But in the eyes of the public at large, as in his own, there was abundant reason, and no expressions of remonstrance or regret could induce him to hesitate. In the twenty years during which he had held the Great Seal—worthily, no doubt, but no less certainly by the uninterrupted confidence and favour of Newcastle—he had provided amply for all his family and friends, and piled up riches few perhaps envied. No retiring pension was then annexed to the office, and he would feel himself bound to render diligent service still as a Judicial Member of the

[1] November 16th, 1756.—*MS.*

House of Lords. But he could not reconcile it with his sense of honour to retain his great emoluments, and exercise his vast patronage and vote in the affairs of Empire as a member of a Cabinet from which his best friend and oldest colleague was ignominiously excluded. At a Council held at St. James's, therefore, on the 19th of November, Hardwicke, with a few words of courtesy, but without deigning any expression of apology or regret, signified his intention to retire. He had no desire to thwart in any way the new Administration, or to affect an injured air. He held himself to be deeply a debtor to his country for a long course of benefits he and his family had received, and his sense of obligation as a great magistrate was in no way lessened when he laid aside his robes. At the next levée he attended in the plain black velvet suit of his profession, so unlike the figure men's eyes were accustomed to behold—arrayed in full-bottomed wig, gorgeously-embroidered gown, and huge purse in hand, containing the Great Seal—that the King suffered him to pass without any mark of recognition. Before he could recover his self-possession from the unexpected slight, his Majesty recalled him to apologise for what he said he was incapable of intending towards an eminent and faithful servant, but he said he had not had time to grow accustomed to the loyal simplicity of his new attire. How deeply Newcastle felt the devotion of his companion in exile is shown by the unreserved correspondence kept up between them.

It has been suggested that Hardwicke, when he resigned, had a lurking hope of being restored.[1] He misgave, indeed, the stability of the new Cabinet, and he could not doubt that his old colleague would desire to see him Chancellor again if he returned to power. But his conduct, when the case actually arose in the following spring, sufficiently refutes the insinuation. No man had done so much in his time to raise the character of the Court in which he presided for learning, consistency, and justice, and the retirement of no Judge in Equity was so much regretted by men of all opinions.[2] Yet he was what is called a thorough-going Party man in Government and in Parliament, exclusive in his ideas of admissibility to office and monopolising in his use of official patronage. All his relatives, near or afar off, came in for

[1] Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors."

[2] Waldegrave's Mem., 1756.

their share of his bountiful dispensation, and the family at his retirement was passing rich.

The Great Seal was put in Commission, Henley and Charles Yorke being Attorney and Solicitor-General. Dr. Sympson was removed to make room for Mr. Hay as Judge-Advocate, but comparatively few changes on the whole took place in subordinate offices.

Henry Fox was happier than he had been for many years. With the coveted key of the locker secured at last in reversion, the delight of his life was to be trusted as steersman. Rough weather and dark nights served only to prove his vigilance and skill. He was content that the captain should seem to be everything if only nothing were done without his advice. Favours and jobs, votes and the men for voting, levées and quiet dinners, were alike in his way. From his brother-in-law's house —Privy Gardens, over against the Treasury—he could communicate from time to time with Devonshire almost unobserved, for he well knew of the mischief of being too much *en evidence.* He had dropped out of the running for power in order to grow rich and to rule, and he was too shrewd to remind the envious world of what he was about in either respect. Here is a specimen of his free-and-easy way of keeping in hand the new Knight of the Garter: "I shall dine quite alone at Holland House, and be very proud of your Grace's company to-morrow. I shall be at Leicester House, but, as your Grace must be there too, you won't want dinner before four. I have set up Lord Powerscourt for Stockbridge. He was recommended to me some months ago by Lord Kildare, and I know his firm attachment to your Grace. It is a proof of it that his first cousin, Mr. More, would not go down till I took it upon me to answer that you could not take it ill. The election is quite sure against Dr. Hay, who, I suppose, will not appear, and I fancy sure against any other person who may come unless with such a sum of money as must conquer anything."

To the suggestion that he should be Treasurer of the Navy, and George Grenville Paymaster, he gave a contemptuous negative. By way of making his disposition known, he had set up Lord Powerscourt at Stockbridge to keep out Dr. Hay, one of the new Board of Admiralty. The Duke of Bedford would have dissuaded him from thus suddenly going into Opposition, but

felt so strongly the manner in which he had been treated that he refused himself to take the Lieutenancy of Ireland unless his friend had some considerable employment, or a peerage were conferred on Lady Caroline. In reply, Fox besought the Duke to accept regardless of the prescription laid on him by the new Ministers. "Sooner or later they were likely to agree with him if he kept the honour and strength that his Grace and other friends had given him, and he would not fly off so as to lose sight of, much less prevent, such an agreement. He gave his word that whenever H.R.H., his Grace, and the Duke of Marlborough, or any two of them, should tell him that it was, in their opinion, for the good of the public, there was nobody he would not shake hands with, no terms he would not submit to. But he differed as to the manner of bringing to agreement such insolent men. He had offered to join them cordially without being of the Cabinet. This only induced the insolent proposal that Grenville should be Paymaster and he Treasurer of the Navy; and then they were angry that he should oppose Dr. Hay. Public measures he would support, that there might be a quiet Session. He saw danger of their joining Newcastle, but his Grace taking Ireland, and his showing strength in the House of Commons (for personal complaisance did harm and spoilt them), might effectually prevent it."[1]

Stockbridge had belonged to Sir Robert Henley, then Attorney-General, who, when he needed it no longer, let it on lease to Mr. Fox for ten years, should he live so long; and he having paid for it in cash, not unnaturally thought he had a right to do what he pleased with his own. He was nettled at the attempt to set aside his nominee for a friend of Legge. The man of accumulating investments in stocks, boroughs, and estates, was not to be overruled or cajoled by the whispered assertion of the theory that, though not in the Cabinet, he was bound to subserve the general interest at the sacrifice of his own predilections. "Lord Powerscourt's election is sure; Stockbridge is mine for ten years. Their superlative insolence of imagining I should be afraid is a fresh insolence, and will not provoke me from the purpose of coolly and firmly supporting the King's measures, and your Grace at the head of them. On this you may absolutely depend. What I wish most is what I cannot get, what I least desire is to

[1] 23rd November, 1756.

be any part of the Administration, and therefore I shall support this to the utmost; but if Mr. Pitt and G. Grenville think I cannot do that without some submission to them, I shall show them that I can; and perhaps whilst I support them, show that I am and can be, when I will, above them." [1]

A seat for Charles Townshend was wanting, and Pitt repeated his demand that he should have the borough. Fox waxed wroth more than ever. "There is no station in life desirable with such a submission to Mr. Pitt as giving up Stockbridge now would be. Lord Powerscourt must be chose. And if the consequence is (and I think it a likely one, let me do what I will because of Leicester House) that they will join with the Duke of Newcastle, I shall be sorry for my country, but I shall not reproach myself, nor will I act a contemptible part for fear others should. Your Grace will consider that I have been threatened, yet never desired, to give up Stockbridge, and it is now too late. I hope the King will not be made to do what Pitt has not condescended to do, and ask it, because, my Lord, I should refuse it." [2] To ease matters he would, if the Duke wished, get Sloper to vacate another seat, and put Townshend in for it. But he would do it not at his rival's command, but at the request of his friend. Powerscourt was returned accordingly, and Dr. Hay had to look elsewhere.

[1] From Holland House, 24th November, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] To Devonshire, 25th November, 1756.—*MS.*

# CHAPTER XII.

## DEVONSHIRE ADMINISTRATION.

### 1757.

Quarrel about Patronage—First Royal Speech from Hayes—Temple Threatens Mutiny—Pitt in Cabinet—Frederick's Plan of Electoral Defence—Highland Regiments—Where was Fox?—New Schemes of Coalition—Court-martial on Byng—Mallet's Pamphlet—Pleas for Mercy—Newcastle Inveterate—Execution of the Admiral.

THERE was no end of claims for advancement in Church and State in the early days of the newly-organised Cabinet. If the First Lord had never coveted the distinction now conferred upon him, the first week's experience made him regret more than ever that he had consented to exchange the pleasure and the peace of Chatsworth for the gilded slavery of Kensington and the Cockpit; and if he was proud of anything, it was of his having made the stipulation that he should have a right to emancipation whenever he should demand it.

Far from availing himself of the opportunity to supersede the relatives or friends of his predecessor, Devonshire did all that circumstances allowed to induce them to remain. Most of them were easy to be entreated; and some were provided for who had hitherto been kept waiting. Percy Wyndham O'Brien quitted the Treasury, and on his attending at St. James's was told by the King that his desire should be realised[1] for the Peerage of Thomond, which did not vacate his seat for Cockermouth.

The death of Mr. Philipson afforded means of providing at last for Mr. Hamilton, in whose favour Fox had early made stipulations. But no sooner was the event made known than the place of Surveyor was claimed by Pitt for his brother John, agreeably as he said to what had so often passed in conversation

[1] O'Brien to Newcastle, 21st November, 1756.—*MS.*

between him and Newcastle.[1] An anxious note from Holland House pleaded a previous promise in favour of Hamilton, whose needs were urgent. If necessary, Argyll would try through Bute to draw off the competitive importunity of the Grenvilles in favour of John Pitt. Next morning another note from Privy Gardens, more vehement than ever, said that John Pitt, who would not stay till the vacancy occurred, but had taken post at the Admiralty when the Administration was formed, ought not to be suffered to oust poor Hamilton. Fox had strained too far the forbearance of his friend: but the coveted Surveyorship was given away in spite of his protestations. He was piqued at not being able to make good his unconditional guarantee of the appointment; and in a rage he wrote to him who by his advice had assumed the critical and onerous duties of chief Minister: "The Duke of Bedford has just told me that Mr. John Pitt is to kiss hands to-morrow for Mr. Philipson's place. Consider everything that has passed, and do not drive me from you. I neither mean to do you harm, nor can I do you harm if you should. But your Grace's own reflection will not please you when you have done so." [2]

The rejoinder is a model of gentle and generous reproof: "Dear Mr. Fox,—Your letter has given me equal surprise and concern. I flattered myself that every action of my life ought to have convinced you of the sincerity of my friendship and regard for you; and when you come to reflect coolly on the late transaction, I still hope that you will see my conduct in the light of one that wished to do everything in his power to serve you and make you easy. With regard to the point in question, I have got the King to give Mr. Hamilton a pension equal to the value of his employment in Minorca. I have also told him that he may depend upon me as his friend, and that when it is in my power he shall exchange it for an employment which may be more agreeable to him. Your view was to get Mr. Hamilton something that he might not be liable to be turned out of. Please to consider that if he was to get the employment he wished after a strong contest, and with the ill-will of part of the Administration, would he not be in more danger of losing when the time should come that it would not be in my power to protect him

[1] William Pitt from Hayes.—*MS.*

[2] 3rd December, 1756.—*MS.*

(which from vexations of this sort I hope will come very soon) than if he gets an equivalent with the goodwill and approbation of everybody? If, then, because he has not the particular post he wished, or you desired for him, you are to think that I am driving you from me, I am very sorry for it, but cannot help it. Please to recollect when you pressed me to take this employment, that I sent General Conway to Holland House to desire you not to press me; and I gave it as one of my principal reasons that I was apprehensive that it might be the occasion of an interruption of that friendship which had subsisted so long, and which I valued so much. I fear my apprehensions were but too well founded. I can only say that if you intend to leave me I shall endeavour, in order to avoid unpleasant reflections to myself, that it shall be you that leave me, not I you. I must conclude with assuring you that there is not a man breathing that loves you better, that is more your friend, or wishes more to continue so, than," &c. [1]

Not being in the secret of the squabble, Lord Leicester, on tidings of Philipson's death, wrote to know what Government wished regarding Harwich. Though there had been great endeavours to get it into private hands, Government might command there, as the Post Office, Custom House, and other offices depending on the Treasury had a majority. He should be glad to have the First Lord's instructions whom he would direct their people to vote for. "That puppy Roberts, who waited on Mr. Pelham's children, and was afterwards his secretary, imposed on him and the Duke of Newcastle in order to get the borough into his management," and bring himself in. So they hoped he would not be fixed on.[2]

Nor was the Mayor wanting to himself and his friend on the occasion. His sense of duty inspired an effusive obeisance, for which no doubt there were no lack of precedents in municipal traditions. "The Corporation had always been," he said, "at the complete devotion of the First Lord of the Treasury, and the capital Burgesses who chose one another wished only to know which of them ought to be pitched upon to fill the seat at Westminster. Mr. Philipson had been one of them, Mr. Roberts was another, and probably he might do very well. But

[1] Devonshire to Fox, 4th December, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] From Holkham, 29th November, 1756.—*MS.*

whoever Government desired should be their cheerfully chosen representative.[1] He then proceeds punctiliously to describe the cogs and wheels of the machinery by which the Harwich clock was made to keep time with the sun-dial of authority at Whitehall, and ends with the customary acknowledgments of the gratitude and duty befitting a Collector of Customs. Lord Duncannon was named by the Treasury, and was, of course, returned.

Sir Richard Lyttelton, who differed in politics from his brother, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had adhered to the cousinhood in Opposition, was rewarded for his fidelity by being appointed to the Jewel Office, and was re-elected for Poole,[2] while Newcastle's nephew, Charles Townshend, was made Treasurer of the Chamber.

After the victors had placed the half-score members of their limited staff, they were obliged to run the risk of attempting to lead, not only with a mutinous rank and file, but with nine-tenths of the posts of importance and coigns of vantage held by the old hands. The cynic of Strawberry Hill made merry over the fewness of their partisans; to whom they did not give more, because they had not the wherewithal to fill a quarter of the public employments. "Did you ever expect to see a time when they would not have cousins enough?" Walpole shrewdly foretold that unless Pitt found a way to union with either Fox or Newcastle he would not last six months; and he would back his Grace against his abler rival.

From Hayes, Pitt sent for consideration a draft of the King's Speech on the opening of Parliament. "I think I see my way for the Session on the grounds of this opening. I find it quite impossible to make it shorter, and touch with any gravity and weight points indispensably necessary to be mentioned as foundations of Supply and descriptive of system. I have drawn it captivating to the people, but with all regard to the King's dignity, and have avoided any word offensive or hostile to those who no longer serve his Majesty. I extremely recommend the mention of the electoral troops in the Speech. As it stands, it will go over the whole kingdom and spread a satisfaction which a subsequent message cannot do; the length is very moderate

[1] G. Davis to Devonshire, 30th November, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] 10th December, 1756.

and the King need not trouble himself to read a third part of it in the House of Lords. I hope Mr. Legge will approve this plan of opening the Session. If it should meet with your approbation and that of a few friends, I should be sorry that way were to be given to the criticism of quarters that may not think a thing the better for coming from my hand."[1] Devonshire replied from Chiswick, assenting generally, and suggesting only some alterations.

But this first essay in framing a Royal Speech was somewhat brusquely dealt with by the Sovereign when laid before him at Kensington. Holdernesse, who had seen the draft, did not scruple to tell his old chief to what passages the Royal criticism of "stuff and nonsense" was applied, adding that they were not those which he himself deemed most questionable. The expressions animadverted upon were those relating to foreign affairs. The new First Lord attended in the Closet the same morning, and said he was not *effarouchi* with his reception; but he had no great reason to be pleased.[2] He expressed much concern at Lord Temple's treatment by the King, and encouraged Pitt to hope for evidence of a more favourable disposition towards himself. Pitt's acknowledgments of these proofs of consideration and sympathy were free from any species of arrogance or resentment, and such as might come from a man of ordinarily tractable temper.[3] On this, as on so many other occasions, his forbearance and submission to the waywardness of Royalty is remarkable. Haughty, and often insolent to all beside,—Peers, ecclesiastics, Ambassadors, Parliament, and even the populace, when in their turn they piqued or thwarted him,—the great demagogue was ever ready, not merely in the Royal Closet, but in the solitude of his own study, to deprecate meekly the ill-humour of the Crown. In this first trial of his faith, his deferential pliancy profited little. George II. had seldom been capable of political generosity; and he was now too old to learn. He simply hated the libeller of his Hanoverian troops, and the mouth-piece in Parliament of his detested daughter-in-law. If, taking advantage of the weakness of Newcastle, Pitt and Temple had forced themselves upon him, they

[1] 15th November, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 23rd November, 1756.—*MS.*

[3] From Hayes, 23rd November, 1756.—*MS.*

must take the consequences. He would have them, but he would not keep them long. It was no little gratification to Pitt to have clutched the share of supreme administrative power he claimed by right divine of genius; and cling to it he would in spite of innumerable slights and affronts by implication. He agreed accordingly to modify more than one turn of phrase in the proposed Speech, "making all possible abridgments, and very sorry that his Majesty should have one that would spread less satisfaction."[1]

He held "a small meeting at his house" on the evening of the 30th, begging Devonshire, Holdernesse, and Temple to come as he was imprisoned by the gout, a Cabinet being summoned at the Cockpit for the next day.[2] A curious chink in Ministerial confidence, this, for an expelled colleague to peer through. His Grace received, meanwhile, a note from his successor, begging the favour of a visit from him at Piccadilly at seven in the evening;[3] the Cabinet assembling usually at nine. A modification of phrase in the Address of the Lords was there arranged, without the cognisance of Holdernesse, of which, maladroitly, he told its author in his next confidential note he disapproved.[4]

George II. insisted that words should be interpolated in the draft Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, thanking his Majesty for bringing over the Hanoverian troops, against which the leaders of Opposition had railed so loudly and so long. Temple was absent through illness from the Cabinet at which the draft was finally read, and in which strong exceptions were taken to the words proposed. Pitt was not prepared to take a decision by vote; and his reluctant acquiescence was consequently given. On being informed of what was about to be thus submitted to both Houses, Temple warned the First Lord of his resolution to dissent in his place as a Peer from the expressions in question. "I will go down to the House of Lords tomorrow and lay my thoughts before them in the fullest and clearest manner, and if I should not be able to do it then, I will take the first opportunity I can of disculpating myself and my own honour. This is a very unfortunate step at the outset, and

[1] From Hayes, 23rd November, 1756.—*MS.*
[2] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 29th November, 1756.—*MS.*
[3] Devonshire to Newcastle, 29th November, 1756.—*MS.*
[4] To Newcastle, 1st December, 1756.—*MS.*

such an one as Mr. Pitt and I judge will tend to the speedy dissolution of a system of which I cannot make a part longer than I am able to prove myself consistent with myself. I feel very unhappy in being obliged to give your Grace this trouble, and it is very unfit for me in my present state to attend so much to business; but I owe it to justice and to the frankness and sincerity your Grace has always treated me with to apprise you of my intentions the very first moment I can."[1]

One of the debatable topics in the Speech and Address was that of Inquiry into the past conduct of the War, for which Pitt, amid the cheers of the Tory country gentlemen, had pledged himself to vote, and which he could not now forego in office without certainly losing their support. Hardwicke asked him how long he hoped to keep it. "Well," he said, laughing, "for this Session, at all events." The ex-Chancellor said that he and his seceding colleagues had nothing to fear, but they ascribed such a proceeding to the instigation of Holland House. This he warmly disclaimed, and said emphatically that he "would never have anything to do with Mr. Fox"; while he was profuse in his compliments to Hardwicke himself.[2] They interchanged pledges of secrecy as to what passed in this conversation, which took place in the bedroom of the Minister, where he had received the unexpected visit of conciliation.

The Address as altered was voted, and the King, it was rumoured, told Pitt he wished a similar clause to be inserted in that of the Commons. Pitt refused, and said he would be obliged himself to oppose it, on which Granville intervened and advised the King to give way.[3]

Holdernesse found it impossible to forget the pit out of which he had been digged. He continued regularly to furnish copies of the foreign despatches to Claremont. On the 7th December he desired Mr. Jones to apologise for not having been able to send the last Dutch papers, which were so voluminous that he had hardly time to get through them before sending them to Devonshire House, thence to be forwarded to his new colleague; but as soon as they were returned to him full abstracts would be forwarded to Newcastle.

[1] Temple to Devonshire, 1st December, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 6th December, 1756.—*MS.*

[3] Glover's "Memoirs," 103.

As people came to town for the meeting of Parliament, the tendency to trim betrayed itself in many quarters. Newcastle was at first amused; then amazed; and at length downright angry. "The Tories in a body were to support the new Administration. What would the Whig Duke of Devonshire say to this, or the Whig Mr. Pitt say for it, or Mr. Legge, who, Pitt told them, was the '*Child of the Whigs*'? But, above all, what would the good Whig House of Commons say to it? He hoped it would not end in a dissolution. That was a serious consideration indeed"[1]—especially for those who would have to pay renewal fines for seven years' leases.

Pitt was not long in tasting the bitter fruit of his extravagant denunciations of the military establishment maintained, as he alleged, for a vainglorious foreign policy by his predecessors in office. He dared not cut down the army estimates to the peace measure he had formerly prescribed; and he hoped, by dexterous advocacy, to reconcile the desires of the Court with the expectations of the people. But every company he reduced in the efficient strength of the Line was made the theme of angry complaint by the King; and day after day the gout disabled him from facing the reproaches of Opposition in the Commons. "I have gone to a sum," he wrote, "larger by one-third than I proposed, and yet it is my hard situation to have a thing proposed to me in addition, which must undo me if I comply, and is therefore not to be deliberated upon; or, by declining as I must, leave the King indisposed towards me, and in his mind perpetually contrasting the facility of his other servants with an inflexibility in one who must every day grow more disagreeable to him. I hope your Grace will enter into the distress of such a state, and that his Majesty's goodness will relieve me from a dilemma too hard for any man to remain under."[2]

Though Pitt yielded unwillingly to certain suggestions of Prince William respecting the Highland corps, he was nervously anxious that the veteran force should be adequate to repel any sudden descent on the American coast; and he impetuously refused to comply with its limitation below the strength he imagined necessary. Infrequent attendance at Court helped him to elude many slights and vexations from the King; but all the

[1] To Holdernesse, from Claremont, 10th December, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Pitt to Devonshire, 19th December, 1756.—*MS.*

harder did he find it to brook the supercilious tone of a Royal Duke, whose confidential adviser was the object of his favourite aversion. More troops and artillery *must* be sent forthwith to Canada while Irish and Scotch recruits were learning their drill, or he would not be answerable. "Understanding that it is intended to trust the completing the six battalions in Ireland to the success of the Impressment Act, I cannot delay a moment in saying that this method of augmenting the body cannot be in time, as the expedition ought to sail in February. It tends to render indifferent corps consisting of new men, for the most part, still less fit for service. This being the case, I cannot, in duty to the King and to my country, acquiesce in a flat negative upon the only method of giving effect to the expedition in due season, namely, sending another battalion and the Americans 400 men. The train also is quite inadequate to the service; but twelve 24-pounders and other supplies much too stinted. I am confident I may speak freely to your Grace, because I know you love your country, and are as much convinced as I am that efforts in America alone can save us. I must therefore use the plainness of a man who means right, and declare that I cannot acquiesce in a negative upon sending another battalion and a bigger battering train, &c.; let the negative arise where it may, the ruin of the Kingdom shall not be at my door."[1]

The tares which the rash gardener had sown did not fail to come up in other parts of the field. The Secretary-at-War, not being in the Cabinet, did not know as much as the Secretary-of-State; but what he knew he told. On the 21st there was an official meeting at the Commander-in-Chief's, where the return of the Hessians to Germany was discussed, Pitt explaining the reasons he meant to give Parliament. "He was a copious, as well as a good speaker, but Barrington thought he spoke too much for a man who had a great deal of business. He said frankly that things must very soon come to an explanation; that Mr. Fox had not more friends and followers in the House of Commons than he had, and he thought not so many; that he was ready to poll the House as well as the nation against him; that he understood he was to have the conduct of affairs in Parliament; and that if factious oppositions were encouraged against what had been determined by the Duke of Devonshire

[1] To Devonshire, 30th January, 1757.—*MS.*

and himself with the approbation of the King, he knew what remained for him ; to which he added that from what he saw of the difficulties attending the situation, he thought the day of his retirement would be the happiest of his life. Perhaps this was said that it might be repeated ; but as Pitt and Barrington were on no footing of confidence, he begged not to be quoted to anybody but Lord Hardwicke."[1]

How little George II. was in the confidence of his Ministers appears from an observation of Sir T. Robinson, whose duties in the Household brought him into daily communication with the German members of the Court. Munchausen told him that the King had spoken to him about the Duke, desirous of knowing what course he would take in Parliament, with much anxiety "upon his own situation ; for at that moment he knew not what was the plan of his Ministers, nor in the least the state of his present affairs." Nor was George II. without warrant for his apprehension of surprise. On Christmas-eve circumstantial intelligence was received from Brest that General Lally was about to sail in command of 6,000 men said to be intended to attack Jamaica. He had been raised in rank and decorated with the Grand Cross ere going forth ; and great things were expected from the undertaking [2]

The tone of the general correspondence at the time of national concern is noteworthy. Lord Leicester's letters are only about intrigues and how to defeat them ; Lord Strafford's about his new park in Yorkshire, and his hoped-for Marquisate ; and those of Fox are full of never ending solicitations of favours lay and ecclesiastical, of which he was rather stinted.

Faithful in unfaithfulness, Holdernesse furtively gave further information that up to the close of the year "nothing had been done, and that much precious time had been lost. He found the King more perplexed, and less resolved what to do, but less willing than ever to enter roundly into measures with the King of Prussia. His own difficulties were inconceivable. He had no assistance in the Closet, nor a friend in the King's service to consult with ; and the pusillanimity of the Hanoverian Regency had made a great impression within the last fortnight.

[1] Barrington to Newcastle, 21st December, 1756.—*MS.*

[2] Mannock to the First Lord of the Treasury from Old Broad Street, 24th December, 1756.—*MS.*

He had many curious particulars to tell his Grace when they met." [1]

The unavowed cause of hesitation and delay was the new Minister's fear of being taunted with flagrant inconsistency if Parliament were asked to vote large sums for the pay of foreign troops so soon after such payments had been denounced by him as unpatriotic and profligate; a decent interval should be suffered to elapse, in which, to the eye of the forgetful world, black might gradually fade into white, or at least into grey. Pitt proposed that no foreign troops should appear upon the estimates for this year, but that the Hessians should be paid out of the gross sum to be given to the King. This startled Holdernesse extremely, and he told Devonshire that he should certainly make the strongest representations against such a method of proceeding. Although unwell, he ventured out and executed his design. He found the Closet in a very different disposition to what had been represented to him, and what he said made such an impression that the First Lord was told by the King that he would have no more of that measure. George II. thought Ministers should ask Parliament for a vote of credit of £400,000, on account of the increasing necessities of the war. Pitt demurred to the amount, but offered to move for £300,000, out of which the Hessians should be paid, which his Majesty refused. It would seem that this and other ticklish points were discussed between the King and Ministers through Munchausen, who acted as something more than a mere dragoman; for already he let it be understood by Newcastle that he was working underhand to reconcile Pitt with him, as the more solid party to take. Sir T. Robinson reported to Claremont that the Lord President's tone was extraordinary; that Pitt was better with him than with anybody else; that he had great ideas, but was impracticable. He now condemned his old friend Fox, and the Duke of Cumberland for opposition. Granville told Pitt that he might have the Duke of Newcastle whenever he would; that he was the first Minister that ever quitted with a majority of 150 in the House. Pitt was in favour of sending out more troops to America, and in short, of everything the reverse of what he was last year. Granville and Devonshire (who daily gained influence in the Court) were constantly goading the Secretary of State to levy more

[1] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 29th Dec., 1756.—*MS.*

troops; but the Duke of Cumberland would not spare more than four regiments from England, nor the Lords Justices more than one from Ireland. Scotland could not muster above 2,000 Highlanders, which altogether would not make up 6,000 men for colonial service; but Pitt insisted that fewer than 8,000 would not do.[1] Colonel Townshend brought in again his Militia Bill, cutting down the number to 30,000 from 60,000; and at the instance of the clergy and Dissenting ministers, changing the training day from Sunday to Monday, of which Pitt signified his individual approval. No other measure of general importance was attempted. But the personal triumph of the Secretary was complete.

Without a party worth numbering in Parliament, or a faction worth counting in Administration, he had as Newcastle foretold, by dint of audacity, "come in as a conqueror." Refusing to act with either Fox or Newcastle, he had possessed himself of the most prominent place in the Cabinet, mainly composed of their friends; and his never-failing bodily affliction served to excuse his frequent absence from Senate and Council. When he did appear at the Cockpit his views were unprovocatively vague, and when challenged his tone was so haughty that Granville is said to have whispered on leaving the Council-room: "He used to call me madman, but I never was half as mad as he is." Pitt was reported so much better in February, as to meditate going to Court; "but the journey to town had hitherto been attended with such bad consequences, as to confine him for a considerable time after it. Whether it is anything in the air of the place foreign to his constitution, or he eats anything hard of digestion, or what it is I don't know; but he has certainly been very restless after every visit he has paid his new-old master."[2]

With the new year *animus revertendi* filled Newcastle's desponding breast. Legge, whom he had treated with hauteur approaching to contempt while sitting beside him at the Treasury, was now an object of esteem. If he wished to be sent to Madrid, his Grace would be happy to help him. Would he join a large party at Claremont, on Saturday, or if not, meet him at the chambers he still occupied at Whitehall, on Monday or Tuesday, where he would be extremely welcome?[3] The First

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 4th Jan., 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Rigby to Bedford.

[3] To Legge, 5th Jan., 1757.

Lord, who seldom argued with his colleagues about personal characteristics, formed his own opinions of those with whom he had to deal, and held by them without offence, but without flinching. No one in public life was oftener found fault with than the central figure of the scene. But the master of Chatsworth had long been used to hear without heeding murmurs of vexation, disappointment, and spite; and when he was drawn reluctantly from the comparative ease and freedom of Viceregal office to undertake the thankless responsibilities of chief Minister, he seems to have tacitly made a law unto himself to care for none of these things; to give every man his due as far as he had the benefit of a doubt as to his motives; and to take no trouble in deprecating unreasonable blame where he felt he was acting for the best. In his private memorandum of men and things, he speaks of the King with equal absence of attachment or derogation. He could not be blind to the want of dignity and magnanimity that lessened him in the eyes of his courtier, and his son; or to the unroyal parsimony in his household expenditure, which exposed him to reproach and ridicule. But, whatever his shortcomings, the Duke thought him loyal to the country, and a man of his word. He describes him as possessing "a good understanding, though not of first class,—and a knowledge of men and things within a certain compass. Accused by his Minister of being hasty and passionate, he bore contradiction when done with decency. He was gracious and affable to those who did not disturb him with solicitations, though he could not dissemble his displeasure. In early life he was fond of business, in later days only of amusement." The Duke describes him as possessing considerable knowledge of foreign affairs, and a competent "notion of the constitution of the country; but the violence of party, popular clamour, corruption of Parliament, and the selfishness of patriots had given him prejudices in favour of regal authority; yet he never encroached on the liberty of a subject, nor yielded to laws in favour of oppression." The Duke speaks without doubt of his Majesty's personal valour; but he was not without distrust of his political courage.[1]

George II. was particularly pleased with his brother-in-law's plan for the defence of the Electorate. Frederick proposed to form an Anglo-German army of 44,000 men to defend Hanover,

[1] Notes on his own Administration.—*MS.*

and hold the French in check between the Elbe and Rhine. Pitt was prompt in commending it to the Duke of Cumberland; and the ex-Ministers concurred, with a certain under-growl at the burthen it would entail on English finance; with not unreasonable wonder how the new Secretary could so soon bring himself to look in the face the Committee of Supply whom he had so often warned that the National Credit tottered on the brink of ruin; but of course he might mystify them into believing that the extra cost in future was the price we must pay for Administrative shortcomings in the past. Frederick's *memoire raisonné* went straight for Pitt and the Tories. The project of raising Highland regiments for service in America was not quite new. It had been, like that for the conquest of Corsica, and the recovery of Minorca, chatted over during the summer more than once; and, though left to die still-born, Newcastle thought its resuscitation ought properly to bear his name. Hardwicke, indeed, ventured, in conversation with Pitt, to hint a doubt and hesitate dislike because, when Lord Loudon raised a Corps of Claymores in 1744, they all deserted to the Pretender. But the Secretary only smiled at the precedent, and said the case was different now, and as few of them were likely to come back from Canada, it did not very much matter.

But if it was true that expeditions on an expensive and expansive scale were meditated in both the East and West Indies, besides fleets and armies nearer home, the ex-First Lord of the Treasury trembled at the prospect. The Commander-in-Chief was quite against embodying the Highland infantry, which he ascribed to Argyll; and giving the colonelcy of a battalion to Captain Fraser, son of Lord Lovat, who was executed on Tower Hill, was interpreted by many to be a Jacobite move, and the first step to breaking down the system of rule established in Scotland after the last rebellion. Perhaps it was meant to bring the young Master of Lovat in for Inverness next time;[1] but Argyll declared that not a Fraser would enlist unless they were commanded by their hereditary chief.

Frederick, like Pitt, "put the King and the Whig opposition out of the question. Pitt depended on the Tories and the populace for his support, and when he could not have that he would go out. Devonshire must colour at joining the Tories after the

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 7th Jan., 1757.—*MS.*

infamous reproach that they so lately cast upon others (he meant himself); but he had done wondering at anything." Yet Hardwicke thought Pitt's praise of Devonshire had in it "more of suspicion than panegyric."[1]

At a Cabinet at his house in February, Pitt proposed adding Lord Cornwallis and Lord John Hay as Majors-General in the expedition to guard against any mischance by mortality. Apprising the Duke beforehand of his suggestion, he wrote: "My whole heart is so fixed on the efforts of this summer not being frustrated that I am in danger of becoming troublesome and tiresome upon this interesting subject, but I trust your Grace will pardon me."[2]

Again and again we find him trying to infuse special energy and engineering strength into the contemplated expedition, praying the interposition of Devonshire's influence with the Commander-in-Chief and the King where he was conscious that his own was liable to fail.[3] His administrative capacity was perhaps underrated by George II. and his brother up to this time.

On the 16th of January a Cabinet took place at Devonshire House, at which the Lord President, the First Lord of the Treasury, First Lord of the Admiralty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Secretary Holdernesse were unanimous that £100,000 a-year, for five years, should be offered to the Court of Denmark, ten thousand land troops, and twelve ships of the line of sixty guns and upwards to be kept in readiness whenever required for service on whatever duty might be thought fit, the troops and ships to be in his Majesty's pay when in actual service, the land forces to be paid according to the estimate settled by the last Treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse. The King was willing to make a reciprocity Treaty and to receive proposals as to the nature of it from the Court of Denmark.[4]

Owing partly to the absence of Pitt, whose physicians spoke as if he could not long hold office if he suffered incessantly from his bodily ailments, Parliament was unusually dull, and indisposed to question Ministers closely. Soame Jenyns said "it

[1] Newcastle Correspondence, 6th-11th Dec., 1756.—*MS.*
[2] 13th February.—*MS.*
[3] 16th February, 1757.—*MS.*
[4] Minute of Cabinet, 16th January, 1757.—*MS.*

was like two or three surly countrymen that walk round and round one another, and jostle a little, but each is afraid to strike the first blow lest the other should take the law of him." But no confidence was felt in the continuance of senatorial peace. Sir T. Robinson said the floor was covered with gunpowder, to which Charles Townshend rejoined, "and the roof with thatch." Ministers must wait for events, and warn their friends in Parliament not to be surprised into committing themselves hastily. They must "show the King, the gentlemen in office, and the public, who had the weight and influence in the two Houses."[1]

February had come, and there was nothing doing in Parliament, though there was much to be done, awaiting the recovery of the new Leader. But what had become of Fox? Where was he who had overthrown by his own unaided skill the maker and unmaker of Cabinets, the buyer by retail and by wholesale of majorities? Where was he who had upset the mutual friends of Dukes and Princes of the Blood—the only man in St. Stephen's whom the great demagogue had hitherto failed to put down? Just three months before his hand was on the mane of power; since then power had ambled quietly out of his reach, to be led by other grooms—and where was he? Solitary and listless at Holland House—disenchanted, deserted, and despondING, inquired for by relatives, and visited by some half-score old friends; his wife, preoccupied with the fear of losing her youngest son, and he "himself greatly out of order, keeping his room, and looking very sadly."[2] Notice of an attack by Charles Townshend on the late Government roused him from the torpor of disappointment, and, to the surprise of all who heard him, drew forth a defence of his own conduct and an acknowledgment of the high qualities of his absent successor in the Secretary's office without a hint or tinge of cynicism.

Pitt, still in the gout, asked for a meeting of Cabinet. The note proposing their assembling at his house was in his most obsequious mood. "I have prepared a draft to Lord Loudon, and should be very glad to submit it to the consideration of the Cabinet to-morrow evening. I should be extremely obliged to your Grace if you will be so good as to speak to Lord President and Lord Holdernesse at Court. I should think the

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 9th January, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Rigby to Bedford, 3rd February, 1757.

presence of the Duke of Marlborough highly proper with regard to the Ordnance; but I beg leave to submit to your Grace's opinion, and in case you think it right, would desire the favour of your Grace to mention it. I am quite ashamed of giving your Grace and the Cabinet the repeated trouble of coming to my house. I would propose between seven and eight o'clock for the hour of meeting if not inconvenient."[1]

Sir R. Lyttelton was snubbed at Court without having done anything to provoke it, and Pitt, in a frenzy, wrote to the First Lord apologising for troubling him. "Sir Richard is my brother; he has gone through the service with reputation, and receives such an injury and affront as no gentleman will serve the King under. I will add no more than to submit it to your Grace's equity and candour of mind what it will be possible for me to do, or how I can show my face in Parliament as a Minister, if I cannot save a friend and brother from oppression and disgrace unexampled."[2] But expostulation was unavailing, and he succumbed.

Pitt would willingly have supported Frederick's eager proposals for an aggressive Alliance; and Granville, whose belligerency was rekindled by the energy of his new colleague, resumed a tone familiar to him in the time of Dettingen. The rest of the piebald Cabinet showed no disposition to move or to be moved. Newcastle sneered at Lord President's valorous ideas as quixotic, and Hardwicke laid stress upon the King's unconcealed reluctance to be engaged too far with his good brother of Prussia, whose ultimate purpose, he suspected, was to absorb Hanover. Time wore on, and no definite reply was sent to Frederick, who, as was said by Andrew Mitchell who understood him best, "had no perfect idea of the wavering slowness of all popular deliberations, or of an Executive subject to the oscillations of Parliamentary temper."

The ex-Ministers were every day more convinced that their way back to power lay in a coalition with Pitt and his friends and an alliance with Leicester House. Chesterfield was willing to lend his good offices between the hitherto hostile parties; but he abstained from doing more at first than telling each in turn that he thought the other was mad if they did not see how their interest

[1] To Devonshire, 1st Feb., 1757.—*MS.*

[2] 4th February, 1757.—*MS.*

lay in such a consummation. Hardwicke and he spent hours in trying to draw each other into some definite proposal, but without result.[1]

But as Pitt seemed to lose ground at Kensington, Newcastle's fears revived of incurring Royal distrust on his account, and he wrote to Waldegrave to assure his master that he neither directly nor indirectly had had any transactions or negotiations with Pitt, nor would he have without his Majesty's sanction. The King thereupon desired Waldegrave to request his Grace to consult with Fox how a new Administration could be formed; but in the meantime he had consulted his old adviser Mansfield,[2] who warned him of the danger he would incur by accepting responsibility without being sure of anyone capable of stemming opposition in the Commons, and who advised him to wait until the supplies were voted and critical questions of inquiry had been disposed of. The hot fit had passed away, and the Duke was shivering at the caution of the Chief Justice.[3]

With brief preamble Legge brought forward his Budget for the year: £3,303,939 was required for the Navy, £1,997,205 for the Army, £437,822 for the Ordnance, £100,000 for Militia, and £980,727 for miscellaneous services; for Hessian troops £247,299, for Africa £10,000, for past services £115,230, for East India Company £20,000, Debt of the Navy £200,000, for expenditure in America £50,000; the whole amounting to over seven millions and a-half.

To meet these demands he proposed a land tax of £2,000,000; malt, £750,000; balance in hand from last year, £140,000; Lottery, £500,000; surplus of license duties, £18,000, to be borrowed from the Sinking Fund, which he thought justifiable from the steady increase of trade and wealth; tea duty, as before, £526,900; and £2,500,000 on life annuities, the public debt being already seventy-four millions.

Such were the pen-feathers of the bird of prey that was so soon to spread its wings in both hemispheres.

Legge's scheme of lottery was by a million guinea tickets; half the produce to remain with the Treasury and the rest to be given in prizes; but after six months not half the amount was subscribed. His offer of annuities with survivorship proved

[1] 1st March, 1757.—*MS.*
[2] Murray, created Mansfield, 1756.
[3] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 5th March, 1757.—*MS.*

a failure, the subscription not exceeding an eighth of the whole.[1]

Waldegrave continued to advise Newcastle to come to terms with Fox; but, deterred by Hardwicke's antipathy, and discouraged, as he said, by his own conviction of the increasing favour shown by the King to the Duke of Cumberland and his friend, he avoided giving any pledge. Waldegrave did not deny the leaning of the Court, which naturally looked to the only other alternative that could rescue them from Pitt and his new confederate Bute.[2] Weeks went by without any decisive change, the whole system of Government was relaxed, and the controlling influence that had hitherto prevailed in the dispensation of patronage was no longer felt.

It is painful to note the pertinacity with which Newcastle identified himself with the prosecution of Byng. The composition of the court-martial was a topic of interminable dispute at the time. His Grace told Hardwicke that he had "satisfactory accounts of the evidence of Vice-Admiral West and Blakeney, which seemed almost of themselves to condemn Byng. If it should come out that the fleet was strong enough, and sent time enough to relieve the place, and that the miscarriage was owing to the cowardice or fault of the Admiral, how were the late Ministers to blame?"[3]

But what if the contrary should *not* come out? What if Tyrawley's letters from Gibraltar, written in the cool weather of personal responsibility months after the event, and months before the trial, confessed, without qualification, that there were no succours to send from Gibraltar, that might have relieved the place? What if these should come out at the trial, though officially received by the late head of the Government, but suppressed by him? Truly has it been said that orthodox history would be invaluable as a record of public life if the accounting causes and secret springs of action were not omitted.

Hardwicke, with his usual astuteness, had early suggested the importance of occupying betimes the public mind with statements and arguments tending to the exoneration of the late Government. What they would not deign to do for themselves some facile pen

[1] Glover's "Memoirs."
[2] Waldegrave "Memoirs," 102.
[3] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 4th January, 1757.—*MS.*

ought to be employed to do for them. Materials might be furnished from the Admiralty and War Office, and the choice of topics to be used or omitted might fitly be made the subject of careful consideration. Acting on his suggestion, Andrew Stone was desired to look round for a suitable instrument; and none seemed fitter for the purpose than David Mallet, who for many years had been employed under his direction as Assistant Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales and occasionally as a political writer by the Treasury.

He was accordingly engaged to prepare a statement of the whole case for public information. The chief ingredients were supplied by Secretary Cleveland, to be compounded with such simples as might render the whole safely drastic when unsuspectingly taken. By whom the prescription was given there can be little doubt, but we know that when first made up it was submitted to the cautious analyst at Wimpole, who did not quite approve, and who suggested some alterations. "I cannot find much fault," he wrote, "but own I am not much enamoured with it. This *entre nous*, for authors of this kind must not be discouraged by too much criticism. However, I have ventured to put down some remarks and queries, which I desire you will take the trouble to peruse, and to consider whether you think any of them improper, especially in what relates to maritime affairs. Whatever you disapprove strike out, and then deliver to Cleveland to copy it over fair for Mr. Mallet, keeping the original. I am not fond of giving a handle to be named as a joint author with this gentleman; but I have written him a very civil letter, informing him that he will very soon receive such a paper from the Secretary; and I have suggested to him to add something further, by way of observation and argument, upon the points of conduct objected to; for in that part I suspect this performance to be chiefly deficient."[1] We thus learn how the pamphlet by *A Plain Man on the Loss of Minorca* was furtively turned into a denunciation of the imprisoned Admiral awaiting his trial. It is the one blot on the character of the great judge which history grieves at having to record. Had the pamphlet, falsely put forth as independent and impartial, contained only censure of Byng for want of judgment, want of strategic skill, want of foresight, and want of success in what he was ordered to

[1] To Anson, 10th October, 1756, in Barrow's "Life," p. 262.

attempt to do, its justification might be sought in the subsequent sentence of the court-martial; for the writer, we may hope, was unacquainted with the testimony of Tyrawley that Byng could obtain no adequate succours to bring from Gibraltar, and that the once boasted works had been left to fall into ruin. But no such evidence, exonerating either Fowke or Byng, was adduced at the trial, and yet it is certain that but for the popular belief, kept up to fever heat by the malignity of official suppression, Byng could never have been done to death. The illustrious biographer of Mallet, who owed him no ill-will, and who gave him all the credit he was entitled to as a man of letters, scornfully notes the use made by Government of this unworthy effusion of his pen. "He was employed to turn the public vengeance upon Byng by a letter of accusation under the character of a Plain Man. The paper was, with great industry, circulated and dispersed; and for his seasonable intervention Mallet had a considerable pension bestowed upon him, which he retained to his death."[1]

One of the most serious questions the Administration had to decide was the fate of Byng. His trial by court-martial began at Portsmouth on the 28th of December, and it was continued throughout January, when his conduct as Admiral in the Mediterranean was rigorously scrutinised. It was proved that Byng, even without the reinforcement promised, still hoped to make some stand against the enemy at sea; and Blakeney, though beleaguered in Fort St. Philip, was prepared to hold out for some time.[2] After the Council of War decided that they could not detach a battalion, Byng was allowed to take on board 232 men as the utmost they could spare. On the 4th of May he apprised the Admiralty of his disappointment; and his apprehension that their primary object could not be attained. "If I should fail in the relief of Port Mahon, I shall look on the security and protection of Gibraltar as my next object; and shall repair thither with my squadron."[3]

After spending a month in hearing evidence and argument, the court adjourned to deliberate, and at first its members were but ill agreed. Days were spent in consulting eminent lawyers as to how far they were bound by the peremptory terms of the

[1] Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," p. 288.
[2] Rigby to Bedford, 1st June, 1756.
[3] Sir I. Barrow's "Life of Anson," 249.

Marine Mutiny Act, which prescribed the penalty of death in every case where the accused could not show that he had done his utmost against the enemy. Was this to be construed as meaning his utmost in the whole campaign, or in the conflict of a single day? Most of the opinions given are said to have been in favour of the latter; but after days spent in disputation on the point, the logic of reason and mercy was overborne and the thirteen naval jurors agreed to a verdict of guilty—qualified, as they imagined, by the supplementary declaration that the Admiral's breach of the law was in no way attributable to want of loyalty or courage, but simply to an error of judgment in the exercise of command. His friends were sanguine of a decision substantially in his favour, and he himself was so confident of an acquittal that his carriage was in readiness to take him home when his long imprisonment should be over. He bore the terrible announcement of his fate with more equanimity than several of his judges; and in a short time recovered his self-possession and was consoled by assurances of his family and counsel, that the danger was apparent, not real, and that an earnest appeal to the clemency of the Crown would be ratified by the Ministry. Infinite discussion in public and private arose regarding this extraordinary sentence. Horace Walpole from the first feared that "some of the late Cabinet who wished to make him the scape-goat of their own neglect would leave him to his fate, but he thought the new Administration would not be biassed to blood by such interested attempts." [1]

Despite their assiduous disclaimers, the adherents of the former Ministry persisted to the end in treating the fate of Byng as a party question. Before inquiry into his conduct was possible, he had been promised to the mob as a sacrifice. Brought home a prisoner, accused of flagrant crime; kept for three months in the Tower awaiting prosecution, he was at length arraigned before a tribunal in whose judgment the Ministers interested in his condemnation felt beforehand pitiless confidence. When the many testimonies to his unostentatious courage became known, the unfortunate Admiral's friends took heart and audibly expressed too sanguine hopes of his acquittal. In a numerous company, the Duchess of Manchester, with womanly but unwise earnestness, scoffed at the idea of his being found guilty, till Admiral Bos-

[1] To H. Mann, 30th January, 1757.

cawen, who had been one of the late, and was now one of the existing, Board of Admiralty, exclaimed, "Say what you will, we shall have a majority in the court-martial, and he will be condemned."[1]

The senior officer who should in routine have been named to preside at the trial was passed over, and Admiral Smith, the illegitimate brother of Lyttelton, was appointed in his stead. Lest any compunctious visitings should plead for mercy, he was reminded with fraternal frankness of his duty. "If you had any reasons to give in favour of Mr. Byng, not given in your sentence, you ought to transmit them forthwith to the Admiralty that their Lordships may lay them before the King. Upon those you have given, I will only observe that his not having shown any symptoms of fear when he was in scarce any danger will not be sufficient to acquit him of cowardice in the sense of the law. His not going into danger when he ought to have done so is that criminal negligence which the law has made capital. You seem to think that the law is too severe; but it was the intention of the Legislature to make it severe; and till they repeal it, the judges of a court-martial must act in a strict conformity to it: and you know the whole nation has called on the King to let the law take its course."[2] One forlorn hope still remained. The King, it was supposed, before finally deciding, would hear what the Commander-in-Chief had to say; and words that had fallen from Fox led to the belief that though sharing the blame for administrative neglect that might be cast upon the late Executive were Byng acquitted, he was in favour of acquittal. His intimacy at Windsor Lodge was well known; and if the Princess Amelia should entertain sentiments of generosity and justice, her brother might possibly be led to move their father to lenity.

The Admiral's sister wrote imploring merciful interposition from Woburn. Bedford would only promise that if the question were referred to the Cabinet nothing should prevent his attending, and that he should be very happy to find himself at liberty to adopt the view which the court had so strongly recommended.[3]

More than one member of the tribunal was perplexed and

[1] H. Walpole's "Memoirs of the Reign of George II.," p. 287.

[2] From the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, now a Peer, 31st January, 1757.

[3] To Mrs. Osborn, 6th February, 1757.

grieved to learn that the Board of Admiralty, had failed to endorse their advice; and that Royalty remained obdurate in resisting all appeals for the exercise of clemency. They feared that the reasoning of Temple and Pitt in the Closet would be of little avail, unsupported as it was believed to be by the majority of their colleagues.

Had Anson been still at the head of the Admiralty, he might possibly have saved the life of Byng; for he certainly neither advised nor desired his death. His successor, though vehement if not virulent for a reprieve, had neither the professional nor personal weight to lead the majority of the Board to overrule the sentence. Pitt, with the instinct of a demagogue of genius, shrank from ratifying the murderous demand of the mob, and the sanguinary yearnings of Newcastle and Lyttelton for a human sacrifice in exoneration of their past Ministerial responsibility. He understood better probably than those about him how liable the storm of truculence was to subside; and he could not wish his first term of Executive power to be remembered as having been smeared with innocent blood. But he could not bring himself to stake the prize so long and eagerly struggled for on a plain declaration as Leader of the Commons that he washed his hands of the fate of a just and brave man. His vanity in sentence-making whispered that a crooked way might be devised whereby, in a fog of ambiguous phrases and unusual forms, the semblance of inexorable rigour might be kept up, and the victim spared. Means were found to persuade Keppel that if he and his colleagues in the court-martial were released from their oaths facts might be disclosed to show that the sentence was intended to satisfy what they were told was the true interpretation of the law, but not to exact the penalty of death for an error of judgment. Leave was given him to bring in a Bill for the purpose; and, time pressing, the second reading was fixed for the following day. Pitt induced the King to send a Message to the House declaring his resolve at any cost to uphold the discipline of the navy, but recommending delay in order that all the circumstances justifying reconsideration should be equitably weighed. A Cabinet met early in the day, and deliberated long on the proceeding; and his Majesty sent more than once to inquire when they would have done. At last the Secretary succeeded in obtaining their sanction, but on breaking up, Robinson ex-

claimed, "The Speaker will be outrageous at such a deviation from precedent." On entering the House Pitt went direct to the Chair and, despite of warnings, proceeded to read the Royal Missive at the table. Fox seized the opportunity of exposing the inexperience and rashness of his rival; and appealed to the Speaker to say whether such an attempt by the Crown to influence their pending decision was not a flagrant breach of privilege. Onslow, in a few grave words, ruled that the proceeding was a revival of a practice long disused and highly unconstitutional. There was nothing for it but to confess that an error had been committed and that the Message should be withdrawn. Keppel's Bill, however, passed without a division, and was taken to the Lords by Dashwood and Potter. When made acquainted with what had occurred, the King was so angry that he could not be spoken to on any subject of business for many hours; several members of the court-martial examined on oath at the Bar of the Peers declared they had nothing of importance to disclose, and others feared to commit themselves to details until certain that the Bill would pass, and it was consequently rejected.

Importunities without number from persons of the highest integrity and influence covered the Minister's table, many of them from female pens, and not a few from eloquent witnesses of the Faith in Mercy. Pitt did not scruple to throw his popularity into the scale; risking, if not sacrificing, for the time a very considerable portion of it. The argument on the other hand that the King could not with impunity take the side of lenity was forced upon his wavering mind with pitiless force in a remarkable letter without name, which reached him on the 27th of February, and which must have been handed by him to his chief advisers: "Be steady, Sir, for God's sake, and nothing will go wrong; your Majesty never was more popular than at present; and the Minister has lost by this factious job all that he had acquired with the City. If he presumes again, sir, discard him; your people will stand by you; but if this miscreant escapes we shall be a laughing-stock to our enemies. Hawke has declared that if that part of the 12th Article which condemned Byng is repealed he will serve no more. Observe, sir, the difference between your Majesty's Admiral and the cousin of the First Commissioner of the Admiralty."[1] Unluckily for the accused, the First Lord

[1] *MS.* Devonshire Papers, 27th February, 1757.

of the Admiralty took his part; and there was no part that Temple's advocacy did not harm. When the King showed a haughty disregard for the criticisms made on the evidence, Temple grew impatient and argumentative, and at length forgot himself so far as to try Byng's motives by the same test that he said might have been applied to the King's own behaviour at Dettingen. George II. exclaimed that he could not forgive conduct that manifestly implied cowardice, on which Temple fearlessly retorted, "What will you say if he dies game?" The anticipation was memorably realised. To the last Byng bore himself with inflexible fortitude and dignity. He refused to have his eyes bound, and only consented when told that his look might render his executioners irresolute. He died as he had lived, a brave, forgiving, passionless man, conscious of no crime, and disdaining to reproach his enemies who, to save themselves from blame, had hunted him down.

Charles Townshend eagerly undertook to lead the attack in Parliament on the late Administration, and gave notice that he would move for an inquiry how far the loss of Minorca was due to their want of naval and military preparations for its defence. Some doubt was felt as to whether the motion could be brought on in the absence of Pitt, who was again in the gout, and was said to fear exposure to the wintry air. But on the appointed day, to the delight of all lovers of Parliamentary pitched battle, the invalid Leader appeared, hobbling to his seat; and if not in argument, confessedly in costume, more than equal to the occasion. Riding stockings clothed his lower limbs, and to prevent a chill he wore a beaver coat and waistcoat laced with gold under a red surtout; "the right sleeve lined with fur and tied together with black ribbons to indicate his inability to withdraw it from a crape sling, but which in the warmth of speaking he drew out with unlucky activity and brandished as usual."[1] He did not deny the gravity of the affair, or the reasonableness of the inquiry; but if blame was to be laid anywhere, it must be on the whole Cabinet, and not on particular Ministers; for all had shared in the apprehension of French invasion, and until it was dispelled they had felt bound to keep the greatest portion of our fleet near home. Most of them were now his colleagues, and that would not prevent his owning candidly that they were re-

[1] Horace Walpole.

sponsible if heedless or wayward negligence could be shown. He knew, however, that they ran no risk of condemnation in a House constituted as it then was; and though there were some defections attributed to party or personal differences, a majority of seventy-eight affirmed a series of resolutions from which no harm to anybody could come.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## MINISTERIAL ANARCHY.

### 1757.

Offer to Newcastle to come Back—Pitt and Temple Removed—Who should be at the Head?—The King suggests Waldegrave—Fox Sounded, but Prefers the Pay Office—Continued Intrigues—George II. Despairs—"Which is King: the Duke of Newcastle or Myself?"—Reaction for Pitt—Triumph of Fox—Distraction at Court—Hardwicke Declines to Resume—Could the Woolsack be kept in the Family?—Lady Yarmouth thinks Pitt Inevitable—Newcastle and Bute—Waldegrave's short-lived Ministry—Mansfield and the King—Pitt Triumphs at Last.

ON the morrow of Byng's execution, George II. resolved to draw from its sheath his prerogative of dismissal. His dislike of Pitt would have hardly in itself induced him to take a step which he must have felt to be dangerous; but the personal taunts of Temple were not to be forgiven, and he desired Waldegrave to call on Newcastle and intimate that Temple and Pitt were about to quit office, and to ask the Duke's advice, if they were dismissed, how he should propose to replace them. Would he take part in a remodelled Administration? [1]

On the death of Lord Walpole, Waldegrave had become Teller of the Exchequer by the reversion granted him not long before when a vacancy was not expected. He thereupon resigned the minor post of the Stannaries, telling the King he had now enough for all his wants without it. His Majesty told him how glad he was that he had made the grant at the right time for that it would not then have been in his power. He insisted on the Earl retaining the Stannaries for some time longer, if only to exclude some impertinent relation of the new Minister. He expressed his dislike to Pitt and Temple in strong terms.

[1] Mem. by V. Jones, 25th March, 1757.—*MS.*

The former made him long speeches which might be very fine, but were much beyond his comprehension, and his letters were affected and pedantic; the latter was so disagreeable a fellow that there was no bearing him. When he attempted to argue, he was pert and sometimes insolent; when he meant to be civil he was exceeding troublesome; and in the business of his office he was totally ignorant. He asked about Newcastle, who then stood aloof, and occupied a position that seemed ambiguous, assenting to Waldegrave's estimate of his undiminished influence in Parliament which he had not the decision to throw into either scale. "I know he is apt to be afraid. Therefore, go and encourage him; tell him I do not look upon myself as King whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels; that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance, and that he may depend on my favour and protection."[1] Waldegrave delivered the message, and found the ducal mind tantalised by the hope of regaining office, and tormented by the fear of its responsibilities. Clearly the time was not yet; when the supply was granted and the inquiry in Parliament at an end into the alleged shortcomings of the late Government, their successors might be more safely set at nought. But any attempt at change in the meanwhile would be dangerous, and might entail effects he was not prepared to face. George II. was too much out of temper to be convinced; nobody knew what he felt at the dictation to which he was subjected, and he would endure it no longer. He did not despair of inducing Newcastle to act, but should he refuse, he wished that his son, before taking command of the troops abroad, should consult with Fox regarding a new Administration. But nothing could bring Newcastle to definite terms or keep him to those he had named on the previous day, and Waldegrave was thankful, that when at last he committed his incongruous thoughts to paper, it revealed more irresolution than ever.

Meanwhile being assured that the Admiralty might be considered vacant, Fox was induced to make a last attempt. He wrote to Halifax to come to town in order to replace Temple, and proposed that the Duke of Bedford and Lord George Sackville should take their places. Granville was not named by him, but he relied on Devonshire remaining at the head of the

[1] Waldegrave's "Memoirs."

Treasury; but Halifax declined the office, and in a few hours the project, which had never acquired solidity, was abandoned. The Court reverted to former expedients. The scheme submitted to the King included Egmont, G. Sackville and Strange, Charles Townshend and Bubb Dodington, all of whom were good speakers, with secure seats in the Commons.

For himself, Fox desired only the Pay Office, with a reversion on the Irish Establishment in favour of his son. But Egmont, whose object was a Peerage, and Sackville, who had recently attached himself to Pitt and Leicester House, declined, and Charles Townshend, though he hated Pitt, did not choose to be identified with his unpopular opponents. Dodington alone seemed ready to accept the Treasurership of the Navy.[1]

The only remark the King made on reading the memorandum was that "Everybody thought of themselves, and did not enough consider what *He* was obliged to go through."[2]

It became generally understood that some important changes were impending. But, meeting Hardwicke at levée, Devonshire significantly said that for his own part he preferred his ease; he would perform his engagement by staying to the end of the Session and no longer. When asked what necessity there was for precipitation, he said that "the King was so offended with Lord Temple that he could not bear the sight of him." In fact, his removal was resolved on, implying that of all the rest.[3] At length Temple was formally dismissed, and Pitt was informed that his resignation was expected, the ground assigned being the language used by the former unavailingly on behalf of Byng, and which, though Pitt did not make his own, he did not repudiate.

Legge at once resigned. Waldegrave, again consulted, could only suggest that Devonshire might be constrained to continue First Lord some months longer, until Newcastle, seeing that the realm could get on very well without him, should agree to resume his old position. But his Majesty said that would not do. "The Duke has acted by me in the handsomest manner, and is in a very disagreeable situation entirely on my account. I have promised that he shall be at full liberty at the end of the

[1] Waldegrave, 105.
[2] A. Stone to Waldegrave, 26th March, 1757.—*MS.*
[3] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 3rd April, 1757.—*MS.*

Session, and I must keep my word. If the Duke of Newcastle should disappoint me, I know but one person whom I would trust at the head of the Treasury; can you guess who I mean Why, it is yourself." Conscious of his unfitness, Waldegrave, with due acknowledgments, tried to put aside all further mention of a thought which he imagined only to have been inspired by a passing impulse of kindness, and one of which he should hear no more.

The King allowed Lord Waldegrave to try once more if Fox, with Newcastle's assistance, could not form an Administration. "The drum was beat but nobody would enlist." Time pressed, and in a fit of vexation a new commission of Admiralty was announced with Winchilsea, an experienced seaman but little of a politician, at its head; Lord Carysfort, Sir W. Rowley, Savage Mostyn, and the Hon. E. Sandys, for Junior Lords; Boscawen and Gilbert Elliot being alone retained from the former Board. Lord Egremont was invited to succeed Pitt, but days passed without his appearing at Court.

George II. found so little approval by his best friends of each attempt to form a Government that he was fain to let the wreck of Administration drift a little longer. Fox reverted to his former claim to the Pay Office; but, troubled by the fear that his self-denying waiver might not be appreciated at the market price he put upon it, he resolved to redeem the time by securing quietly the reversion for the lives of his two sons of the Clerkship of the Pells in Ireland worth £1,600 a year. For a moment, fortune seemed to run too fast. In mistaken care for his interests he was actually sent for to kiss hands as Paymaster General, without any previous intimation to Lord Dupplin, who was still in possession. But Fox was not yet ready to be gratified, and wished matters to remain as they were till the end of the Session, or at least until all doubt or inquiry as to passing changes was at an end.[1]

He wanted, in short, to have the new Ministry unequivocally committed to the permanency of the coveted appointment, in consideration for his withdrawal from the political game.

Meanwhile, to humour Windsor Lodge and Woburn, Fox and Waldegrave went on giving the King, day by day, fresh pictures in the kaleidoscope, each of which they recommended as prefer-

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 8th April, 1757.—*MS.*

able to what went before, but all of which were composed in the main of insignificant materials, incapable of holding together when next shaken. Neither had any serious wish at heart to incur the chief responsibility of governing. The already protracted reign would not last long, and both were implacably hated by those who, for a time at least, would sway the rest. A widespread and perilous war had begun in humiliation and disaster, which it would take all the energies of a united Cabinet to retrieve; and such a Cabinet no one but the Duke of Bedford and Lord Granville believed in the power of either to construct or maintain. Halifax reported confidentially that he had found the feeling in the city adverse to the substitution of others for Pitt and Legge. The latter had told him he was ready to act again with his old chief at the Treasury, who he thought must come in. He offered to call at Newcastle House "any night in private, provided the intercourse was never disclosed."[1]

Having thus, as he supposed, got rid of the objects of his chief dislike and agreed to Fox having what he wanted, George II. reverted once more to his hope that some combination of old friends and new might be able to carry on the Government. Hardwicke, who had behaved better and more candidly in all respects than Newcastle, who he believed, notwithstanding his disclaimers, to be negotiating with Pitt, might have the Great Seal again if he would. He told Waldegrave that he did not want it, but wished Anson restored, which the King did not think proper. He had offered him everything to make him Minister and to form his own Administration, and if, after that, he did not comply, his Majesty said he would have good reason to be angry with him. "To Holdernesse he was still stronger, and said that Newcastle was negotiating with Pitt and would enter into opposition, adding, 'I will see which is King of this country—the Duke of Newcastle or myself.' Fox said to Lord Mansfield that if Newcastle would join with Pitt and Leicester House to make the King *prisoner*, the King knew he could do it, but he would not believe it of him." To Devonshire his Grace complained of being suspected of caballing with Pitt after having given his word in writing that he had not done so. Devonshire undertook to disabuse the Royal mind and to say that Newcastle had not had, and *would not have*, any such negotiation,

[1] To Newcastle, 7th April, 1757.—*MS.*

but to this, Newcastle absolutely objected, and said he would give no such promise nor enter into any such engagement, for he was determined to be entirely free, and the First Lord did not seem to blame him. He pressed him much to come in with his friend Oswald at the Treasury to do the business, without any Chancellor of the Exchequer. At last, in a very serious and friendly manner, he said to Newcastle, "You should either determine to come in yourself, and for that purpose make such scheme of Ministry as you should like, or if you won't, you ought to support the King's Administration." Newcastle avoided giving any answer by declaring that he would keep himself absolutely disengaged. Lord Egremont was to be Secretary of State. He was a man of good abilities, but quite new to business, and nobody remained in office capable of instructing him; but he avowed that he was determined to act in everything with Granville.[1]

Upon the whole Hardwicke and Newcastle seemed to breathe together (which their foes said was to conspire) for the recasting of a firm Administration which would satisfy everybody worth satisfying. This was much more easy to wish than to bring about. It was what was called Ducal Government. Mr. Legge's offer of a private meeting looked as if he thought something could be done, without making Pitt the principal figure, which might render it more palatable at St. James's. One thing only seemed clear—that, whoever might compose it, a Cabinet with a Prince of the Blood Captain-General at the head of it, and Fox as sole agent or instrument under him, was what they could not concur in, or take a share of.[2]

Hardwicke looked at the confusion and cabal around him with different eyes. He had deprecated Pitt's removal from the first, and he could see nothing but embarrassment therefrom now that it was a *half* accomplished fact. Some thought his Royal Highness had induced his father to make these changes that he might command the army in Germany, holding that of England in *commendum*, leaving Fox as deputy in his absence. Anson had had a visit from Legge, who told him that he thought his friends had made a great mistake in refusing, in November, to join the old Cabinet, chiefly owing to visionary

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 8th April, 1757.—*MS.*
[2] *Ibid.*

notions of Pitt, and hinting that he had himself more credit than him at Leicester House.

He urged, and Hardwicke agreed with him, that no Administration would have a chance of stability which did not secure harmony between the various branches of the Royal Family, which shibboleth, being interpreted, meant that those who enjoyed the countenance of the Princess of Wales should form part of the future Cabinet.[1]

No sooner had Pitt and Temple resigned than a reaction set in against the Court, who were deemed the cause of it. The freedom of the City was voted to them, their attempt to save Byng being forgotten; and, with levity unsurpassed, if not unprecedented, a cry was raised out of doors that they should form a coalition with Newcastle, who was known to have the votes necessary to carry his requisite measures. In an interview at his own house, Pitt told Glover the difficulties he had found insurmountable from the prejudices of the Court and the vacillations of opinion out of doors. Glover dwelt on the instability, treachery, timidity, and servile devotion to the Court of the late Minister, but too well known, "and to whom," interposed Mr. Pitt, "all our public misfortunes are more imputable than to any other man. But what is to be done? Do not imagine that I can be induced to unite with him unless sure of power—I mean, power over public measures. The disposition of offices (except the few efficient ones of Administration), the creating Deans, Bishops, and every placeman besides, is quite out of my plan, and which I would willingly relinquish to the Duke of Newcastle." Glover suggested that, in the event of a coalition, he must entirely depend on the Duke for a majority in Parliament, and for his fighting the battles in the Closet, if his efforts to liberate a father from a favourite son, who was Pitt's deeclard enemy, were to be successful. Would not Newcastle—false, selfish, and insatiable of power as he was—rather make his own way, and re-establish himself in the King's favour by every servile gratification of his will, and then the first man in Great Britain would become a subaltern to the lowest? As Pitt was the only object in the nation's eyes, everything wrong would be imputed to him. He might say he could quit his situation again, but was he sure he could return to the same position of

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 9th April, 1757.—*MS.*

character? With such a coadjutor as Newcastle, and with such a House of Commons, it was impossible for an honest man to serve his country. Pitt replied that he had drawn a line, so far as which he might be driven, but beyond it—never.

Townshend's Militia Bill had passed the Lower House, and was awaiting discussion in the Upper, where it was feared the number of men to be raised would be cut down from 67,000 to half that number. Glover asked why not make the passing of the Bill unmutilated a condition *sine quâ non* of junction?[1] He hardly expected a reply off-hand, and rose to leave. Pitt, still lame, followed him to the door, and, taking his hand, again repeated impressively the assurance that he had drawn a line which he would not pass, and though that far he might be driven—beyond it, never. His meaning generally might reasonably be believed to be that he would not embark in a foreign policy hurtful or discreditable to the country. But his friend also took it to imply that in all events he would resist sending English troops to Germany.[2]

How delusive even this self-imposed rule must prove in practice as a guarantee against a reopening of the old wound, through which English blood was liable to be lost in Continental quarrels, it would have been idle to discuss with such a man. The splendid show of conscientious patriotism did not admit of being reduced to terms or stipulations with exactitude. That he meant magnanimously and magnificently his closest confidants and most exacting worshippers believed; but his unbounded arrogance incessantly tormented them with fears for his success, and even safety, when he undertook to ride over perilous ground in the dark. His arbitrary Leadership in Parliament and Dictatorship in the Cabinet was not calculated to dispel these misgivings; but his isolated visions of Imperial grandeur, to be realised by his persistent will or not at all, remained; and the inconsistencies that everybody else saw and regretted were by him either denied or treated as unworthy imputations.

After due consultation, it was settled that Newcastle should meet Legge at "Lord Dupplin's house, where there was a back door to the park," and where, as Hardwicke, *more suo*, suggested,

[1] Glover's "Memoirs."

[2] *Ibid.*

"*hearing* what might be said about Mr. Pitt's views and those of his friends, if nothing distinct was said in return," could not be said to be negotiating with that gentleman. Mr. Oswald was apparently charged by his countryman—Bute—to tell the ex-Ministers how much the Princess was frightened at the prospect of Fox's Administration, and a greater person at the head of it. The Princess and her friends would be willing to come to them without any conditions. If the prospect here held out could be realised, and the King contented with not having Lord Temple forced upon him, there was no reason why the three hitherto discordant sections might not combine after all.[1]

Mansfield was sent for to receive, *pro tempore*, the Seal of the Exchequer. The King complimented him highly on his past service and bearing, and told him he could no longer bear those fellows who had been forced upon him; and complained bitterly of the ingratitude of Newcastle, for whom he had done everything, and who would now neither come in nor promise to support any other Minister. The old Chancellor had acted very differently, saying when he resigned that he left his son (C. Yorke) with him as a pledge of his unchanged devotion. Could the Chief Justice say what the Duke really meant; or, if he went into Opposition, would the Whigs in Parliament follow him? The Chief Justice told him they would; but that he was sure Hardwicke and Newcastle were of one mind, and would continue to be but of one opinion. He was then asked whether the holder of an office for life, responsible to the Treasury, could be a member of that Board. Mansfield declined to say *obiter dictum*. "Then why did Lord Halifax and Sir Robert Walpole hold the Auditorship in other people's names?" The question was understood to have reference to the possibility of Lord Waldegrave, who was Teller of the Exchequer for life, being placed at the head of the Treasury. Mansfield said he thought the Duke and Fox had been both to blame; and the next day Fox was summoned by Holdernesse to attend, after the levée, to afford information regarding the House of Commons, as though it was desired once more that he should take the Leadership.[2]

It was clear that Devonshire and Mansfield, without questioning, or seeming to question, the right of dismissal by the Crown,

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 15th April, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] *Ibid.*

concurred in regretting and condemning its exercise of that right without knowing beforehand who were to take the places vacated, and without the power of determining who should take them. The King might break up a Cabinet at will, but neither will nor wisdom on his part could reconstruct one.

Charles Townshend hurried to Devonshire House to give assurances that he had not resigned without previously communicating his intentions, and to renew protestations of devotion,[1] —the first of a series of vows which throughout his fickle life he effusively poured into the ear of every successive Minister who, to his near-sighted ambition, looked likely to stand. The sun had not set on his above-mentioned profession when he formally addressed to the First Lord a request that he would lay at the feet of the King his resignation of the place he held in the Household, and this without a word of explanation or apology.[2]

Parliament met brimful of curiosity to know what had happened, and what was going to happen. Pitt seemed at first to screw down his irritability to a prudent level, but by degrees he was twitted and beguiled alternately into expressions it took all his skill in mystification to escape from. The suspicion prevailed that Fox, on whom the brunt of defending Government devolved, was somehow at the bottom of the removals; and the cleverest things he could say went for little where his hearers were so imbued with distrust. At the end of a long night's inconclusive wrangle, he reported to the First Lord: "We have had no division, but have spent the whole day in mending and debating a most insignificant question. I now see no end of this inquiry. Pitt, who did by no means intend, when he got up, to say anything like it, protested that if equality was not preserved (of which he judged, and very wrongly, by admitting a question Mr. Townshend had to propose), he should walk out of the House. Others would do so too, he supposed, and leave it to the majority to conclude their inquiry with what questions they should think fit. But what good would it do them with the people? They would judge; they would be informed; he would take care they should be informed. Every time he spoke of going and leaving the majority to themselves, the Tories called out with the loudest applause. I said Pitt had not

[1] C. Townshend to Devonshire, 22nd April, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] From Grosvenor Square, 22nd April, 1757.—*MS.*

intended, could not intend, to say what he had said on so trifling a question. But I abused those who applauded another secession tending to sedition and a dissolution of Government. Pitt answered calmly enough, distinguishing away, that is, misrepeating, what he had said. An hour afterwards George Townshend attacked me, and said he never should secede from the House unless he saw a man a Minister who would not venture to appear such governing a complaisant House of Commons without declaring his power. I established what I had said before, to the great anger of the Tories, and answered him in a full, warm speech, with which I hope others were satisfied. I was. Adieu."[1]

To bring an irregular discussion to a close, Fox succeeded in getting a majority of 267 over 141 who voted for an amendment by Lord Strange. His delight was almost boyish at the success of his first essay as self-appointed Leader of the Cabinet: all the more notable from the position having been openly denounced by the displaced Ministers as unconstitutional. To Devonshire he wrote exultantly: "I wish your Grace joy of yesterday. Would to God that it might tempt you to go on and govern us. You see we are willing to be governed by you, and by you only. Don't forget the Duke of Marlborough, who is beyond measure uneasy."[2] Still the difficulties remained of filling up the vacated offices, and of disposing peaceably of those who had been ousted; difficulties which the cheers of a majority impelled by various motives, and the gratulations of a crowd of expectants, helped little to satisfy. Devonshire would not desert his post abruptly, or as though he were affronted at the Royal unconcern for his ease or credit as evidenced in the recent changes; but nothing would induce him to continue permanently in so unthankful an office, or to trust his future peace and character in the keeping of persons he had found so selfishly unreliable.

Separate interests drifted daily more and more nearly to combination. Reciprocal distrust and dislike may not have grown less; but the danger of prolonging the *inter ministerium* became more palpable, and the gloom without more depressing. There was as little sincerity as ever in Court and club; but the force of gravity in external events and prospects compelled men to come

[1] From Burlington Street, 12 o'clock at night, 26th April, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] 28th April, 1757.—*MS.*

in. The singular condition of things, at first unbelieved, became generally recognised, that the head of the Administration, far from objecting to being replaced by another, was unaffectedly anxious to be relieved of his onerous charge; and sought only to use the influence he possessed to promote the change. Devonshire told Stone that he would use his utmost endeavour to have Pitt and Temple restored, if they would be reasonable, and also to bring about a good understanding with Leicester House, which the King saw the necessity for. He advised Newcastle to gain Bute, and proposed that his Grace should see him, and he would tell the King it was by his advice. Newcastle desired Stone to name a meeting at Lord G. Sackville's at nine at night. The First Lord much insisted on Fox being Paymaster, or having some un-Ministerial office. "If the King, Leicester House, and Pitt were to come to reasonable terms, the old Ministers would be obliged to return to their old employments, having stipulated for such a number of their friends as might not make them absolutely dependent on any party; for though it were not proposed that Fox should be Minister, a great number of his powerful friends would remain in the Cabinet, with one more powerful than any other near at hand, after his return to England, which consideration must be to have Leicester House on their side. In what capacity would Hardwicke agree to act? anything less than the Great or Privy Seal would be a jest."[1]

His Grace seems to have been forgetful of the essential differences of the two offices, that the former was one of infinite labour, and that in the other there was nothing to do.

News of the assembly of 18,000 men at Dunkirk with a numerous fleet to transport them to Canada, if not to England,[2] cast for the moment into the shade the sputtering of Parliamentary fire: but like so many other menaces of invasion, it was speedily forgotten in the news of Frederick's astounding victory at Prague. There was no mistake, however, about the rapid occupation of Hanover by a French army of 100,000 men. Most of the families of property had fled to Schleswig or Hamburg. The Duke of Cumberland, having helped, as he boasted, to get rid of Pitt, took the command of 60,000 men, chiefly German

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 1st May, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Under-Secretary Wilmot, 4th May, 1757.—*MS.*

levies, with which he hoped to retain occupation of part of the Duchy and protect the frontier of his Prussian ally. But every day affairs looked less and less promising. Ill-assorted troops, animated by no common spirit, and believing that they were over-matched, were difficult of discipline, and every observer warned the Government in England of the fate already impending. Disaster seemed to deepen. The Royal capacity for the difficult business of Cabinet reconstruction did not improve in these grave circumstances as the wise and amiable Minister could have wished. His Majesty sent for the facile and foolish Duke, into whose ear he had so long been accustomed to pour his Palace vexations and personal troubles, and got from him the choice of imperfect and irresolute hints, any or all of which his Grace was ready to forget next day if required. George II. felt better after unburthening himself of this fresh load of perplexities, and was somewhat fitter to enter into plainer and honester counsels afterwards. Only on one point his mind was made up immovably—that he would not let back into office the man who for years had thwarted his efforts to make Hanover safe, and employed all the arts of his versatile eloquence to render the performance of that duty on his part a theme of reproach in Senate and in City. In his resentment and aversion, he identified the peril which had befallen the Electorate with the invective so long indulged in by Pitt; and Newcastle eagerly reiterated his own protestation that nothing would ever induce him to sit in Council again with one who had so insulted him. One after another, schemes were discussed for the putting together of a new Ministry with the unmanageable rhetorician left out: and many weeks were consumed, when time could ill be spared, in building houses of Court cards which fell as soon as touched. A photograph of the confusion, distrust, and intrigue, existing thenceforth in Court and Parliament has been left us by the only hand whose competence and fidelity none could have sought to dispute.

Devonshire was the only man who wanted and would have nothing. He had sacrificed several months of ease and enjoyment to administrative duty when his predecessor had forsaken his post in dismay; and there was no one whom the head of all factions would so easily be brought to serve under. But they had already failed or quarrelled with one another: some had

lost the confidence of the Crown, and others who never had it, that of the community at large.

The Cabinet of 1756 had not disappeared in any storm or sunk in any collision; it still flew the Royal pennant, and its crew still talked as if each of them had no superior. But the ship was going to pieces amid sunken rocks, and the Commander asked only that a fit successor might be chosen on whom to devolve the trust whereof he was weary. Living many years on terms of confidence with the Duke of Cumberland, he sent him word of all that was going on, less from any care to vindicate his own conduct than from the feeling that as the King's son he was entitled to be kept informed correctly of what was going on at home. "When I took my leave of the King to go to Newmarket, he said he would do nothing till my return, and asked me what I would advise. I consulted Mr. Fox, who, though he was willing to undertake any part which the King should choose, seemed to think the game, if he was to undertake it, though not desperate, very difficult. For his part, the King had made him and his family[1] easy for their lives, and therefore he had nothing to do but to serve the King to the utmost of his power; and he was ready to take any part or no part, as should be allotted to him. He threw out a hint that he did not see the impossibility of taking men from all sides; that he for one should have no objection. I told him that I imagined such a scheme was absolutely impracticable. Charles Townshend told me that Mr. Pitt had taken quite a different turn since being removed, that he began to talk of acting with the Duke of Newcastle and even under him. Everybody sees that the present plan would not hold if I resolve not to stay in the Treasury: and if the Duke of Newcastle was to come in, why not make them all agree; make Pitt Secretary of State, and Fox Paymaster? Townshend thought it might be brought about; it would be the only means of settling something solid, for should any of them afterwards quarrel there would be such a strength in Government that it could not fail to last. My answer was that his scheme was certainly a very good one, but would, I was afraid, be impracticable. When I acquainted his Majesty with Townshend's message, I informed him of the other part of the

[1] Lady Caroline was created Baroness Holland in her own right; and he had himself obtained for his sons more than one sinecure under patent.

conversation in order to see how he would receive it; and, indeed, he heard it with more patience than I expected. He said he could never bear the thoughts of Lord Temple. As to Pitt, he had not so much objection to him, but he thought him too impracticable to act with anybody, and asked my opinion. I said that if Mr. Pitt would consent to act an under part, and confine himself to Secretary of State under the Duke of Newcastle, and let Mr. Fox be Paymaster, it would be the surest means of giving ease to his Majesty, and restoring strength and consistency at home. I thought Newcastle ought to be trusted; upon which head the King ordered me to talk to him to see upon what terms he would come in. He seemed rather inclined that he should join with Mr. Fox, but did not seem to object to the other scheme. The Duke I found, though desirous of coming in, yet afraid to undertake it with Leicester House and Pitt against him. I endeavoured to persuade him that their opposition would not be dangerous if he would act with spirit and resolution. After the first division upon the inquiry I talked again with Mr. Fox, who said the numbers showed too plainly where people were looking, and therefore he wished me to endeavour a reconciliation of all sides. This, Sir, is the situation of affairs at present. How it will end, God knows. I am a little doubtful whether your Royal Highness will approve, and shall be very sorry to have taken any step which may be disagreeable to you. My only aim is to keep the King out of the hands of Leicester House."[1]

Covetous of power as ever, Newcastle feared to put to sea again without the friend at the helm who had steered him through so many shallows. No one else was even named as fit to take the Great Seal; and without him no Administration would be complete in the eyes of the public, or confident in itself. If it would be thought ungracious to supersede Winchilsea at the Admiralty, any other office of trust and consequence would certainly be open to Anson. Granby was much pleased at the prospect of coming into Government, and thought he could bring both the Townshends with him.[2]

Still Hardwicke hesitated or rather cogitated whether, having occupied the Woolsack so long, it might not be converted into a

[1] Devonshire to Duke of Cumberland, from Newmarket, 5th May, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] To Hardwicke, 7th May, 1757.—*MS.*

fee-farm from the Crown with succession to the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten, being lawyers; but as yet this darling aim was not divulged to an unworthy world or even to the most complacent of colleagues; and perhaps he did not himself quite see exactly how it was to be accomplished. He continued from day to day to impart all his other thoughts in whispers, and there was close communication between Newcastle and Bute, with the intervention of Chesterfield and without it; but the pretensions of Leicester House had risen so high as to render all else impracticable. If Devonshire would undertake to manage the Prince's Groom of the Stole, all might be arranged; but his Grace declined.[1] On Chesterfield the most willowy of weeds ever shaken in a wind leaned for support. His doubts and difficulties were set forth without disguise in a long and tedious letter, which he made it a point with the Earl that he should burn. Chesterfield was astonished at the demands of the young Court; they must abate of them if they were not quite mad. He had no personal partiality for Mr. Pitt, but thought he would be the most useful Secretary of State of any man in England. Legge might be satisfied with a Barony, Temple with some Cabinet place not the Admiralty, and his brothers with their old places again. This would give power and popularity which nothing else could do. "In short, if Newcastle came in, he must do so with strength of his own to curb the influence of the Duke of Cumberland and his Party; and he could only have that by bringing in the strength of the Prince of Wales. He must agree upon any terms rather than not agree." He ends his admonition characteristically: "Thus I have shot my bolt. It may be the bolt of a fool, but it is at the same time that of a friend. Be sure I *have* burned your letter,"[2] which, it is needless to say, he forgot to do.

After another week spent in vain schemes and counter-schemes, the Duke complained to his nephew that he was wholly at fault and left without advisers on whom he could rely, Hardwicke thinking of nothing but himself and Anson—Mansfield thinking of nothing but himself and Fox. He was amused by his imperious enemies, unassisted by his friends, courted and kicked by those who meant only to cheat and supplant him.

[1] Newcastle to Chesterfield, 7th May, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Chesterfield to Newcastle, 8th May, 1757.—*MS.*

The negotiation with Pitt he gave up. It was now too late to think of any other terms but Paymaster for Fox: he and his possessed the Closet. Newcastle had been forced to fling it away. "However, that was now over. He would make one bold push, see the King, and lay before him the state of his affairs. His Majesty would either be angry with him or laugh at him, and perhaps be glad to send for Fox immediately; all the King's best friends would rather have Fox than no Government at all, or, perhaps, than Pitt."[1] But after this explosion of petulance, he forthwith set to work to weave a new web of intrigue. Hardwicke had a long conference with Pitt, who insisted on naming the future Chancellor of the Exchequer; and when told that it would not be conceded, he suggested discussion of the point in presence of Bute.[2] Further reflection modified his temper, if not his terms, and in reply to a note from Hardwicke he wrote, "I am ashamed to think of the trouble your Lordship has had to-day on my account, and am very sorry it has been out of my power to return a more speedy answer to your letter. I will wait on Newcastle and your Lordship with the greatest pleasure at Lord Royston's between eight and nine o'clock."[3] Fox tried sincerely to promote the fusion. "I shall be glad to hear that the D. of N. and Pitt agree to what you may propose. They little know, nor do I wish they should know, how heartily I desire their success."[4]

On the Duke of Grafton's death the King asked the First Lord which he would prefer, being Chamberlain or Master of the Horse. He would give him the Gold Key to hold along with the Treasury; and whatever new arrangements were made, his Majesty hoped he would retain an office which brought him nearer his person, while continuing to sit in the Cabinet.[5] In reply, his Royal Highness congratulated his friend on the prospect of relief from the drudgery of a laborious department; and his father upon having a Chamberlain who would contribute so much to his personal welfare and ease. Grafton had been for more than thirty years the most popular of Lord Chamberlains. Without the affectation of a man of business or learning, he had

[1] To Lord Lincoln, 21st May, 1757.—*MS.*
[2] From Powis House at midnight, 24th May, 1757.—*MS.*
[3] 25th May, 1757.—*MS.*
[4] From Holland House, 8th May, 1757.—*MS.*
[5] Devonshire to Prince William, 13th May.—*MS.*

been enabled by natural good sense, and good temper, and good use of opportunities, to make himself universally trusted in seasons of difficulty. Independent in spirit and outspoken in candour, he acquired a sort of privilege of banter even in the presence of Royalty which enabled him to drop timely hints and give useful advice, which, ungilded by his gaiety of manner, would not have been endured. George II. felt his unexpected death the more because he was a few years older; and it added not inconsiderably to the perplexity of the scene. Devonshire was felt by all to be best fitted to take his place, and it happened to suit his own disposition better than any other. Granville, Bedford, and Winchilsea were willing to go on without Pitt, and another conference at Holland House might, it was hoped, clear up further difficulties. Fox was still full of misgiving. How was business to be carried on without a substantial majority in the Commons? And what was the use of argument with men who never had had minds of their own; and whose seats were still, as they had ever been, at the absolute disposal of persons long accustomed to treat the whole patronage of Government as the means and substance of official trade? Granville, in his light-hearted way, laughed off difficulties; talked of the advantage of a united Cabinet; recalled the time when excellent Ministers had been content with majorities of twenty or thirty in Parliament; and, with the recess before them to engage recruits and conciliate friends, declared they must succeed in the adoption of a pacific policy. Fortune for the moment seemed beckoning that way.

An eye-witness depicts the consternation into which the news of the victory of Prague had thrown the French King, Madame de Pompadour, and the entire Court. Marshal Belleisle was more lost than ever. Letters from Vienna tried to put another face upon the defeat; but those from confidential observers on the spot fully confirmed the Prussian account of the victory. Further succours were asked from France, but no one ventured above his breath to name them. The kingdom was deeply discontented; the new *vingtième* having finished the ruin of whole classes of the people and exasperated them to the verge of rebellion. The misery in the provinces was terrible. Nothing but the great number of troops restrained the populace or rendered the Government easy. No succour would be given without important subsidies, and even then it would take time, and the Royal

coffers were empty. All this would afford opportunities for pacification if the British Government showed themselves inclined before the existing depression passed away.[1]

Pitt was no longer in Council to object, and the majority would doubtless have been only too glad for their own sakes to be respited by negotiation from the odious and onerous responsibilities of another campaign. But a foundering ship will not steer; and Devonshire's determination being fixed and known, that he would hold office only till his successor was appointed, there was no one to take upon him the task of initiating terms of peace.

The hopeful gleam faded soon away, and the genial clouds of profitable war gathered again over the Pay Office. Meanwhile, owing to some unrecorded insolence of Pitt or forgotten *gaucherie* of Newcastle, the consummate Cabinet-maker of Holland House became uneasy, suspicious, and at length alarmed at the progress to completion of his own designs. In his over-reaching desire to fabricate an Administration so strong as to defy any attempt at opposition, he forgot that the coign of vantage he had stipulated for himself (and which all the rest were ready to concede for the sake of securing his complaisance in their respective demands) would be wholly defenceless, if he could rally no contingent of mutineers. At the very thought, his recent magnanimity, that was ready to embrace all sections and pretensions, gave way. If a settlement were made without him as a constituent party, he feared that he might be treated as mere tenant-at-will of the gold mine for sake of which he had renounced the Secretaryship of State and the Leadership of the Commons, and this overmastering fear prompted him to adjure Devonshire once more to defer retiring until Prince William was again at home to insist upon conditions that were still wanting.[2] Meanwhile, Hardwicke's invitation[3] to Pitt to meet him and Newcastle at Lord Royston's house, in St. James's Square, the family being out of town, though accepted, had been void of result.

On the 26th of May there was a further conference at Newcastle House, in which Hardwicke took part. He wanted nothing for himself, but pressed that Anson should be restored

[1] M. Cressener, received 27th May, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Devonshire Papers, May, 1757.—*MS.*

[3] From Powis House, 25th May, 1757.

to the Admiralty, or made Treasurer of the Navy; and if the Privy Seal or Presidency of the Council should hereafter become vacant, he himself was ready to come in. But he sustained Newcastle's objection to Pitt's demand of the Exchequer for George Grenville, with a Cabinet office for Temple. The Exchequer was the rock on which they split. In a long audience at Kensington, Newcastle consented to form a Ministry with the help of his own friends alone, and took some days to complete his arrangements.[1] These were beset with difficulties. Lord Dupplin refused the Second Seat at the Treasury, which was then offered to Sir George Lee; and the nomination of Anson would, it was feared, evoke a renewal of imputations and reproaches in the City. The weakness and vacillation betrayed all through these negotiations can only be appreciated fully by a perusal of the vapid and verbose correspondence of the day.

The subtleties of *Nolo Episcoparism* have always been regarded as beyond lay understandings; and the hesitation of ambition that has long been fed on official fare, and then, after a brief fast, craves again for its familiar food, is equally beyond the imagining of the outer world. Newcastle, after various parleyings and palterings, began once more to feel himself at home on the threshold of the Cockpit, and yet he would not come in, or at least he was not sure whether he would or no. He wrote to Devonshire begging him to come to Claremont, for he had many things to submit to his consideration. He had met with many discouragements. Bedford's answer[2] was not a clever or cordial one, and Dupplin would not undertake the Exchequer, for which there was nobody willing to be responsible but Sir George Lee, who could bring no support. Halifax was as destitute of adherents, but he was able and willing to serve. Something might still be done with Hume Campbell and Sir T. Robinson; and Granby hinted that they need not be troubled at the Duke of Rutland's ill-humour. But after several days Hardwicke refused to guarantee or recommend as capable the Cabinet patched with third-rate materials which Newcastle would have offered for Royal acceptance, and in a paroxysm of executive despair, Fox was desired once more to try if he could not wind up

[1] Devonshire to the Duke of Cumberland, 27th May, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] To the offer of Ireland which Devonshire had stipulated.

the business of the Session. He tried, but failed to fill up the vacancies, and then Newcastle made a fresh attempt. His first offer was to Pitt, whose arrogant pretensions were somewhat sobered, and who saw but a few months or perhaps weeks more of administrative impotency might expose the State to dangers which few around him had the capacity to realise. When the peril drew nearer, he talked less loudly and alarmingly about it; but even then he refused to accept a renomination to office for himself and his relatives from the man for whose favour he had so often humbly sued.

The old infatuation seems to have repossessed Newcastle that he could, if he chose, take the Government on himself without either of the unmanageable orators, substituting for them Egmont, Lee, or Campbell, or any two of them put together; and he consulted the oracle of Powis House whether that might not do. But Balaam could not be coaxed into blessing any more than cursing when the spirit was upon him. Hardwicke would not advise setting out on a new Administration lamed and maimed, which would be looked upon by all the world as the weakest possible. Newcastle would be torn to pieces by solicitation and the jealousies and ill-humours arising from it, and by daily inquietudes arising from continual intrigues in the Court whilst this middle state of purgatory subsisted. It would be much better that Devonshire should remain at the Treasury until the end of the Session. Even at the eleventh hour, George II. revolted against taking back the great demagogue in the capacity of Secretary of State; and rather than submit, bade Devonshire consult with Waldegrave and Fox as to what could be done. But when Holdernesse declared nothing would induce him to go on, the attempt was finally abandoned. Mansfield availed himself of his privilege of audience to advise earnestly recourse being had once more to the old hands, and Hardwicke, having permission to confer with Bute, succeeded in forming a combination that was destined to be memorable in the history of the next three years. The King had promised the Pay Office to Fox, and he must keep his word; the precise time for dealing with the rest he was willing to leave to the discretion of his future Ministers. Thus reassured, Fox promised to render them the help of a brother on the Treasury Bench, and to make it thoroughly understood that he would have nothing to do with

Parliamentary patronage; and the best friends of Newcastle, through whom these professions were conveyed, besought him to dally no longer with a matter that was all important to the success of the final scheme of Administration.[1] But in this, as in too many other instances, his inveterate shabbiness well-nigh overreached itself, and by higgling about terms he had not the courage either to refuse or own, he left the whole obligation of the coveted appointment to the King. Fox resented the affectation of spontaneous goodwill on the part of his Grace, and passionately spurned any implied nomination by him. "The instant the Duke of Newcastle can deliberate about the day I am to kiss hands, the employment of Paymaster is an affront and not a favour. I will take the Pay Office from his Majesty most gratefully; I will not take it from the Duke of Newcastle. Taking it from his Majesty, I will support the Duke of Newcastle (his Minister) earnestly and constantly, without interfering in any species of Administration. But I will not take that place from a Minister. My being in an employment lower than Sir T. Robinson or Sir G. Lee must be my own, it shall be no other man's arrangement. If I do not kiss the King's hand before the others do, and that at latest on Tuesday, I will that day go and thank his Majesty for past favours, and never more be in the way of favour or affront. I will have no conversation with the Duke till *I am* Paymaster; as much as his Grace pleases afterwards. I can be a private man, and (whatever else it is) I am sure *that* is honourable. But I will not go, *when* and *if it* shall please the Duke of Newcastle, into a place, that in many people's opinion is a disgrace,—in no man's, a promotion to me. As to consequences, when I am in Wiltshire, let Leicester House govern or not, it is of as little consequence to me as anybody else. It is only beginning the next reign and my retirement sooner. The King desired me to come to him when I had anything to say; if he has leisure I shall wait on him to-morrow, and desire to know when I may kiss hands. On his determining himself or consulting the Duke of Newcastle shall depend my future way of life entirely."[2] Devonshire tried to persuade him that there was no jealousy of him, and that the delays to his appointments were not of Newcastle's making.

[1] Devonshire to Newcastle, 1st June, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] To Devonshire, 1st June, 1757.—*MS.*

"Tell his Grace," he replied, "that if I am made Paymaster now, I am ready to declare everywhere that I will not only not interfere in the management of the House of Commons, but will not suffer myself to be the channel of recommendation; that I will take the first opportunity of declaring in the House my purpose of supporting him, and that I will do it as cordially and zealously as if he was my brother." The Duke therefore advised that if it were not done before the House rose, Government would lose the benefit of Fox's assistance, which certainly on the present plan was necessary to be had; for if Pitt was not to be had either upon his own or the King's account, Fox must be.[1] On the 2nd of June, Bute summoned Chesterfield to town, and told him he was authorised by Pitt to say that he was prepared to yield regarding the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which, till then, he had claimed for Legge or some other of his friends. Chesterfield wished that Newcastle and Bute should meet, when everything else could be arranged, for he could not stand middleman between them.[2] The meeting accordingly took place at Dupplin's residence on the following day, when Bute stated that with this concession their other demands should be complied with.[3]

There was but one pledge in life Fox would not forego, and compared with its redemption, the opinions, good and bad, of all the public men with whom he had to deal, were as chaff on the threshing floor. He had persuaded Lady Caroline to elope with him, when in the freshness of her youth and beauty. He had confessedly no worldly pretensions to her hand, and consoled her for the loss of friends and fortune with the confident promise of a coronet in her own right and ample provision for their children; and it was perhaps the only aim in life from which he never wavered, and which, by his indomitable persistency, he was able eventually to retain.

Devonshire saw with vexation how fretfulness and vanity was blinding his would-be successor to his own interest, which was plainly to close the bargain with Pitt without further delay; but he saw as clearly how the ineffable vanity of Pitt was played upon by his hungry connection for their own exhorbitant aims.

[1] To Newcastle, 1st June, 1757.—*MS.*
[2] To Newcastle, 3rd June, 1757.—*MS.*
[3] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 4th June, 1757.—*MS.*

In a shrewd, sardonic note he gave the dilatory Cabinet-maker a timely piece of advice: "Whatever you intend to do, at least let Mr. Pitt think that you intend to undertake the King's affairs without him. It is the only way to make him reasonable, and I am confident that the renewal of the negotiation is entirely due to his apprehensions that you would be able to carry on the King's business without him; I know they thought you would not.[1] Lady Yarmouth was greatly alarmed at what had just occurred at Kensington, where Devonshire had worked up Newcastle to declare that he was ready to go on without Pitt or his friends, his Majesty too easily assenting.[2] The Lady, who sometimes knew better than her master what his mind would be upon reflection, bid Holdernesse (in an aside) tell the Duke that she was almost certain the resolution of the morning would not be finally adhered to. She repeated her concern that she had not seen his Grace, and earnestly hoped that he would not let Pitt think that all was *sans retour*. She expressed in the strongest terms her opinion that Fox could not form an Administration; gave Holdernesse's neighbour his true epithets for the share he had had in this *pot-pourri*, and determined to speak her mind freely and fully that evening. Her Ladyship was to breakfast with Holdernesse next morning and to let him know the result of that night's conversation.

At the end of the first week in June nothing had been done. The two Houses met day after day, like other fashionable clubs, to chat, feel tired, wonder what next, and go to dinner. On the 10th, faithful Secretary West reported that the Commons had sat for an hour in silence, and then Sir Francis Dashwood moved to adjourn till Monday. In seconding, Colonel Townshend was "glad it was moved for no longer time, for in the present dreadful situation of the country, without the appearance of a Government, he hoped the House would on that day resume its ancient right (too long disused) of advising the Crown in this dangerous crisis; he wished the House would then be full, as he should offer some proposal of the kind." No one objected, and the House stood adjourned.[3] Here was notice—not to be mistaken—that the monopoly of all worth having was in danger, and that the

[1] To Newcastle, 6th June, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 7th June, 1757.—*MS.*

[3] West to Newcastle, 10th June, 1757.—*MS.*

circumjacent crowd of landowners, lawyers, younger sons, with what sprinkling there was of bankers and merchants, were beginning to ask whether they might not have a voice if not a share in the pleasures and profits of rule. It was evidently high time to leave off preluding and to begin forming an Executive that could come together and go on.

Waldegrave went to Kensington, where he found the King much dispirited, complaining that Fox did not succeed in his negotiation; that he expected other resignations, and that almost everybody abandoned him in his attempt to form an Administration. "He assured me that he should always remember how I had stood by him to the last; but being now in the hands of his enemies, he would not expose those whom he esteemed, and who had served him faithfully to any other danger. There was to be another meeting in the evening, but he was sensible that it would be to no purpose. I answered that though I had never been very sanguine, I did not think our case quite desperate; for though we might not have sufficient strength to form an Administration, we were strong enough to give our opponents some uneasiness; and by a firm and steady behaviour we might oblige them to accept reasonable terms. That it would be bad policy to lay down our arms and then negotiate for that party, as in military warfare it was most safe as well as honourable to capitulate sword in hand."[1] His spirits seemed at first to rally, but his doubts and apprehensions soon returned, and Waldegrave regretted to perceive how entire despondency had succeeded recent over-confidence.

At the appointed conference in the evening of the 9th of June, between Devonshire, Bedford, Grenville, Winchilsea, Gower, and Fox, hopes and possibilities were again discussed with Waldegrave. Grenville and Winchilsea were for going on, and Bedford grew almost angry with Fox for suggesting difficulties, contending that the Administration would be one of the strongest ever known, that Gower was ready to replace Holdernesse, and that he only wished there were more resignations, to enable them to serve old friends or gain new ones; and the Earl declared he was ready to exchange the leisure of the Privy Seal for the labour of the Secretaryship of State, if he was thought capable of its duties. Waldegrave, though he felt it almost hopeless to recede from

[1] "Memoirs of Waldegrave," 125.

communications he had had with Devonshire and Fox, said that he had given his word to the King, and would not abandon him; but before they parted Bedford whispered to him that Fox was afraid to undertake the lead of the Commons, and that without a principal actor it was no use to go on.

In furtherance of an attempt to gain over an influential portion of the Tory Opposition, the King suggested that the Duchy of Lancaster should be offered to Lord Strange, who for some time had occupied a considerable position in the Commons, and a letter was addressed to him to that effect, the unreserve of which bespeaks the utter weariness of the situation to which the writer had been brought.

Devonshire "would be glad to see a man of his integrity and character come to the assistance of a Sovereign that was really in distress. The King would not expect, and no man could think, that he would not be at liberty to do what he thought right."

His correspondent, though gratified at the confidence shown him, felt it impossible to accept without old political friends who were not included in the offer. Waldegrave, with Devonshire's approval, finally abandoned his hopeless task, and there seemed nothing for it but to revert to the old alternative. Powis House, Hayes, and Claremont felt there was no longer any time to lose; and, regardless of much that had been said and written by everybody during the past ten weeks, the coalition of old enemies and new friends became the order of the day. The King offered to stand out for Winchilsea's retaining the Admiralty, but he honourably declined becoming a marplot in a settlement so difficult of attainment; and Waldegrave, receiving the Garter, declared himself better pleased to resume his freedom and irresponsibility than he would have been by entering the Cabinet.

The Lord Chief Justice was summoned to the Palace to give up the Exchequer Seal, which had remained in his custody since Legge's resignation; but on his arrival he heard nothing further regarding it. The King asked for his advice. Mansfield told him that he saw no alternative but a coalition between Newcastle and Pitt, which should comprehend most of the existing Ministers, and satisfy Fox with the coveted possession of the Pay Office; and the audience terminated by his being charged with the task of bringing about this arrangement on condition

that Temple should have no office that would require his Majesty frequently to receive him. Waldegrave advised concession to necessity, and deferentially hinted that if, forgetting past causes of offence, his Majesty would gratify Pitt's vanity with a moderate share of affability, he would not find him intractable. He might, indeed, be capable of evil deeds when his ambition, pride, or resentment was to be gratified; but he was also susceptible of generous treatment; "was bold and resolute, above doing things by halves; and, if once engaged, would go further than any man in this country. Nor would his former violence against Hanover be any obstacle, as he had given frequent proofs that he could change sides whenever he found it necessary, and could deny his own words with an unembarrassed countenance. And as for Newcastle, when several of the great offices were filled by friends of his rival he would more than ever rely on Royal favour, and his fear and jealousy of Pitt would be better security for his good behaviour than a thousand promises." George II. listened with great patience, disclaimed undue leaning to Hanover, and said he had never strained the law to gratify a favourite; but while the Constitution seemed to give him a choice of Ministers, "so far from having an option, he was not even allowed a negative." We were a strange people. Parliament passed a hundred laws every Session, apparently for no other purpose than to have the pleasure of breaking them or altering them; and it was a strange way of showing zeal for liberty when the great nobles chose rather to be followers and dependents of a Duke of Newcastle than to be the friends and councillors of their Sovereign.[1]

Many beside Bute were glad to learn that Mansfield had had weight enough to procure suspension of the impracticable scheme into which men of experience and independence had reluctantly been led. Devonshire, out of patience, had written to the Duke of Cumberland: "I am heartily tired and vexed at the length of time that this business has been drawn into, and upon my word I feel ashamed at the figure that both the King and the country make on this occasion."[2]

Mansfield confirmed the fact that he had been directed to take back the Seal of the Exchequer, and to desire that a further con-

[1] "Memoirs of Waldegrave," 129-132.

[2] 4th June, 1757.—*MS.*

ference should take place between Newcastle and Hardwicke with Pitt and Bute.[1]

Thus, step by step, Bute was consulted and relied on by all the ambitious politicians of his time, as if he had been their equal in experience, sagacity, and fitness to advise. What wonder that at last he came to believe in his own importance and to try the magic of his own imposture.

The Chief Justice lost no time in fulfilling his delicate commission. Failing to see the Lord Chamberlain at Piccadilly, he wrote: "I have just been at your Grace's gate, for at present I think the utmost expedition in every step is important. By great luck I met the D. of N. in his post-chaise at Hyde Park Corner. I sent to Lord Hardwicke to have seen him last night, but was kept at Guildhall till midnight, so I could not see him till this morning. If you intend to be at Court, I wish, for the sake of despatch, I could see your Grace before, and yet I don't well know how to contrive it. I shall be sitting in Westminster Hall. If you do go to Kensington I could come out of Court and speak to you in my room at Westminster, to which there is a back way, where the new repository for the Records is building between the Palace Yard over against St. Margaret's Church."[2]

After a meeting of the moribund Cabinet, Fox hastened to disclose to his brother his fears that after all his enemies would prove too many for him, and that notwithstanding the friendship of H.R.H., and the repeated word of the King, he should be foiled in the aim on which his hopes were fixed. Lord Ilchester was not a politician, and could not easily be brought to believe in so sudden a reverse of fortune. But in the course of the evening he consented to write to Devonshire in the following humble tone: "I suppose my brother has told your Grace that yesterday, among many kind expressions, his Majesty said to him: *You may depend upon being Paymaster if I can give it you. I will do what I can for you, but I am not sure they will let me make a page of the back stairs.* Now, my Lord, if the King could be brought to say with some spirit that if he was hindered giving him the Paymaster's place he was resolved to give him a better thing, and that declaration conveyed to the ears of those who are the present possessors of power, I should think it would contribute more to their per-

[1] Newcastle to Bute, 11th June, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Chief Justice Mansfield *MS.*

mitting his Majesty to keep his word and to my brother's being Paymaster. If, notwithstanding his Majesty's kind intentions, this scheme should not take effect, I hope your Grace will think of what we talked of yesterday morning in my garden, and prevail with him to grant to my brother upon Ireland £2,000 a-year during the life of Mr. Dodington. If those who are his particular enemies shall opinionate that he shall have no mark of favour at present it must be not only out of revenge to him, but to set a mark upon H.R.H. the Duke, which, I suppose, must be very disagreeable to the King. I am extremely anxious about this affair, and very solicitous that one of these schemes should succeed, because by either of them my brother will be enabled to live cheerfully and agreeably at Holland House among his friends without ever having a thought of being again in the Ministry. But if neither of them prevails, and he is to be turned quite adrift, he must then quit Holland House, alter his plan of living, and retire into the country; and how shocking such an alteration at his time of life must be is easier to be imagined than submitted to. I look upon this as the very crisis of his life; and if the present opportunity is not taken of getting him the Pay Office or something else, if not equal value, yet of more permanence as is the pension upon Ireland we talked of, no future opportunity will offer."[1] Legge, at a private interview with Newcastle, agreed to resume his former office without terms. He owned to two of his friends that, after all, he must return to the Treasury "under that false and perfidious Duke of Newcastle." He read a memorandum of what had passed, in which, alluding to Fox, was the expression: "The scum is now risen to the top of the pot; if his Grace would lend them his skimmer they would take it all off."[2]

Secretary Martin advised him to reveal the whole to Pitt, but he excused himself by the promise of secrecy he had given to Newcastle. The latter, less punctilious, within an hour put A. Stone in possession of all that had passed, and he quickly informed the hitherto impracticable statesman. Hardwicke believed that he had but to ask and secure the Attorney-Generalship for his favourite son. Charles Yorke, the delight of the circle he moved in, had risen rapidly in the profession without provoking

[1] Lord Ilchester, Sunday Afternoon, 12th June, 1757, to Devonshire.—*MS.*

[2] Glover's "Memoirs."

more than ordinary jealousy at the paternal favour he enjoyed in Chancery.

In other Courts he likewise did well; and public opinion, such as it was, would probably have regarded it as but reasonable when his father quitted the Woolsack that he should be named first Law officer of the Crown. But Pitt no sooner felt the ground firm beneath his feet than he began to throw up entrenchments, and he insisted upon having the friend who, from school-days, he had trusted and loved at his right hand in the House of Commons. He had watched and waited for Pratt's success from the day when he had helped him to win the Chippenham Petition until he was well nigh starved out of the profession; and he had marked with satisfaction and sympathy his gradual rise to its front rank as a fearless advocate and sound adviser in important controversies. Fortunately for Pitt's purpose, Pratt had never sought a seat in Parliament; and, except in one or two cases of libel, where he boldly asserted Liberal doctrines as to intention and tendency not then in vogue, he had never thwarted the prejudices of party. He could therefore be put forward as peculiarly suitable for office in a coalition professedly formed out of hitherto opposing elements, pledged only on advancing national safety and honour. The peremptory Minister carried his point. Charles Yorke reluctantly agreed to be Solicitor-General, and Pratt, as Attorney, was brought in for the close borough of Downton. The Privy Seal was given to Temple, as least likely to bring him into unwelcome contact with the Sovereign.

For the last time, George II. had rashly ventured to reassert the bygone prerogative of forming a Ministry that could govern; and had egregiously failed. His right to dismiss a Privy Seal or a Secretary of State no one questioned, and his power to name a head of the Treasury or Leader of the Commons without consulting those with whom they must act, was equally beyond dispute. But it took nearly three months to convince him that, though he might bring his docile palfreys to the water, he could not make them drink.

The partners in the new joint stock concern had a good many unclosed accounts to settle. The Duke of Dorset might be put off, it was supposed, with a large pension, if his son were made Secretary at War; but Lord Barrington had made himself too useful to be ousted capriciously, and to atone for the disappoint-

ment of Lord George, his Grace was made Warden of the Cinque Ports for life.

On the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1751, during the minority of his son, the greedier aspirants to office forsook the mimic Court of Leicester House; while others remained faithful to the cause of the widowed Princess, and eventually had their reward. Of these was Robert Henley, the younger brother of a well-known Whig, who sat for Weymouth in a former reign, and who, dying without children, left to the jovial and somewhat boisterous Leader of the Western Circuit, a goodly mansion in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, the Grange in Hampshire, built by Inigo Jones, and a moderate estate to maintain them. When the youthful heir to the Crown was created Prince of Wales, the distinction of Solicitor-General was conferred on Henley, and when Murray insisted on his right to be made Chief Justice, he was named to succeed him as Attorney-General. They had been school-fellows at Westminster, and friends at the Bar; and it was probably owing to his good-will rather than to any debating aptitude for Committee, that he was made first Law Officer of the Crown without having passed through the preliminary rank of Solicitor-General. There was, however, another consideration not likely to have been forgotten, that he was grandson of a previous Earl of Lindsay, and nephew of the holder of that ancient title.

Before the Commissioners who some time held the Great Seal, his precedency of audience, and a competent knowledge of Common Law, combined with what Lord Campbell shrewdly designates as a certain "handiness" in the disposal of business, he was able to cope better than was expected with older practitioners in equity, who were ready superciliously to correct his imperfect acquaintance with the ways of the Court, and to overrule his citation of printed cases with unpublished decisions of Lord Hardwicke, not to be contravened. This transitional period in his forensic career was critical; for at its early close a Lord Keeper was wanted, and to the surprise and chagrin of more erudite and accomplished members of the profession, the hard-drinking and loose-talking Attorney-General was thought of for that courtly office. He was himself incredulous of the rumour, believing rather that Willes, Chief of the Common Pleas, the new President of the King's Bench, or Eardly Wilmot, Junior Commissioner of the Great Seal, would be sure to

have it. He was not aware that Willes stood out for the Peerage, which George II. refused to grant, and that Mansfield wisely declined to exchange the permanency of his enviable position for the precarious splendour of the Chancellorship at a time when parties were recklessly opposed; and finally, that the last of his supposed rivals was inexorably averse from the risks of political distinction. But none could be more conscious than himself what little claim he had to financial pre-eminence, or more surprised when the first intimation reached him that he was actually deemed eligible. One version of the story is that the suggestion came from Hardwicke, who prevailed on Newcastle to consent to the nomination of a man wholly destitute of political capacity to stand in the way of ulterior purposes, whatever they might be. Another account rests on the assumption that Pitt, influenced by similar feelings, desirous of seeming to consult the predilections of Leicester House, and at the same time anxious to have Pratt for Attorney-General, made the surprising suggestion. To reconcile the King, who reasonably objected, Henley must be content to be Lord Keeper without a Peerage; and at a Council held on the 30th of June, 1757, he was, being still a Commoner, sworn in accordingly. On the first day of Michaelmas Term he was accompanied to Westminster by the Lord President, the Duke of Rutland, the First Lord of the Treasury, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Master of the Rolls, the Common Law Judges; and above all by Lord Hardwicke, as if he would lend him the shadow of his fame. A pension of £1,500 a-year, should he be displaced before the reversion of the Tellership fell in, which would enable him to provide for his son, was easily compassed subsequently, when he had a voice to give in Council. This was not a privilege to be indiscreetly exercised. Without being actually told to beware of being intrusive, he was too conscious of his own want of political wisdom or personal weight to make difficulties in the Cabinet, or to exercise himself in great matters or things which were too high for him. Pitt, impetuous from the outset, soon learned to restrict his consultative confidence to the fewest of the few; and it could hardly have occurred to him that the Lord Keeper should be allowed to have an opinion about his dealings with Frederick of Prussia, the levy for foreign service of lately rebel clans, or the raising of millions, at high prices without parallel, for investment in schemes of aggression throughout the

world. Henley suffered no misgivings as to the national future to disturb his sense of enjoyment in his signal professional luck; and for the next four years hardly a trace can be found of his presence in the Sanhedrim whose decrees were irresistible at home and abroad.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## FOREIGN MINISTER AT LAST.

### 1757.

Pitt Resumes Without Reappointment—Triple Election—All but Lost at Köln—Pitt's Choice of Tools—Defeat at Klosterseven—*The* Minister—Halifax and Mansfield in Cabinet—Expostulation by Mitchell—Frederick pleads for Subsidies—Allies Negotiating Separately—Ministers Repudiate Neutralisation of Hanover—Cumberland Resigns—Lord G. Sackville at the Ordnance—Rossbach.

THE appeasement of personal enmities and antagonistic claims being at length complete, the members of the new Government kissed hands on the 29th June. Patents for the new peerages were directed to be made out, and writs on taking office ordered by the House of Commons.

The most notable fact, in a constitutional point of view, was that the King was obliged to recognise, without reserve, Pitt as Secretary of State, without the formality of reappointing him. Three months before he had attempted to shake him off, and he had ordered the announcement in the *Gazette* that he had commanded Mr. Pitt to resign,[1] and the Minister had sent in his resignation accordingly; but no one being ready to take the Seals, the resignation remained unexacted, and the ordinary duties of the office continued to be performed by Pitt until his successor should be appointed. That day never came; and when the arrangements were at last completed for the instalment of the readjusted Ministry, the over-holding Secretary simply maintained his tenancy of office, the futile notice to quit by the King *non obstante*. The public were at the same time blinded by Pitt's vacating his seat in the Commons as if in consequence of his reappointment to the Southern Department; and the Pages of the Back Stairs, supposed to know all about the matter,

[1] *London Gazette*, 6th April, 1757.

sagaciously said that he whom the King was not delighted to honour would presently kiss hands for the Seals once more. Majesty and Minister were alike dispensed, however, from that unwelcome ceremony. The ex-Chancellor acquainted Lyttelton with what occurred. A favourite object of Pitt, the representation of Bath, was thus opened. "In order to it, he had taken a little Stewardship, to vacate his seat, for no new Secretary of State having been appointed in his room, nor his commission revoked, he found himself in the case of Mr. Pelham, upon the resignation of 1745, and could not have a new Patent."[1] Potter devised a plan whereby Wilkes was to take his place at Aylesbury, and he was to succeed Pitt at Oakhampton; while their friend and patron was to be gratified by being spontaneously, as it were, returned for the free and independent city of Bath, Sir Robert Henley, no longer as Lord Keeper, claiming its suffrages. Temple's approval and aid were readily given; Potter preferred a close to a corrupt borough; and the new Secretary of State was kept duly uninformed of the underground means whereby the electors of the fashionable watering-place were brought to sue for the honour of being represented by him. All this took time and trouble; and if Almon is to believed, the triple manœuvre cost Wilkes seven thousand pounds. But if his family deprecated his buying a seat so dear he doubtless averred that he would ere long make the investment answer. The day after his return he paid his respects at St. James's Square, and Pitt acknowledged his pledge of fealty in a letter full of personal flattery and political confidence. Pitt thus emerged from a condition of Parliamentary nomineeship into that of representing a free constituency; and Wilkes became the legislative henchman of the master of Stowe. He had made himself useful in the county by organising the Militia; was the idol of the rank and file; the maker and mender of every quarrel at mess; punctual at drill, and latest to bed, and so indispensable to Temple that he was at length made Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment.

Henry Fox was in harbour at last, and thought he might drop anchor. He was not politically dead, for he enjoyed still the confidence of princes, nobles, and knowing financiers. He was the husband of a loving and gentle woman, and the father of children who promised well. Access to his table and his gardens

[1] Hardwicke to Lyttelton, 4th July, 1757.

was coveted by all, or nearly all, who were worth having as guests. He had made his brother an Earl, and was proud of his niece being the first Peeress but one in Ireland ; he had led the House of Commons for a year without defeat ; and had given up the envied pre-eminence to make sure of something more to his luxurious taste and love of ease. Calcraft and Rigby, when the doors were shut, assured him that to-morrow at the Pay Office would be even as yesterday or yet more abundant. He was surprised and irritated by finding himself opposed at Windsor, but resolved to persevere, and was returned by a large majority. The Cabinet had scarcely been transformed when news arrived so tragic, and of consequences so far-reaching, that Ministers might well be dismayed at the prospect before them.

On the very day that they received their appointments the triumphal progress of Frederick was reversed at Köln by Marshal Daun, who had routed the Prussian army with the loss of 45 guns, 22 standards, and 13,000 men, the victors losing but half that number. Frederick owned to the English envoy that another blow like this would be his ruin. He vowed that he would stand on the defensive, but could England do nothing to aid him in his hour of need? A small squadron in the Baltic would help him greatly, if we would but hold decisive language to Russia. From the fearful loss of officers he would be unable to afford the aid he had promised to the Duke of Cumberland and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel on the Weser. "He wished they could make peace, and if the King of England did so, he hoped he would not be sacrificed." Mitchell said what he could to reassure him, but, till there was time to hear with certainty from London what effect the news of Köln had wrought there, he could not make any definite reply. In a paroxysm of anxiety, Frederick said, "I will speak to you as a private man. You know my aversion to all subsidies—that I have ever refused them. I thought, and I think still, it is too mean a footing for me to put myself upon ; but, since the late misfortunes, and attacked as I am on all sides, if Prussia should be occupied by the Russians, and the French and Austrians be able to make further progress into my dominions, my revenues will fail. I should be glad to know what succours I might expect from your nation." Mitchell reminded him that by the English Constitution no money could be given but by vote of Parliament.

He offered, however, to write as from himself, so as not to commit him. It was the first time he ever saw the King abashed, or betray a sense of pain. For nine months he had been amused with fair words, but now there was no time to be lost. If England would not endeavour to save him, he must save himself as well as he could.[1]

Without waiting for a Cabinet, the Secretaries of State, with Anson and Hardwicke, met at Newcastle House on the 14th of July, and agreed upon a memorandum of instructions for Mitchell. It expressed great concern at the late disaster, which, however, only redoubled England's solicitude for his safety, and eventual success. He might confidently reckon upon firm concert both in peace and war. If no reasonable hope of accommodation existed, we were prepared to concert with Prussia the measures necessary for carrying on the war.

In the utmost secrecy, Mitchell was directed to apprise Frederick of the preparations for an immediate expedition to the coast of France; that nothing but impossibility prevented a squadron being sent into the Baltic; that everything would be done to make the Court of St. Petersburg neutral if not friendly; but that the influence of the Court of Vienna had proved too strong; and that if Frederick should find his revenues so far diminished that he should want subsidiary support he might depend upon it. Ministers would be glad to know, in confidence, when and what sum might be wanted.[2] In a private letter the First Lord said that more had been done in ten days by the reorganised Administration than in several months preceding, and that the whole plan for aiding Frederick had been *entre nous* "imagined and prepared by himself alone, for he was determined not to deal in words, but to go directly to the point." He was no favourite, he knew, with the Prussian envoy in England, but that did not matter. "I go *au grand*, and when that will not do I have done. The present Ministry act with the greatest union and harmony, and they, as well as the King and the whole nation, are for perfect union and concert with Prussia."[3]

Unanimity did not long prevail. Mordaunt and Conway, named to command an expedition against Rochefort, were full

[1] Mitchell to Holdernesse, "Most secret," 29th June; received 12th July, 1757.
[2] Newcastle Correspondence, 14th July, 1757.—*MS.*
[3] 16th July, 1757.—*MS.*

of apprehension, and desired to see Ministers again before leaving. A meeting was consequently fixed at the office of Holdernesse,[1] where their misgivings were silenced, if not removed, by the sanguine tone of Pitt, who relied on the information of secret agents, that the French seaports had been left insufficiently guarded.

At first the Secretary of State had little voice in the nomination of officers by land or sea. Anson confessedly knew better with whom to entrust an additional flag; and the King more than once reminded his ardent Minister that his son knew best whom to choose amongst the officers of the staff for extra or subordinate command. It would have been vain to gainsay the habitual course of selection; and the earlier expeditions, fitted out with so much hesitation and mystery during the war, were full of men of high birth and low fortune, glad to escape from the *ennui* of dissipation and from liability to a more disagreeable clutch; personally brave enough, they were too often, as it proved, incapable of counsel or suggestion in emergency. Pitt himself made some unfortunate recommendations from want of practical knowledge, and possibly with some incidental view to Parliamentary influence. Sir John Mordaunt and several of his staff, sent to capture or demolish Rochefort, possessed no quality of daring or experience that anyone could discover. Seymour Conway was believed to be the most capable of his class, but he seems to have had no definite function, and to have been unable to exercise any useful influence. One subaltern only volunteered at a moment of indecision to lead a storming party against the devoted town, but his advice was overpowered, and it was probably forgotten by all but Pitt that his name was Wolfe.

To efface the failure before Rochefort, a design was conceived of exchanging Gibraltar for Minorca, at whose loss popular pride was still sore; and the Cabinet were persuaded to allow Pitt to frame a despatch authorising Keene to make the proposal to the Government of Spain, as the best pledge and foundation of friendship between the two Crowns. Having before him whatever remained of the abortive negotiations in the preceding reign, and being fired with the hope of achieving by his superior diplomacy what his predecessors had found impracticable, he is said to have spent three days in the composition of a letter of instruction

[1] Newcastle Corresp., 21st July, 1757.—*MS.*

to the Resident at Madrid, setting forth, in his most imposing periods, the benefits and blessings which the reciprocal acts of magnanimity suggested would secure.[1] His wiser correspondent, on its receipt, let fall the despatch from his hand, exclaiming, "Are they mad beyond the sea, now that it is too late to make such a proposition": for he knew that the French had taken advantage of months and years that had been lost by the English Government in accommodating differences and closing controversies; and that the sudden offer to evacuate the dilapidated fortress would only be construed as a proof of weakness and alarm. Keene, as was his duty, made the communication he was directed, but, as he anticipated, it resulted in nothing.

Equally disappointing were the responses from America to the eloquent adjurations of the Minister to leave no enterprise unessayed that held out a chance of glory. Loudon, after weeks of observation, withdrew his army from before Louisburgh; and Holbourne, unscared by the ghost of Byng, reported that, finding he had but seventeen sail of the line to eighteen of the enemy, he had thought it undesirable to risk a battle.

Frederick wished any troops England could spare should be sent as reinforcements to the army on the Weser.[2] Within a few days, however, news came that the French had crossed the river, while the Austrian army, in force, had passed the Elbe. Newcastle could not make up his mind what was best to be done; and it would be better to call the Cabinet together, for it would be very unfortunate, whatever resolution might be taken, that distinct opinions should not be expressed.[3]

But Pitt clung to his unchangeable purpose of subjecting all other considerations to that of humbling what he termed the intolerable pre-eminence of France.

He was willing to aid Frederick with any amount of pecuniary succour that Parliament could be frightened or flattered into voting. He rather boasted that he was not a financier; and he made no secret of his impatience when doubts and difficulties were avowed by his colleagues as to the possibility of finding means for equipping a supplementary force sufficient to defend the Electorate. It might be inevitable that it should be overrun

[1] To Sir B. Keene, 23rd August, 1757, Chatham Corresp.
[2] Mitchell to Newcastle, 9th July, 1757.—*MS.*
[3] To Hardwicke, 26th July, 1757.—*MS.*

for a time, but the way to ensure its eventual restoration was to paralyse the aggressive spirit of French colonisation in America, and by attacks on the Atlantic seaboard to compel the withdrawal of troops from the Elbe and the Rhine.

"We have hitherto gone on well," writes Newcastle, "but one night my new colleague was very unreasonable and untoward on the subject of the immediate assistance to be given to Hanover. He was extremely in the wrong. To-day he was cool and friendly; but we shall have *difficulties*. He has told me pretty near how far he will go, and in *what* way."[1] Having sounded his colleague's readiness to retain power by any complaisance with warlike schemes or projects that might be plausibly suggested, the Secretary of State felt that if he was not again to lose his grasp of the Seals he must overtrump the men whom the King delighted to honour. He had never been afflicted with what he called the disease of parsimony. It was shabby wars he had formerly denounced, fought with mercenaries on a small scale for the possession of profitless islets beyond sea, and petty principalities about which nobody cared.

War on a grand scale, spilling seas of blood, with territorial conquests to show as the result; the ruin and devastation of a rival's dominions; the annihilation of their fleet, and the reduction of their commerce below the level of ours,—these, with him, were glorious aims, worthy of a great Minister, and fitted to inscribe his name in the book of immortality. While he pondered, accounts came of little intrinsic value, save the value of the sparks that fall on tinder. But news came that the Duke of Cumberland had been totally defeated on the 26th July, and obliged to retire to Nyenburgh, on the road to Bremen, leaving Hanover open to the enemy. The King despaired of making any further effort, and looked to an early peace, evidently desiring the neutralisation of Hanover. Holdernesse concurred with Newcastle in the propriety of abstaining from giving advice on the question, and that sending troops now would be useless and hazardous. Pitt alone was alarmed at the effect this change of front might have on the King of Prussia, and thought we should forthwith send him large offers of money in order to engage him to continue in the existing system, "not to give him a pretence to say he was abandoned by England." On the other hand, if, as Elector,

[1] To Lord Dupplin, 2nd August, 1757.—*MS.*

his Majesty could obtain terms of peace which would include Hesse, Wolfenbuttel, and Gotha, it would be impossible for Frederick to stand out, and he would be obliged to submit to a pacification that might seriously compromise the interests of Hanover.. The First Lord already began to trim once more. Nearly alone, as he felt himself in Council, he turned to Hardwicke for support. Would the neutralisation of Hanover be, after all, so great a loss? Or was there anything they could offer the King to induce him to stand out? The only comfort to be found by Hardwicke and he was that "no part of this misfortune, or of any that might happen in America, could be imputed to them." If Hanover was gone, it was a reproach to the nation, even though the King might get it again, but he did not see how they could help it.

The Secretary had begun firmly to grasp the reins, and he looked around in every quarter for instruments that would suit him. He had made Ligonier head of the army at home and a peer, for he was too old and amiable to dispute his will. The conflicting influences of Windsor Lodge and Holland House were no longer thwarting: and Pitt's only thought was where to find the best man for every post of difficulty or danger; and when he had found him, not merely to take him into his confidence, but to go into his and take it. For, beyond all other men, he possessed the power of enchantment; and after an hour spent with him the obscure sailor or unknown subaltern felt himself abler to do, and readier to die, in the service of his country than he had heretofore deemed possible.

Pitt was ready, not only to acknowledge immediate necessity and to acquiesce in negotiations being forthwith opened for a general peace, but his language in Cabinet was very serious, and showed much alarm for the alliance with Frederick. He thought that offering separate terms for Hanover and Hesse pointed to his lasting alienation,[1] and he proposed to send a handsome sum to the Landgrave, who had lost the whole of his dominions, which mightily pleased the King; and a hundred thousand pounds to Prince William to meet the present necessities of his Hanoverians. Thenceforth George II. silently thawed to his once hated Minister, and during the remainder of the autumn, there being little to do worth noting or remembering, the minority of the Cabinet, who

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 6th August, 1757.—*MS.*

lingered within reach of the Cockpit, assembled casually to interchange old regrets and young hopes that could hardly make themselves intelligible. One day the Secretary suggested, in his own dramatic way, that as the north was lost they must try if the south could be won. He would give up Gibraltar to Spain if she would help us to recover Minorca, for without that they could not venture to make peace. They might, besides, have Oran or some place of arms on the Barbary coast, which, with Minorca, would be a good exchange. This was not a new thought, as Hardwicke, Newcastle, and Granville knew. Munchausen had mentioned it to his master some time since, and the First Lord always liked it and readily gave into it. Pitt wished it brought before the Cabinet, and that if found impracticable they should think of some other basis of accommodation. It was therefore agreed that Devonshire, Bedford, and Hardwicke should be summoned to meet at Holdernesse's house to discuss the situation. When asked what Legge and James Grenville would say at the Treasury to the new warrants of subsidies to meet the exigency that had arisen, Pitt replied: "As to Jemmy Grenville, I will take that upon me; and as for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on our return the other night from Grocers' Hall I told him that that was a great honour to us, but that we must do what was right; and that the situation of affairs was such that the King would stand in need of some assistance, and that therefore we must depart from the rigidness of our former declarations," to which he assented. The King made handsome compliments to Pitt on the occasion, and everything was as well as possible between them.[1]

The Duke of Cumberland wrote in despair at his position, and was told by his Majesty that he might offer to treat with the French Marshal. Nothing remained of the Electorate unconquered but Bremen and Verden.

In a tedious recital of all that he did and did not do for months previous, Newcastle had the wanton indiscretion to tell Primate Stone that after the happy turn of Ministerial affairs, and "as much seeming friendship and cordiality and satisfaction on both sides, there had been a return of that vivacity in Pitt, —he could not go on except he had *his share of power*, for which there was not the least pretence." One thing gave him

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 9th August, 1757.—*MS.*

much concern, which was that nothing had been seen of Lord Bute since he had returned to office. He was, indeed, chiefly at Kew, but sometimes in town. Newcastle had employed a private friend to talk to him. He suspected their alienation arose from a cause which it was not at present in his power to remove. The Earl wanted two of the Board of Green Cloth turned out to make way for Mr. Briton and Mr. Legrand; but it was impossible to propose to the King to turn them out, and not easy to find equivalents for them; and in the present conjuncture troubling the King on such a subject would have the worst effect. Everyone who knew the Court must think so, and he was amazed that Bute should be of another opinion. Pitt seemed to show much regard to the Lord President, and in points of the greatest confidence had desired that he and the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford might be summoned, which they had been, and everything had passed very well. At the meetings of the Cabinet the Lord-Lieutenant was as well pleased with his colleagues as he might be with any; but Newcastle could not brag of any great personal confidence or regard. On the contrary, there was not that attention shown in Irish Revenue matters that was usual by the First Lord of the Treasury. But in times like those he passed it over. Lord Mansfield did his part with equal ability and friendship, and Hardwicke was acting a great and noble part.[1]

Pitt was already beginning to be felt to be *the* Minister. By-and-bye his ascendancy would be visible to the naked eye of the world without; and then the illusion of power being centred in a few great nobles to be gambled for would be in danger of dissipation. The chief partner in the firm saw it not afar off and was sad. In a plaintive whisper, he owned that, constituted as the Cabinet was, "when he differed from Pitt, which he hoped would seldom happen, he must stand alone." For this reason, and to save the trouble of frequent calls from Wimpole of his learned friend, he should be heartily glad if he would fling out to the Secretary, as from himself, that Mansfield being called to the Cabinet might be of use, both from his profession and his position in the House of Commons. Could he be always sure of Hardwicke's presence he would desire no more; but alone in Council, unassisted by anyone whose name he could use,

[1] To Primate Stone, 20th August, 1757.—*MS.*

or who could be otherwise informed than by himself, "he was not ashamed to say he wanted help." He saw no prospect of things being better regarding Halifax, unless Hardwicke could persuade Pitt to agree to that trifling change in the Cabinet. As to Pitt's future conduct in Administration, he "knew the little vivacities that had passed, and the *no* foundation there was for them. He hoped there would be no more of them; he was sure he should give no occasion for them; and if they did happen and did not go further than they had done, he would endeavour to forget them, as he had those that had passed; but he must say that if it was expected that he should never talk to anybody upon an employment, or even mention a measure to the King, without having previously concerted it with Pitt, it was such a situation and such a dependency as he could by no means submit to. Pitt should have his full share of credit and power, but he should not be his superior. To Newcastle he owed in great measure his better reception at Court. As the *Speech* was, and was so called by Pitt, the Plan of Government and of the Session, the substance of it must come from *their shop*."[1]

The Secretary at last agreed that Halifax should be called to the Cabinet, stipulating that the Board of Trade should still remain as it was, officially represented by the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and that its President should not in future be entitled as of course to Cabinet rank,[2] as likewise was the case with the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Robinson, and Mr. Fox. But every day the intending, though as yet unavowed, Lord Protector felt the ground growing firmer under him; and if he became more imperative in tone, he thought he could afford to be less exacting in the choice of colleagues. He had really no objection to the presence of an able man like Halifax at the Cockpit, provided he was made to feel that it was *his* latch-key opened the door.

Lord Dupplin, who had fagged year after year for the First Lord, and was used by him as a safe confessor to whom all private griefs and grudges might be imparted, and as a presentable alternative for all sorts of offices, none of which he ever got, showed signs of being sulky; it was expedient, therefore, to smooth him over by fresh effusions of affection. The Duke was quite ashamed, he

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 23rd August, 1757.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle to Legge, 27th September, 1757.—*MS.*

said, whenever he thought of his subject. Twelve months before his expectant Lordship had been put for a few weeks into the Pay Office, but on Fox insisting upon having it he was summarily put out again without compensation, his Grace pretending that he had him in his eye for the Exchequer. Then Legge came in the way, as one of Pitt's friends, who must be satisfied; and now Newcastle wrote to his tantalised kinsman that he might still look to be a Minister; *for* Sir Benjamin Keene had a pension of £1,300 a year, and he happened to be sick. If he should die there would be something to offer Legge, with a Peerage, which was what he had long desired, but could not afford to take without something certain to live upon; then the Exchequer would be once more vacant, and Legge had very kindly recommended Dupplin as his fitting successor:[1] and that was all. Keene did die, and the pension lapsed; but Legge was not ennobled, and the word once more given to Dupplin was—"as you were!"

The Chief Justice naturally objected to being called on as a supernumerary when the muster-roll of responsible Ministers fell short. Unless his presence was generally desired as one of the Administration, he would decline in future to take part in deliberations. While the point lay undetermined whether he was to be a Cabinet Minister or not, Newcastle pressed him to confer with him and the two Secretaries of State as to what was to be done with respect to privateering. Mansfield had not changed his mind, but "chose to make this meeting an exception, and would be with him at Lord Holdernesse's next evening by eight."[2] Hardwicke had put so strongly to Pitt the importance of having such extra-judicial aid in Council that he and Mansfield met most amicably and parted in full agreement as to the conditions which should be imposed upon the privateers. It was determined to allow appeals in certain cases of enormity, and to saddle the delinquents, who were making private plunder of public war, with costs, which, in the then state of the law, was the only way of punishing them. After this it was settled that the Chief Justice should be regularly summoned to meetings of the Cabinet, and he attended accordingly throughout the reign.

Pitt was indignant at the conduct of Loudon, but undissuaded, and suspected that the reinforcements lately sent had

[1] Newcastle to Dupplin, 24th August 1757.—*MS.*

[2] From Caenwood, 31st August, 1757.—*MS.*

been accompanied by secret hints, which made the General alter his first intention; and he insisted on his being recalled, Cornwallis or some other officer of enterprise being sent in his place. Some who knew the latter doubted his making an effective substitute, but the Secretary, disappointed at the shabby figure the country was said to cut in European battle-fields, panted for some redeeming exploit in the New World. "He talked strongly of making the army act in support of the measures of Administration, or things could not go on." The unhappy First Lord owned that was true; but that like inconveniences had been often felt before. To Pitt this only seemed all the more reason for a thorough change of system; and the King, when appealed to, said it was all the fault of Administration, who had not sent proper officers. The First Lord could not easily stomach this retrospective reproach. But to appease his fears for the Electorate, the Cabinet resolved to offer terms for the neutralisation of Hanover without the consent or even knowledge of Frederick. Pitt's acquiescence can hardly be accounted for except from his conviction that the proposal would be spurned at Vienna and Versailles; and why should he needlessly tear open the healing wounds of Royalty? But of his tacit concurrence in the despatch instructing Count Steinberg to make the offer, Holdernesse no doubt made sure ere venturing on its signature. The proposal of separate terms of accommodation with France filled the Ministers of Frederick with amazement and concern; and they expressed their fear lest the consequence of this hasty and inconsiderate step might be the bringing the war nearer home to both Kings.[1]

Mitchell himself was not less amazed at the duty he had to perform, and in cypher told his Government at once what he thought of the affair. "England is cheated and her Ministers duped by Hanoverians. What a pitiful figure will they make in Europe. The most notorious breach of faith has been wantonly committed to support a weak, ill-judged, and ineffective measure. Why was not the King of Prussia previously consulted? I can answer with my head he would have yielded to any reasonable propositions for the safety of Hanover. What will posterity say of an Administration that made the Treaty of Westminster and suffered the Hanoverian Ministers to say openly that they have

[1] Mitchell to Newcastle, from Dresden, 26th August, 1757.—*MS.*

no Treaty with the King of Prussia, nay, have suffered them to betray that Prince who has risked his all to save them, and whose misfortunes are owing to his generosity and good faith? The King of Prussia has now against him the Russian army and fleet, 20,000 Swedes; an army of the Empire, supported by 30,000 French; and the great Austrian army of 100,000 men; and, as if he had not enemies enough, the Convention to save Hanover from a winter's quarters will let loose 60,000 or 80,000 more French. What prospect can you have to exist till next year, far less to continue the war? I sincerely wish the unhappy measure may answer the end proposed; but I fear it can only add infamy to the ruin of Hanover. The answer of Vienna will either be an absolute or a haughty refusal; or if the proposition be accepted it will be clogged with such hard conditions as the King can never agree to. If he should, the execution depends upon France, of whose good faith we have had so many examples. Let us have done with negotiating after this: no man will trust us. I know not how to look the King of Prussia in the face. Honour, my Lord, is not to be purchased with money. Thus I have poured out my soul to your Lordship; but I shall strictly obey my instructions whilst I have the unfortunate honour to serve."[1] Why has not a word of manly expostulation like this been suffered to appear in any of our authorised annals?

Joseph Yorke, though more wary, did not conceal his dismay at Steinberg's mission to treat for peace without the previous knowledge of Frederick. He had suspended all communications in consequence with Ministers at the Hague, who could not be expected to give heed to anything he could say; for who could tell whether the King of Prussia in his extremity were not now negotiating separately with France: "Perhaps I have said too much, in going thus far, but I could not help writing to you at a moment when one does not know how to look or what answer to give to all the questions that are asked."[2]

While Mitchell was giving vent to diplomatic rage at the treatment of his deserted friend, Hardwicke was inditing gratulations at the safe arrival of the Jamaica Fleet, full of cargoes of spices, gold, and the sweets of bondage; and fear for the safety of the men-of-war at Spithead and the transports in the Downs:

[1] Mitchell to Newcastle, 28th August, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] To Newcastle, 6th September, 1757.—*MS.*

what they were still doing there at the end of summer, spent in broken promises, and indefinite adjournments of active service, he did not inquire.[1]

The Duke of Cumberland and 40,000 men were shut up at Städe, where they must surrender or starve if provisions were not sent from hence. Orders were forthwith given to forward supplies without delay, if haply they might reach in time. Marshal Richelieu was advancing and peremptorily refused to treat.[2]

The Landgrave of Hesse would fain have followed the example and tried to make terms for himself. It was a general impulse of *sauve qui peut*. Every day brought Holdernesse, as he muttered plaintively, fresh proofs of the wisdom and foresight of Newcastle, who, from the first, had hesitated and hinted doubts of the scheme for attempting to neutralise Hanover, which France was determined to reject, but which would forfeit the confidence one after another, of all our friends and allies:[3] but to which he now remembered to forget that he and the Duke had both consented.

Frederick again at Dresden was described to be in as good spirits as if fresh from hunting. Mitchell pressed him for some outline of a plan of general pacification. He said he wished for peace; but his resources were failing, and he was sorry he was therefore obliged to become a burthen to his allies; but if he could weather it out till winter there would be time for negotiation. Mitchell urged the necessity of his explaining how the money was to be applied if Parliament was to be asked for such an unprecedented sum. That he said would be "impossible until the end of the campaign."[4] Frederick had sent by a confidential hand a letter to Richelieu, inviting him to come to terms of accommodation. His great success would justify the nephew of the great Cardinal in signing a treaty of peace if so disposed. He who had conquered Minorca in spite of immense obstacles—he who was on the point of subjugating Lower Saxony—could do nothing more glorious than to restore peace to Europe. "Of all his laurels this would be the fairest. Nobody would be more grateful than his faithful friend, FREDERICK."[5] The Marshal re-

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, from Wimpole, 28th August, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Mansfield, 6th September, 1757.—*MS.*

[3] To Newcastle, 7th September, 1757.—*MS.*

[4] Mitchell to Holdernesse, 31st August, 1757.—*MS.*

[5] Carlyle's "Life of Frederick," I., 178.

ferred to his Court for instructions, but without any immediate result. Was the Italian Engineer who had brought him Frederick's proposal and, as his biographer hints, a present of £15,000 from his sister, Wilhelmina, sent on to Paris to explain the affair?

Early in October Cressener reported the arrival at Fontainebleau of a special emissary from Prussia, who was kept so secret that he had not seen him; but he was well assured of his being in close communication with the Abbé de Bernis.[1] The two Secretaries of State proposed to write to Frederick a conciliatory letter in the name of the King, applauding his courage and hoping for his success. George II. quietly told them it might be all very well to do so, but "they must take care to say nothing from him as Elector, for if the Empress-Queen accepted he was tied." The two Secretaries were struck, but said nothing. The King had gone further with them than with the First Lord. Pitt now changed his attitude, and thenceforth denounced the idea of an exceptional neutralisation of Hanover as unpatriotic and unconstitutional. He very strongly enlarged upon it that it was such a breach of faith as was not to be withstood; that the English Ministers must, for the sake of their own honour, disculpate themselves; that particularly Lord Holdernesse should write (and probably he had done so the night before) a letter to Mr. Mitchell, giving the strongest assurances of support from England to the King of Prussia, and treating a contrary behaviour with the appellation of infamy. Newcastle reminded Pitt of what he himself had done against it—and that it was a measure for them not, as Ministers, to give any advice upon. Pitt said that was only a word of form,—for in fact they had advised against it. Newcastle did not say to him, but to Holdernesse, that he was the only one who had had the courage to do it, but he remembered that Hardwicke had done so in one of his conversations. He believed Pitt never opened his lips upon it to the King. To Lady Yarmouth, indeed, he had, and had talked strongly to her about it. Pitt said to his colleagues there was nothing to be done but to break it off at once, for it would be impossible for Ministers to serve upon that foot; and there Newcastle thought he was extremely right. Newcastle then went to Lady Yarmouth and talked to her strongly upon it, repeating what

[1] From Fontainebleau, 27th September, 1757.—*MS.*

Pitt had said: "particularly that, in justice to themselves, Ministers must appeal against an act of their Master's (though in another capacity), which, though necessary, was a terrible thing. She owned the justice and necessity of their doing it, and then talked with the greatest courage and integrity, and with the utmost regard for the King's honour. She spoke in the very strongest manner to the King against it, and honestly and bravely told him that it was contrary to his honour and 'would taint his memory thereafter.' What could be more noble than this? She insisted with the King not to let Munchausen know that she had done so, which he promised."[1] Thus, untaught by the vicissitudes and teachings of danger escaped in the past seventy years, Kingcraft had once more wilfully run upon the rocks, and was only saved from imminent wreck by a timely change of wind. The Empress-Queen spurned the Elector's offer, and the King was himself again.

All the recent letters from Hanover blamed the Duke to the greatest degree for falling back step by step without resisting, and it was remarkable that his father had seen many of them. To Lady Yarmouth he talked with as much doubt and dissatisfaction upon the Duke's conduct as any other person could do, and spoke of it in the most moving manner; for he believed that if he had been with the army things would have been different; that the Prince ought to have attacked the French at any hazard, rather than fall back to the sea-coast and be shut in. His Majesty was evidently uneasy at what he had done; but knew not how to extricate himself.[2]

Frederick quickly recovered his self-assurance, and Mitchell remaining for some time beside him, he resolved to forget the abortive backsliding of his Royal brother, and forthwith to concert anew measures for the rest of the campaign. Why should not the Duke of Cumberland with his army join him at Magdeburg? Newcastle, on hearing of the proposal, said that he had suggested the same thing earlier, but was told it was impracticable; but if something of the sort were not done quickly he feared Pitt would resign; if so he would tell the reason why, and how could he be blamed for it?[3]

[1] To Hardwicke, 10th September, 1757.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 10th September, 1757.—*MS.*
[3] 10th September, 1757, to Holdernesse.—*MS.*

Like the rest of his colleagues, the ex-Chancellor was wisdom itself when it was too late. He was most circumstantial in his recollection of having disapproved of steps in diplomacy which he foresaw might end in failure, but certainly would "tarnish the King's honour at the close of a reign not yet sullied." He could not, indeed, even to himself deny that he had silently acquiesced in the Elector doing what he would not have advised the King to do; but that was because he saw at the moment no alternative to save Hanover from a French occupation, and because he foresaw that if the offer were accepted the Court of Vienna would at once require that England should forbear from furnishing any other aid to Prussia: and this he knew would cause the breaking off the engagement. It is fortunate for the fame of Hardwicke that he was never driven to make this defence for himself in Parliament. On one point he was very decided, namely: "that if ten thousand men had been sent to reinforce the Duke's army, instead of being employed in the Secret Expedition to the French coast, then late and out of time, some part of this dilemma might have been prevented. But that was over long ago. He differed from his Majesty as to the effect his offer of a separate peace would have in the Empire, although it should be refused. Instead of doing him service there, it would hurt him, for it would produce contempt, and that hurt Princes more than private men. It would render it more difficult to support in Parliament the advancement of the £100,000 lately given out of the vote of credit, and the expense of the provisions and stores now being sent to the Duke's army, for it would be asked,—To what end, if Hanover is to separate herself from England and no use to be made of that army? It would render any *dedommagement* for the Elector from Parliament impossible. It might have a still worse effect in encouraging the ill-affected in the distrust they always felt in the Union of the Realm with the Electorate, their institutions being different if not incompatible."[1]

It is a curious commentary on the professions of anxiety lest the Government should fall to pieces in consequence of their being obliged to disavow the acts of the King that the Duke of Bedford no longer thought it necessary to remain at Woburn, but set out for Ireland on the 12th September, before any decision in Cabinet could be formed.

[1] Hardwicke to First Lord, 11th September, 1757.—*MS.*

Mansfield concurred in Cabinet with Hardwicke and Pitt in deprecating the folly of the recent negotiation, and thought the English Ministry could only purge their faults in having acquiesced tacitly by more vigorous measures of war. Few men ever showed more true courage without the hope of applause or even appreciation. In possession of the highest object of his professional ambition, full of riches and honour, and wholly disentangled from the obligations of party, the Chief Justice might well have hesitated to embark in an Administration whose measures had betrayed them into a perilous and unpopular course. He did not attempt to disguise his disapproval; if he joined the Government, he must prepare to extenuate, if not to defend.

Instead of fighting a desperate battle, or making a prudent march to join their forces with those of the allies, Prince William laid down his arms at Klosterseven to save the Electorate from being occupied by a hostile army.

Early on the 17th Holdernesse had what he called in his vapid way "the disagreeable duty of acquainting the King and his colleagues with the distressful news." He was too much upset to hazard any observation on the subject,[1] and he waited for orders from his humiliated Sovereign, his helpless Chief at Claremont, or his colleague Pitt. What a Secretary of State in critical times!

After a night's reflection, the First Lord unfolded his thoughts to his administrative confessor. They ran chiefly on what would be said of Ministers regarding the transaction, and how they could best show that *they* had given no authority to enter into such a Convention, for it took them wholly by surprise. The King had acted as Elector without consulting them. It was but a week before that they had all agreed to forward supplies of provisions. The Prince, however, had not yet given any reasons for the terms he had made with Marshal Richelieu.[2] Adverting to Newcastle's characteristic suggestion of throwing the blame on his Majesty in order to save themselves, Hardwicke said: "All reasonable caution must be used, as far as is possible, not to blacken or load the King."[3]

There was still a sense of loyalty left, though in one whom the

[1] 17th September, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] To Hardwicke, 18th September, 1757.—*MS.*

[3] From Wimpole, 19th September, 1757.—*MS.*

political coxcombs of the day were wont to sneer at as being so little of a gentleman.

While Hardwicke was thus pleading for generous forbearance to the King in his unexpected hour of trial and perplexity, George II. was instructing Newcastle to bid him come to him without delay and tell him what he ought to do. He gave the most unqualified repudiation of the act of his son, by which his interest and his honour were, he said, alike sacrificed, and the motive of which he was utterly unable to explain. He felt himself given up, tied hand and foot, to France, and knew not how to look anybody in the face. He thought that the Duke's head was turned, and that he had lost his nerve; and he was determined not to suffer the blame to lie upon him. Had any other man done it, he would have believed him to have been bought by France. In short, Newcastle said: "I never saw a scene so moving, or so unhappy a man in my life. Providence, he said, had abandoned him, and he only hoped the nation would not forsake him." Pitt and Newcastle concurred in the strongest assurances of unabated support. Munchausen and Holdernesse had orders to write peremptorily his disapproval of the Convention, and orders for the Duke's recall. The Prussian Minister, on the same day, communicated a fresh despatch from Frederick, declaring that, come what might in Hanover, he was ready to abide by his engagements with England in peace or war.

People talked of nothing else at the Hague but the Convention; and Yorke, who had hoped for better things, could not commit to official paper the reproaches to which its authors were exposed. Friends, foes, and neutrals held the same language, and "their remarks cut him to the heart." D'Affry, the French Envoy, in communicating it to the Dutch Ministers, expressed amazement how the Duke could ever have been brought to sign it, for that they had never presumed to flatter themselves with such a conclusion. Yorke wished the affair could be buried in oblivion, but feared they were not yet at the end of the disaster. The Court of Denmark was acting an extraordinary part, having guaranteed Bremen and Verden to the Elector. Yorke was confounded at discovering that in July they had signed an explanatory Convention with France, whittling the terms of it down to almost nothing. He enclosed

a copy.[1] The Cabinet were agreed that whatever mistake had been made, the Government of England must stand by that of Prussia. Holdernesse was directed to acknowledge warmly the magnanimity shown by Frederick in bearing up against adverse fortune, and to reassure him that the King of England was resolute in his intention of standing true to his existing engagements. Ministers would ask Parliament for four millions of crowns, the largest sum ever proposed for a subsidy, if enabled to state specifically the purposes to which it was to be applied, and with a pledge by Prussia not in any case to treat at once[2]

Pressure from without, both high and low, compelled unanimity in the Cabinet. Granville could not contain himself within the terms of Newcastle's platitudes, and was more belligerent in phrase than the Secretary for the Southern Department; but Hardwicke thought the language and demeanour of the latter the more befitting the occasion; and though they must all prepare "to meet fire and flame wherever they went, he did not despond of their being able to clear themselves from responsibility." If what he himself had just been doing through Lord Bute had contributed to reconcile Halifax he was very glad of it, and only hoped that the Viscount would not be tempted under present circumstances "to raise his terms." Barrington reported that he was ready to resume his office if admitted to the Cabinet, and Pitt no longer demurred.

The great question of the moment, however, was, Should a special mission be sent to Paris? Hardwicke thought Lady Yarmouth did him the greatest honour in thinking his sentiments of any consequence. As to the application suggested to the great lady there, he saw no objection, provided a Minister was to go. If such a douceur would be a successful instrument in procuring, not only *soulagement* to Hanover, but even a general peace, he should be for carrying it high, and making the temptation as strong as possible; but as to the main question (whether such an Envoy should go), it was impossible for Newcastle and him to determine. As for breaking the Convention, he did not see how it was possible, unless France should contravene it, which, bad as it was, was far from improbable, considering her hauteur.[3]

[1] From the Hague, 20th September, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Despatch in cypher, 23rd September, 1757.—*MS.*

[3] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 24th September, 1757.—*MS.*

Another startling surprise came opportunely. This was the unlooked-for retreat of the Russian legions after a victory over Frederick, leaving 16,000 sick and wounded and eighty pieces of cannon, which checked the Swedish advance, gave a respite to the King of Prussia in Pomerania, and set the *quidnuncs* and speculators everywhere throughout Northern Europe to stand at gaze. Murmurs arose at Fontainebleau at the unusual length of the campaign, and the patrons of rival Marshals contended openly as to whether Soubise or Richelieu should have the command of the united forces invading Saxony. Mde. de Pompadour was understood to favour the former; and the financiers cried aloud that an end must be put to prodigious outgoings, which could no longer be borne. Frederick gained several weeks' breathing time, while division and supineness prevailed in the French lines.[1] With these tidings came those of the memorable battle of Plassey, in Bengal, where Clive laid the foundation of territorial conquest—unforeseen and undreamt of then.

Pitt convinced himself that the King was in doubt about the Convention, and might order the troops, instead of coming home, to join Frederick at Magdeburg. He and Legge steadily refused to vote for the application of any part of the money for their provision or pay unless they did so. Newcastle, in perplexity, applied to Hardwicke, who gave a legal opinion that there was no objection to such a reappropriation of the money if it was thought expedient. Pitt averred that "it was now in their power to prevent the French wintering in Germany. This was going far, but a spirit shown now might have a good effect. The Convention broke, and the Electoral troops joined with the Prussians, might give a good turn. The French were said to be frightened at the King of Prussia, and at the thought of wintering in Germany."[2]

Since the days when Balaam spoke, never lips were touched with prophecy more signal: from the top of the rocks it was seen that the people should not be numbered among the Nations. The moon had scarce gone round when Frederick literally fulfilled what seemed a mad vaticination of Pitt, drove his outnumbering enemies back to the Rhine, and allowed the

[1] Joseph Yorke to Newcastle, 28th September, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 3rd October, 1757.—*MS.*

last fatuous effort of irresponsible Royalty to be huddled into oblivion.

When the news arrived of the discomfiture of Conyers' force and the total failure of the Expedition, the First Lord of the Treasury, true to himself, without waiting for details or explanations, declared the failure to be "scandalous."[1] But this time Pitt and his friends were strong enough to prevent a repetition of unworthy reproaches and instigations against the unlucky, and thought one Byng enough in the year on the altar of official sacrifice.

Pitt was outrageous at the "unintelligible result, not blaming the officers, but imputing it to a prevailing opinion that neither the King nor the Duke of Cumberland wished success to the Expedition, and treated it as a chimera of his which must miscarry, in order to show that the only practical thing to be done was to employ our whole force in a German war. This he combined with Lord Loudon's conduct in North America. He had talked high and passionately, and did not see how *he* could go on or enter at all into German measures; but he altered his mind, and behaved very properly and well in Cabinet."

It turned out that the amended Convention, agreed to by Richelieu and with a few slight modifications accepted by the Duke, was worse than the original. It bound the King's troops and those of his allies not to act against France in war, and stipulated for a passage through the Electoral Dominions for the forces of the enemy advancing against Prussia.[2]

At a Cabinet of the 7th October (many of the members being out of town) there were present: President, First Lord, Holdernesse, Pitt, Anson, Mansfield, and Ligonier. Baron Munchausen was invited to attend. Ministers did not in any way conceive themselves bound to offer their advice regarding his Electorate, but, in case his Majesty should, upon the advice of his Electoral Ministers, judge proper to consider the Convention concerning the Army of Observation broken and annulled, and, in consequence, should put the troops again in activity, the Cabinet was of opinion that, the Electoral revenues being entirely cut off, the pay of the troops ought to be supplied from hence from the

[1] To Col. Yorke, 7th October, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 8th October, 1757.—*MS.*

day that they should recommence the operations of war against the forces of France in concert with the King of Prussia.[1]

At the same Cabinet it was agreed that the Hessian troops should not submit to be disarmed, that Marshal Richelieu's inept attempt to add a clause to that effect in the Convention should be taken advantage of to break it forthwith on the part of Hanover. The King was more than ever displeased with his son for having sent Count Lynar, the Danish Envoy, to parley with the Marshal on the subject. He had better have seized the opportunity at once of endeavouring to retrieve his original error: but "his rascally son's blood was tainted," and when Newcastle ventured on a shrug on such expressions, his Majesty said "a scoundrel in England one day might be thought a good man another. In Germany it was otherwise: he thought like a German. He flung out that he should not say much to the Secretaries, that he did not intend to say much to the Duke himself, but that he would send them to his Highness to see what he had to say for himself. Surely it would be improper for English Ministers to go upon this errand, but if he insisted upon it, how could they avoid it?" George II. had by this time made up his mind that the Duke should demand from Richelieu an explanatory form of the Convention, guaranteeing the safety of Hanover in such terms as he knew would be refused; and thereupon he should declare the Convention void. Newcastle had told his Majesty Ministers could not take upon themselves to advise in the matter of a separate Treaty in any form. "Mansfield was very doubtful about breaking the Convention—Pitt very violent for it."[2] The Duke of Cumberland persisted in saying that he had acted for the best to save Hanover from devastation, and up to what he understood to be his father's instructions. He was quite aware that the English Ministry were in no way responsible for what he had done.[3]

No time having been absolutely specified for the embarkation from Städe, his Royal Highness lingered there till the 5th October, by which time he had learned how ill the truce had been received in England. He arrived at Kensington on the 12th;

[1] Minute of the Cabinet at Sir Conyers D'Arcy's Lodging. Proposed by Mr. Pitt and carried, 7th October, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 8th October, 1757.—*MS.*

[3] To Holdernesse from Städe, 30th September, 1757.—*MS.*

where he heard his sire exclaim : " Here comes my son, who has ruined me and disgraced himself." Next day he resigned all his employments, and thenceforth meddled no further in public affairs.

Pitt was all for filling up the appointments at once : Sir John Ligonier to be Field-Marshal and a Peer, with the Regiment of Guards, for he alone could command in chief. Lord George Sackville should succeed him at the Ordnance, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. Newcastle said Ligonier could not have a Peerage ; but he might have the Guards, and that the King ought to be General himself. When the Duke of Marlborough was in Flanders, Schomberg held the chief command under him of the troops in Great Britain, which was the commission Ligonier ought to have.

Pitt's violence against the military officers in the late expedition arose from his belief of a " formed design against him by a great part of the Army." He said that " either he (Pitt) or Sir John Mordaunt must be tried, and in describing the present run upon the expedition from some quarters he took plainly the whole merit of it to himself, thinking (and rightly) that the measure must greatly increase his popularity when it became known that it failed purely from the behaviour of the land officers. It was certain that even Port Mahon did not occasion a greater run than this miscarriage had done. It was believed that the fleet had been recalled to prevent the French from committing further violence upon Hanover, which would be disproved by Mr. Pitt's letter in the *Gazette*. What affected him most was the insinuation, promulgated with great industry, that the expedition was chimerical and impracticable and the production of a hot-headed Minister. He was supported in this conviction of its practicability by Sir Edward Hawke and Lord Anson. The King said that if they referred it to a board of general officers they would do as they did in General Fowke's case, and then things would be worse than ever. There might be danger of miscarriage in such a court, but to what other could the question be referred ? and it ought to be considered that the " officers concerned were all men of great quality, rank, and distinction, and of extreme good characters." In short, his repining Grace began to see that selfish cruelty, ever so applauded, did not always bear the promised fruit of warning example, and he began

to fear that he had slipped his foot in the blood of Byng. Pitt meantime was apprehensive that these disappointments in a naval American war would make all other operations go heavier or not at all. George II., on the other hand, half believed in letters from the French Court, which, in the excess of disappointment and vexation, talked of a resolution to destroy both himself and the King of Prussia; and he supposed that they must fight it out or fall together.[1]

The ex-Chancellor did not like to hear of his Majesty "coaxing and inviting to cards" his contumacious son. From whom ought inducements to reconciliation come? Was the King bullied by some about him, to rescind practically the judgment he had announced? If his Highness had thought fit to retain his employments the Cabinet would not have disturbed him; but if he had done wrong, intrigue at Kensington ought not to cover his fault at the King's expense. "Nobody could wish the King to be implacable, either as King or father, but he should support his own dignity and authority as both." Both employments ought to be at once filled up. Leaving the regiment open for two years would only be to defer resumption for an indefinite time; and leaving the command of the army vacant would practically be to leave the Generalship-in-Chief to the King, whereby it would soon centre behind the curtain; and that would be the worst of all, for the Duke would have the whole army in his power without being responsible." Here, then, was Government by prerogative on tenter-hooks once more. Its military patronage, for which Marlborough, at the zenith of his greatness, had risked all—and won, eventually losing it only when he lost for a season everything else—was again at stake, and Hardwicke urged vehemently that even Ligonier, old and feeble though he was, had better be made Commander-in-Chief than that the other alternative should be tolerated. His shortsighted friend at the head of the Treasury had not had the sense to comprehend the situation or discern the danger to Ministerial supremacy. Once pointed out, he readily acceded to the clearer and more thoughtful view. As to the two Royalties being doomed to perish together, the ex-Chancellor, sitting quietly at Wimpole, was not easily moved: "He hoped neither King would perish; but did not believe that either King had resolved to perish with the

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 15th October, 1757.—*MS.*

other. How often it had been declared that the King of Prussia was a lost man. Did we then intend to be so too? He wished they could see the original instructions. These were very delicate subjects to put opinions upon into writing, and he gave them with a freedom he would not use to any other person in the world."[1]

His Grace forthwith proceeded to recommend the appointment of Ligonier, by arguments noted beforehand, carefully using, verbatim, the shrewd suggestions of his confessor-colleague. He added to other considerations that it was essential to have a man of practical experience for Ministers to consult, and to assist at Councils for the disposition of the troops.[2] George II. told him that the Duke of Marlborough had advised him not to have a Captain-General, but to keep the command himself. Newcastle said little, but thought it would be better to "prepare him through Lady Yarmouth for the representations that would be made to him." When Pitt learned what had passed he was very strong for the necessity of Ministers uniting, *even in representations in writing*, upon the subject. Meantime, the Duke stated fully their objections and arguments to Lady Yarmouth; and though he did not much like her manner, thought she would not fail to repeat them unreservedly. Next day he came again to the charge, laying stress upon the fact that "nobody was less to be feared than Ligonier, who would always do what his Majesty wished: but he said he would have no Field Marshal, and would keep the command himself." As for the regiment, he would not fill it up at present. Newcastle said M. D'Abreu had told him that the Prince had made up his mind not to resume. "That is not true," exclaimed the King, "he has sent me word otherwise by Devonshire. I can't trust him abroad; but at home he will be under my eye. Besides, if I have a mind to be reconciled to my son, who has anything to do with it, or to say against it?" Newcastle piously rejoined, "God forbid, everybody must, or should, wish it, and I have never said a word to blow up differences."

The two Secretaries then had audience. Portsmouth or Plymouth, the King said, would probably be attacked; and his Ministers had better take counsel for their defence. Holder-

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 16th October, 1757.

[2] Memorandum for the King, 19th October, 1757.—*MS.*

nesse was dumb; his quick-witted colleague asked with whom should they confer as chief of the army? "I will have no Field-Marshal, no Captain-General; there is Ligonier, you may talk to him." Pitt repeated that, with forces so numerous and scattered in time of war, a Commander-in-Chief was indispensable, but he made no impression; and it was after this that he bethought himself of a joint representation by the Cabinet.

In the course of the night, his Majesty's resolution thawed, and next day he sent for the Master-General of the Ordnance and told him he must have the chief command henceforth of the army, and that he had every confidence in his acting faithfully as he desired. Sir John must find out the best officers; whereupon Newcastle prevailed to have a commission prepared, appointing him to command in chief, both in Europe and America. Still hoping to reassert his vanishing authority, his Majesty said: "I will have some troops sent into the West, under Lord George Sackville; for I know Pitt has a good opinion of him." As if the comedy could not end without a farce, the old Monarch dreamily asked Newcastle: "Did you ever hear that my son's head turned at the battle of Laffeldt and also at the battle of Hastenbech?" Of course his Grace said never. "I have, and if I had known it I never would have employed him this year." When informed of what had passed, Pitt was overjoyed, and exclaimed that nobody understood so well how to manage affairs of that kind as the First Lord. He said that he believed his Royal Highness wished Prince Edward to have his regiment, but that difficulties had come from Leicester House; but when the Cabinet met to settle the terms of the new commission, Granville "talked like a wild man or old woman about the necessity of there being a Captain-General." Pitt strove to have the word America inserted, avowedly for the purpose of superseding Lord Loudon, whom he reproached with palpable incompetency. Mansfield combated the notion as hazardous and unreasonable. How could Ligonier be held responsible for the past beyond the ocean, or how for the future in the Colonies, if they were told that in their present ticklish condition everything should depend on the orders of one who personally knew nothing about it? It ended, after a long debate, in a new commission being made a transcript of the old one, and that the General-in-

Chief in America should be instructed to correspond and confer constantly with Ligonier.[1]

Thenceforth, the title and dignity of Captain-General, whatever that may have meant, which is not very clear, was heard of no more. Its future omission from the complex machinery of the Executive was the one thing on which Court and Cabinet agreed. George II., though neither learned nor logical, had a certain traditional belief that it was not good for him that any soldier should be recognised as Captain-in-Chief over all the Captains of what he still called his army. Charles II., in a freak of fatherly favouritism, had dubbed Lucy Walter's son Captain-General, when there was no standing army to lead or mislead but the household troops and a few regiments in Ireland, with muster rolls not half full; and William III. conferred the complimentary title on the son of his favourite, Lieutenant Schomberg, killed at the Boyne, without probably a thought of anyone presuming in his time to question the direction or the patronage of the army. Marlborough's nomination by Queen Anne, at first little more perhaps than other proofs of his wife's influence, was gradually converted by him into an authority inflexible and all-pervading, until it became as nearly absolute in military affairs as if there were neither Cabinet nor Crown; until, to himself, its permanency and power grew to be so indispensable and illimitable that he proposed his having a patent of the office for life, and was only baulked in his usurping ambition by the steadfast refusal of Cowper to affix the Great Seal. After his fall, Ormond for a time wore the trappings, but hardly ventured to assert the privileges of Generalissimo; and then for a season Marlborough was restored under a pacific King, whose own position was too weak to afford cavil or quarrel with the still popular hero of Blenheim. But on his death, Walpole and Townshend seized the opportunity of getting rid of an office which was not wanted by Royalty, and which stood in the way of Cabinet ascendancy. Cadogan was not even allowed to call himself Commander-in-Chief; and no more was heard of a Captain-General until after Culloden, when, to please the King, his son was allowed that title. Newcastle affirmed and Pitt swore that the promotion of officers in a steadily increasing army, if vested in one of the

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 23rd October, 1757.—*MS.*

Royal family, or in anyone else who enjoyed Court favour, from complaisance to its wants and whims would be or might become a serious counterweight to Cabinet rule. Had the Duke of Cumberland repented in time of his resignation they would not have ventured, probably, to cut down his privileges of veto or appointment; but they eagerly accepted the resentful resolution of the King that his son should have no successor as Captain-General; and when Ligonier, who sat daily with them in Council as Master-General of the Ordnance, was accepted by his Majesty as fit to have the command in chief, Newcastle exulted in his having promptly confirmed the choice; and Pitt, by whom he had been first suggested, was full of approbation, and complimented his Grace on his success, saying that "he knew better than anybody else the way of acting at Kensington, that he had done a great service, and, in short, that nobody was so good or right as him, and he was highly pleased with his way of acting."[1]

The impulsive and impatient temper of the Secretary sometimes offended and often ruffled the equanimity of the First Lord; but a sense of administrative superiority enabled him to overlook, and even not to seem to see, the flaws in his ambitious colleague's tone and bearing. He told Hardwicke that on the whole "Mr. Pitt behaved very decently and *properly*. But I have too many proofs of the uncertainty of his temper, even upon the objects he the day before was satisfied upon, and he never makes a scruple of asserting his own *consistency*, though the very contrary is the fact. But as I have bore it, and he comes again round, I shall endeavour to bear it, or at least I will make no more complaint."[2]

Asked in confidence his opinion of Pitt as a colleague, Hardwicke owned that he thought him extremely ambitious, and that his aim was supreme Ministerial power, whereof he might fancy he saw a nearer prospect from what had unfortunately happened with regard to the Duke of Cumberland. "I think, at the same time, that he has a sense of honour, and so far a deep sense of his own interest as to see, what he must have learnt by experience, that he cannot go on without the assistance of your Grace and your friends, and that the present situation of affairs

[1] To Hardwicke, 23rd October, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 23rd October, 1757.—*MS.*

makes this more necessary than ever. He is certainly at present greatly affected by the failure of his own two great projects, and by a sensibility that he shall be forced to defend himself by those arguments which he has exploded and run down in the case of those who have gone before him. This I do not wonder at; but these reflections must at some times make him peevish and liable to variations. You say you 'cannot submit to act a subordinate part, but that you have as much desire and as firm a resolution to manage and coax him, and see the absolute necessity as much as anybody.' This is all that can be desired, or any friend of yours advise you to; but it cannot be disguised that the avowal and appearance of the same sole power in your Grace in the House of Commons is not to be expected. All sorts of persons there have concurred in battering down that notion. I think you may go on together upon this foot as well as the unhappy circumstances of the present time and affairs will permit any persons to do." He recommended frank conference between them, and the avoidance of expostulations through third parties, which seldom did any good. The framing of the Speech from the Throne had better be their joint work. Who should present it for approval to the King was a more delicate question. Sir R. Walpole used to do so as head of the Treasury; then Newcastle himself, as Secretary of State; and possibly Pitt thought he should do so now that he held the Seals. "Your Grace presses me to be in town because I am the only person to whom Mr. Pitt will yield. That I am far from seeing reason to admit; but of this I am sure, that if I am to be the person constantly employed to expostulate, that cord will be broke by overstraining it."[1]

If anything were wanting it would be supplied by the marked absence from this letter, not only of the epithet of Prime Minister, but of every phrase implying the existence of such an office. Had there been a Premier, either by condition precedent to the formation of the Cabinet, or by bold assumption after it was formed, the fact would have forced itself on attention in this curious correspondence, were it only for the purpose of offering on the one side, or recommending on the other, a waiver of its pretensions. Nothing can be more conclusive than the absolute silence of both on the subject; but, in truth,

[1] From Wimpole, 29th October, 1757.—*MS.*

neither the First Lord nor the Secretary had formed the Cabinet inviting his rival to take part in it, and no one above the level of the meanest flatterer ever pretended that he had done so.

Some days before Parliament met, Secretary West was directed to call upon Pitt about the circular to supporters of Government, which (except in the case of Fox) it had been usual for the First Lord to sign. To his surprise, the Secretary told him that "it was not particularly agreeable to him, and therefore he did not care to sign it; but he thought something by way of notice ought to be subscribed by the Secretary to the Treasury and sent to the Members. West demurred; and feared it might seem a slight by those who had been used to be summoned by the first man in the House of Commons; but Pitt, in a passing fit of humility, only laughed, and said there need be no signature at all. West argued that, if dated from Treasury Chambers, this would make it appear to be the act of the Duke of Newcastle, and cited the precedents of Pelham and Sir R. Walpole, who always signed the circular, to which Pitt replied that "those letters were wrote by those who had the Parliament; this was not his Parliament, but the Duke of Newcastle's; and as a great Lord could not sign such a document, an anonymous letter from Treasury Chambers would do." He would sign the letters for the usual preliminary meeting at his own house, and desired the usual notices from the Cockpit might go from the Treasury.[1]

Before the general discontent at the affair at Klosterseven could find utterance in Parliament, a despatch from Mitchell confirmed by one to the Prussian Minister, announced the memorable victory at Rossbach, in the exultation at which the faults and failings of the deposed Captain-General were half forgotten. Once more, however, the tide of victory ebbed, and Austrian confidence revived in the possibility of Frederick being driven back within the boundaries he had overpassed, if not to his being irretrievably crushed. The English Envoy vividly described, from day to day, the tragic vicissitudes of the next few weeks.

The capitulation of Breslau and the Prince of Bevern's army greatly reduced the military strength of Frederick, and once more cast the gloom of despondency over his friend: "What

[1] J. West to Newcastle, 2nd November, 1757.—*MS.*

must he himself have felt after having been deceived with flattering news? He bore it with spirit; but the frame and vigour of his mind were different from the rest of mankind. He was marching towards Glogau to join the remains of his army; but, besides their superiority of numbers, the Austrians were flushed with success. What could be expected from men who had been twice beaten, for most of them had been in the unfortunate battle of Koln? The King took some battalions of fresh troops with him, and such was his unconquerable spirit that he would probably not only venture, but even solicit, battle with the enemy. If he was defeated he would be absolutely undone; and if victorious, he might gain glory, but could not much profit by the victory. Austria aimed at his total extinction; and France, in the present crisis, could not save him. Misfortunes came so thick that one knew not where they would end, much less how they could be repaired."[1]

Frederick, undismayed alike by facts or forebodings, went his way, and knowing that he could neither hope for present help from Hanover or future intervention from France, made up his mind, and, what was harder, made up the mind of his twice-beaten veterans and wondering recruits, that they would yet put back the tide of war, and deliver what remained of the ill-cemented fruits of former conquest from revendication by their former owners.

On the same day, Richelieu's despair of being able to hold his ground against Prince Ferdinand during the winter, and of the inability of Louis to send him reinforcements, or the means of replenishing his commissariat, was made known at Whitehall by the secret hand that had already warned the English Ministry of the weakness and distraction prevalent at Versailles.[2] This was fully confirmed by a despatch from Yorke, and verified by the subsequent retreat of the French across the Weser.[3]

Before these desponding views reached Holdernesse, he had learned the issue of the impending struggle, which, for the Prussian King, proved as triumphant as Rossbach. The Cabinet

[1] Sir A. Mitchell to Holdernesse, "Most secret," 5th December, received 20th December, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] Cressener, 7th December, 1757, received 20th December.—*MS.*

[3] From the Hague, 13th December, 1757, received 19th December.—*MS.*

therefore was once more confirmed in its resolve to render their ally the pecuniary help he sought; and a draft of the Convention was transmitted accordingly.[1] By the victory of Lissa, Frederick retrieved all his recent losses; and counted among his trophies 20,000 prisoners, including two generals, one hundred and eighty officers, three thousand baggage and ammunition waggons, and one hundred and sixty-eight pieces of cannon.

A pension of £800 a-year having lapsed on the death of the King's sister, the Queen Dowager of Prussia, the same amount was charged at the instance of the Lord-Lieutenant on the Irish establishment in favour of his sister-in-law, Lady Betty Waldegrave. The Primate, mortified at the coldness with which he had been treated by the new Viceroy, and the preference given to Lord Kildare, allowed if he did not invite his friends in Parliament to carry a series of resolutions condemning the extravagance of the pension list; and the Dublin Press vehemently supported agitation for retrenchment.

The Lord-Lieutenant, finding himself unable to induce Opposition in the Irish House of Commons to pass the Money Bill for the year without the Tack of their resolutions against English pensions on the Irish establishment, wrote for instructions as to what was to be done, and, in default of plenary powers for reducing the obstructionists to submission, asked leave to resign. Pitt, who never showed much concern about either the causes or the possible consequences of provincial troubles, indited a soothing answer in his stateliest manner, admonishing Bedford that his vexations, whatever they might be, must not be suffered to weigh in the balance against the importance of maintaining the Administration as a whole, and hinting that its desertion by his Grace, owing to personal disappointment, was a matter of too much moment to be contemplated by his friends in the Cabinet.

Granville, whose sagacity and devotion the King confided in more than that of any other Minister, strove likewise to soothe the irritable Viceroy; and, lest he should resign, compounded for him a potion in which sedatives and stimulants were admirably mingled. The Cabinet were agreed that much less ability than his Grace possessed would be found equal to get the better of the parties and connections that "frequently gave so much disquiet to their Lord-Lieutenant. When I went there first there never

[1] Holdernesse to Mitchell, 23rd December, 1757.—*MS.*

was worse humours stirring, nor more unnatural conjunctions of persons, hating one another, and yet agreeing in insulting the Government; nor more specious pretensions of grievances: and yet, as I would not be put in a passion, nor give them handles, they grew ashamed of themselves and content, so we forgot everything of both sides; and I held two sessions afterwards with ease, which I make no doubt will happen to your Grace with more honour to yourself, and utility to his Majesty's affairs, than withdrawing yourself in disgust at the perverseness of such persons. As to your calling for support to *punish* now the undutiful and impertinent, give me leave to say that his Majesty has all the inclination and resolution to support you; but that it is his opinion, at present, that you should try all conciliatory ways, which from my own experience I think will succeed, especially now the money is transmitted. I should not have troubled your Grace with this confidential letter, had not the King himself told me to-day that he wished I would write on this service to you, which I do, not as a Minister, but as a real friend who has rowed in the same galley which you are now in, and by patience brought it safe into port, notwithstanding the mutiny in the crew for a while, who at last owned that I had served them usefully."[1]

Parliament was in a passive mood, suffering measures of increased expenditure and taxation to pass without comment or division. In Committee of Ways and Means more than one important tax was passed in a very cold House, only ten members being sometimes present,[2] and in Supply votes were silently passed for the pay, clothing, and subsistence of 45,000 men in the Electorate; 24,000 in America, and 60,000 seamen. For the Hessians £300,000 was required; for the contingent from Wolfenbuttel, Gotha, and Lippe £900,000; forage, &c., £400,000; subsidies to Prussia £670,000; in all upwards of two millions on German account in place of the £200,000 a-year about which there used to be so much grumbling.[3]

In the nine years that had elapsed from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the national expenditure had more than kept pace with the increase of the

[1] Arlington Street, 27th November, 1757.
[2] Secretary West to the First Lord.—*MS.*
[3] Memorandum for the King, *MS.*, 22nd Dec., 1757.

Realm in prosperity. From £3,839,021, the civil establishments of all kinds had risen to £4,174,128, while the naval and military expenditure had grown from £8,104,187 to £9,025,422. But this inflation was now to swell under the open renunciation of the standing policy of non-interference hitherto professed as a fundamental tradition since the days of Walpole, and the avowal of the career of foreign conquest with which Pitt was bent on identifying his name.

# CHAPTER XV.

## ATTEMPT TO BE ABSOLUTE.

### 1758.

Campaign on the St. Lawrence—Bristol at Madrid—Legge in Mutiny—Holdernesse Looks to Bute—St. Stephen's Undivided—Jealousy of Mitchell—Evening Cabinet at St. James's Square—Who Appoints the Primate?—An Humble Prebend—A Qualm of Economy—Behaviour of Pitt—Hardwicke's Advice to the Players—Habeas Corpus—Another Rupture Threatened—Lady Yarmouth's Advice to keep Pitt till there was Peace—Attacks on Shops—Raids on the French Coast.

IN sympathetic exultation at recent victories in Germany, preparations for the next campaign in America were left to the two Secretaries of State; but Pitt declined to act without the sanction of the Cabinet, and Barrington was directed to summon a meeting for the purpose before the close of the year.[1] He had grown conscious that so long as he could marshal the cyphers behind him he was a great power, if not the greatest; but that without them it was liable to serious attenuation. Following in Parliament worth reckoning, he had none; and nobody knew better how hollow was the loud popular drum; but in the Cabinet he was now, for the first time, strong, and the strength of the wise is in the consciousness of their strength.

The First Lord, having a Christmas party at Claremont, excused himself, recounting varied points of attack agreed upon at Crown Point, Fort Duquesne, Louisburgh, and on the Lakes, all of which he approved, and hoped, therefore, that instructions might be settled for Colonel Amherst without his attendance; but Pitt was imperious and suspicious, and repeated forthwith that the presence of his shifty Grace was indispensable at a meeting of the Cabinet, concerning so important and extensive a scene as the campaign in America, where England and Europe

[1] Barrington to Newcastle from the War Office, 26th December, 1757.—*MS.*

were to be fought for, and where all the data on which they were to ground any plan were so loose and precarious that he confessed he did not see his way out of the difficulty as clearly as he could wish to do in matters where he made himself responsible; but, for fear of accidents, he enclosed the drafts of the despatches he meant to submit on the subject, desiring to have the First Lord's observations upon them in time for the Council.[1]

Next day came the ducal endorsement of all Pitt's drafts. He hoped the recall of Lord Loudon would be sent out with them, and the appointment of Colonel Amherst in his stead.

Frederick was everywhere the toast in the coming year. Zeal for war and a certain hope that degenerate Britons might have a share in the credit of it, rendered public opinion (or whatever went by that name) easy about increased expenditure and impending new taxes. George Whitfield gave solemn thanks at the Tabernacle for Rossbach and Lissa, and was fervent in exposition of the signal merits of Frederick as the true hero and champion of the Protestant faith.[2] His birthday was kept by illumination in London and Westminster. What the cost in privation and suffering was likely to be scarcely commanded a public expression.

Munchausen, on his return from abroad, told the King £200,000 must be at once provided to pay for forage for the Hessian troops, and that half must be sent by the next post. Whereupon George II., quite forgetting that he had no control over the moneys in what was called his Majesty's Treasury, summarily called upon the First Lord to provide the same. Newcastle said it was impossible. "*We* knew nothing of the transaction. Col. Amherst, who had been appointed by the late Treasury to provide forage for the Hessians, had sent no account of it, and therefore we could advance no money to him. The King stormed. I agreed to send a credit of £60,000, which was going as far as a man of prudence could go, and yet I never saw his Majesty more dissatisfied. He said Ministers wished him to spend all his own money—to ruin himself, and *then* to do nothing for him; that our *America*, our *Lakes*, our Mr. *Amherst* might ruin *us* or make *us* rich, but in all events he should be

[1] 27th December, 1757.—*MS.*

[2] January, 1758, *Gentleman's Magazine.*

undone. He wanted the money to be sent away in twenty-four hours. I told him this holiday time nobody was in town, no office open. This caused very severe reflections. When he pressed the payment of what *he* had expended *for us*, I could not avoid saying that we could pay no money except to Col. Amherst, who was appointed by the late Treasury. The King railed at our forms. I answered, that in all countries nobody paid money without a receipt. In short, I never saw the King worse, or seemingly less disposed to be better." The First Lord showed Pitt the papers about forage. He was exceedingly offended at the exorbitant demand, and agreed that it was impossible to go upon this foot. The King, he said, would spoil his own business. He always went half-way and stopped when it was necessary to go on to effectuate a measure. These exorbitant demands overloaded us and put it out of his power to do what he wished. Pitt said that Newcastle might, with more reason than he, complain of such treatment from the King, though he thought his services entitled him to better treatment than he had ; that all the return he ever received was sometimes a compliment or gracious word ; that he found he was to expect *no confidence*, and that he was the first man in his station who answered for so much who had not the least support or assistance from the King.

Although Anson had done all that was possible to forward his impatient colleague's views, Pitt complained in no very gentle way of the slowness of the Admiralty in fitting out the ships and transports for America. As was his wont, the First Lord of the Treasury regarded all difficulties mainly in their character of grievances to himself. "I am cut to pieces between the King and Mr. Pitt. I wish you would consider this my present situation, and I am sure you would not wish me to continue in it any longer."[1]

Pitt's warlike impatience threatened to try the fidelity of his closest adherents. Legge, who had cast in his lot for better for worse, and actually given up the Exchequer, because his aspiring friend could not, in 1756, have what he was entitled to, and whose restoration Pitt had made *sine quâ non* of his ever coming in, weary of his alternate dictation and neglect, early in January had made a journey to Claremont to explain how anxious

[1] To Hardwicke, 3rd January, 1758.—*MS.*

he was to have the late Sir Benjamin Keene's place at Madrid, and come into the House of Lords immediately; Lord Dupplin succeeding him at the Exchequer. His reasons were great uneasiness in the House of Commons from his situation with his Leader, who was jealous of him, and did not treat him with any regard. "He seldom let him within his doors, and made him wait two hours when he did." In short, it was as bad as possible, and from his general behaviour he suspected that Pitt wished to get him out of the Commons. Legge had lately had a conversation with Bute, who did not at all press him to stay, though he had formerly insisted upon it: and this he ascribed to a knowledge of Pitt's real inclination.

The First Lord used every argument to convince Legge how necessary he was to the Administration, and that at least he must stay for the Session. As to Pitt, little things must be overlooked. "To do him justice, Legge seemed as determined as anybody to act with and support Pitt; but he said he did not like to remain under the harrow." The Embassy to Madrid was given to Lord Bristol, his place at Turin being filled by Bute's brother, Stewart Mackenzie. Legge, finding he could not obtain what he wanted, resolved to put up with what he had, and Newcastle in confidence told Hardwicke that he preferred him at the Board of Treasury to Dupplin. Two days later the aspect of things was changed: the Chancellor of the Exchequer had thought fit to vacate his seat, and declared he would never set foot again in the House of Commons. Once more, therefore, Dupplin was thought of; and this time, as if really in earnest, Newcastle pressed the office upon him. The King, Hardwicke, Bute, and Legge, thought nobody else would do, and difficulties must give way to necessity. Oswald would be made Secretary to the Treasury, which would render his duties all the easier. Pitt, he was sure, would likewise assist him.[1] In this new arrangement the faithful West was to be sacrificed, and he who had worked for no pay, and then for half pay, and then for pay charged with annuities to compensate certain other dependents; and who, in 1756, when his patron chose to resign, had gone out with him, only returning when he chose to come back, was now told he must submit to terms which left him little or nothing as recompense for all his labour as Whip, but a

[1] Newcastle to Dupplin, 10th January, 1758.—*MS.*

reversion for which, he was informed, the Duke had often been upbraided by the King. West, in a rage, resigned, because, as he said, he could not endure the ridicule that must attach to one so treated.[1]

But Dupplin, too long accustomed to bend, could not be persuaded to stand erect, and with a profusion of ill-deserved thanks, apologised for preferring repose. Then Legge at last condescended to remain, gratified at being declared indispensable, but all the same retaining his right to grumble: and, "hoping that if by-and-by he found he could not go on, he should have his peerage."[2] And thus the interlude closed.

George II. was beginning to discover that Holdernesse, whom he had hitherto found it easy to get on with, was after all, no more than a cypher. He complained of his negligence in business, and his inattention. Lady Yarmouth spoke of it with emotion, and said the King had told her that if it were not for the apprehension of having a certain person in the Northern Department (because it included Hanover), he would have thrown him over, and that nothing else had kept him in. The person he thought of in his room was "his good friend Joe." Newcastle did not mention this as if it was at all likely to happen, but to show the justice the King did to Yorke's ability, his zeal, and his attention to the public service.[3]

The Session proved almost unprecedentedly tranquil, public curiosity was absorbed in tropic adventure, and the vicissitudes of war in Germany; and party contentions in either House there were few.

Far from relaxing his tone of importunity for more active co-operation, Frederick seemed after every interview with the English Envoy to urge its necessity more strongly. "For God's sake be quick, explicit, and decisive!" wrote Mitchell, "in the resolutions you take; you know the character of my hero, and the late glorious successes will not have added to his stock of patience."[4] He continually urged the presence of a British squadron in the Baltic, and ascribed its refusal to "too much management shown towards Russia, as if we were afraid to offend

[1] To Newcastle, 17th January, 1758.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 21st January, 1758.—*MS.*
[3] To Hardwicke, 7th January, 1758.
[4] To Holdernesse.

her:" and paid little regard to the allegations of Holdernesse that the demands on our naval strength in other parts of the world rendered it impossible. Equally vain were the pleas which the Envoy was prompted to offer, of our inability to send national troops to aid in Germany, on the ground that more regiments could not be raised without ruining the manufacturers in England. Frederick laughed, and said it was a strange way of reasoning to prefer considerations of trade and manufactures to our security and independency; for we did not seem sensible of the danger to which England was exposed. If things went wrong upon the Continent, it was impossible for Prussia to resist the united forces of all Europe. When the population was less, English Ministers had sent large bodies of troops to contend with France in Flanders and in Spain; and were the case fairly stated to Parliament he did not believe that it would lead to the consequences feared.

The occasion was stronger than it had ever been before, and he did not think it practicable to do without them; even a body of 8,000 men would make a great impression on the French, and convince all Europe that England was hearty and resolved to risk everything rather than submit. Surely, the way to save America was not to suffer the French to become masters of Europe, which they would be if the English did not exert themselves with the utmost vigour by land as well as by sea.[1]

Frederick was, in fact, so nettled by the refusal his Minister in London met with of his demand for naval and military help, that he refused to sign the Convention for the large subsidy which the Government had consented to furnish; and Mitchell recommended, in cypher, that to win him back to good temper and reason a vote should be proposed in Parliament of a round million, as the subsidy for the next campaign, which he said would touch his vanity and astonish Europe.[2] But the Envoy had, in truth, become so identified with his views and aims, and so much in sympathy with his peril and renown, that he sometimes appeared to forget difficulties at home, and the precarious tenure of the Administration which Frederick impatiently reproached with want of resolution and resource. Pitt, always

[1] Mitchell to Holdernesse, recapitulating what had passed with the King of Prussia in various interviews, 9th February, 1758.

[2] *Ibid.*

jealous of unauthorised suggestions from subordinates, even when they seemed to anticipate his own designs, resolved to put an end to any unwarrantable expectations Frederick might have been led to form, and to get rid of a Plenipotentiary whose errors Holdernesse forgave through private friendship, but which his despotic colleague would not endure. "Andrew Mitchell was not a fool, and, though he must be something, was not fit to be their instrument in the vital and essential points of the plan of Europe in the transactions with Prussia. He had long entertained a very indifferent opinion of his correspondence, and he was now entirely convinced that he was mischievous to a degree, and perhaps might have already rooted ideas in the King of Prussia's mind which would inevitably overturn the system. His aim evidently was to get Frederick to propose British troops as part of the plan for the next campaign in Germany. As he could not be ignorant of all that had passed last year and was still passing, it was evident to whom he belonged, and whose work he was doing. Thus it was in every part of Government: the tools of another system were perpetually marring every hopeful measure of the present Administration. In a word, if Newcastle could not eradicate this lurking diffusive poison a little more out of the mass of Government, especially from the vitals, it would be better for them to have done. For himself, he did not intend that Andrew Mitchell should carry him where he did not intend to go."[1] Bremen was occupied by a French corps of 4,000 men, which gave them the command of the Weser and the sea, and Prince Ferdinand's army, failing to receive reinforcements, had fallen back beyond the river. Frederick once more insisted on British troops being furnished him. Newcastle believed that after all ten or twelve thousand men had better be despatched to his aid for the sake of Hanover. Sure the inconvenience or absurdity arising from a principle adopted of supporting the Continent with two millions of money, but with *no national troops*, should prevent it.[2]

This, if stated in Cabinet, must bring the conflicting views of policy to direct issue.

"Although, when writing the above, he imagined Pitt would be negative upon the point of sending troops, he did not then

[1] Pitt to Newcastle, 28th January, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] To Hardwicke, 29th January, 1758.—*MS.*

think that he would enter his protest in writing so soon as by the note enclosed. He was sorry the point had been stirred so *mal à propos*. He would not enter into Pitt's suspicions of Mitchell, though they might in some measure be true, but the great distress the King of Prussia was in, and his resolution not to send any reinforcements at present to Prince Ferdinand, would naturally induce him to insist upon some British troops."[1] Hardwicke feared that their new friend in Government had promised the country gentlemen that there should be no such thing, as part of the terms on which they agreed to give the subsidy. The question was one for solemn deliberation by the Cabinet, and if it should create a breach in Administration it would do more harm to the cause of the King in Germany than 10,000 men would do it good.[2] Thus early there were symptoms of giving way to the will of their imperious leader in the Commons.

Mitchell had several friends in the Cabinet, and he was generally regarded as an able and energetic public servant. The sudden resolution to discard him naturally caused surprise, all the more because till now he was supposed to have been a beacon-light in the direction whither the policy of Pitt was tending. Was he to be sacrificed to the jealousy of the Sovereign, who read his enthusiastic praise of Frederick with ill-disguised misgiving and aversion? There were many parleyings and demurrers on the part of the First Lord and the Chief Justice, who instinctively recoiled from the abrupt and arbitrary dogmatism respecting individuals that Pitt thought fit to indulge in; and they would possibly have held their ground but for the adroit suggestion of Joseph Yorke as a safer representative in the Prussian camp. The Cabinet at length decided to send Hardwicke's son, with special instructions regarding the critical posture of affairs, and that Mitchell should be recalled. He was only to remain until his successor should arrive, and then to return direct to England. There is no trace in the correspondence between Ministers and Yorke that he had any intimation, up to the day of his appointment, of the intention to supersede Mitchell, nor any hint of discontent with his employment at the Hague; and after consultation with his father he declined to exchange a position where he was useful and respected, for the

[1] To Hardwicke, 29th January, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 29th January, 1758.—*MS.*

embassy to Berlin, in which he knew how little he could hope to effect where Mitchell had seemed to fail. It was settled that Yorke should be sent on a mission extraordinary, not requiring any prolonged absence from the Hague; and nothing now was said of Mitchell's recall; his noble employers having at last done what he suggested, and having discovered that he was not eligible for being thrown over. Frederick expressed surprise that Ministers should expect him to send succour to Hanover, knowing that he was encompassed by enemies, and the more so as English troops no longer wanted at home were withheld. He could not believe that his Envoy in London had duly represented the circumstances of the case.

In a long Cabinet on the 24th of February it was resolved that Frederick should be formally made aware that his refusal of the subsidy, on the specific conditions regarding its application, had put a stop to all further measures of finance in Parliament for the defence of Germany; and to the strict union which it was hoped had been concerted firmly between the two kingdoms against common foes. Until a categorical answer upon this point was received, all other measures must be at a standstill. Mitchell was informed that he was "thought to have been deficient in attention to his Majesty's service when he had acquiesced, as appeared by his letter, in the unfortunate idea that the present system in England implied a lukewarmness in the affairs of the Continent and an inattention to the present distressful scene in Germany, and had left uncontroverted an insinuation of languor in the Councils of England instead of a vigorous exertion in favour of her allies." The Prussian King ought to be reminded that England's alliance had been given at the great risk, and, as it proved, actual loss of the Electorate, when no brilliant triumph had been won by him in the field, and when his prospects were most unpromising. The subsidy of two millions, originally offered to be paid in three years, had since been concentrated in provision for the next campaign. The exertions making by us in Canada were unprecedented in that part of the world; twenty-seven thousand troops, supported by a great fleet, were contending there with the power of France; and it was no longer a secret that the designs of that power, in concert with Austria, were the permanent humiliation of the House of Brandenburg. The questions of sending a fleet into

the Baltic while the three Northern Powers were in hostile coalition, and of furnishing a contingent to act in Germany, must stand over until circumstances rendered them soluble.[1] In a private note, dated three in the morning, Holdernesse said that he had "spent five hours with Mr. Pitt in weighing words more than matter for his draft to Mitchell. He would not pass such another evening for the King's revenue or, for what was perhaps more valuable, Mr. Pitt's abilities. Whatever objections Pitt might have for the future to Holdernesse's performances he would please to set down in writing, for he neither could nor would be detained for hours upon the introduction of a monosyllable. The First Lord might say he was peevish: perhaps he was; but it was the first comfortable moment he had had since seven the previous evening."[2] The response, of course, was sympathetic. "I sincerely pity you; but in turns we are all to be pitied. I entirely approved your draught, and so did Lord Hardwicke—the best judge amongst us."[3] He was, however, far from thinking it was a dispute only about monosyllables. The letter was quite altered. In many parts it was better.[4] For after all, there was no balancing between the old and the new Secretary of State; between the old dredging-craft and the new fire-ship, who might be, and who was, and who could never be else than terribly dangerous; but without whose aid and lead there was no saying what might become of the whole convoy. The unexpected success of Prince Ferdinand at Verden rallied the spirits of the Cabinet. Pitt, most easily depressed in adversity, was most exultant on any return of fortune. "I make this first use of my lame hand, or rather I recover it on this happy event, to express the true joy of my heart at these favourable openings. So should, and I doubt not so will, dignity and firmness of resolution be crowned with success, glory, and safety. May the sword of Prince Ferdinand confound the insidious friendship of the French Pensioner Bernsdorff and the collegiate cunning of the pedants of Städe.—Always your humble and affectionate servant, PITT."[5] A week later the wind changed,

[1] Holdernesse to A. Mitchell, 25th February, 1758.—*MS.*
[2] To Newcastle, 26th February, 1758.—*MS.*
[3] To Holdernesse, 26th February, 1758.—*MS.*
[4] To Hardwicke, 26th February, 1758.—*MS.*
[5] To Newcastle, 28th February, 1758.—*MS.*

and Pitt once more became "very awkward and impracticable." The behaviour of our intractable ally made Newcastle uneasy, "being sensible how far he had gone in answering for him," by demanding payment of an amount some months overdue. He flatly refused to consent; not because it was not due, but because it had the appearance of being extravagant, and because Mr. Pitt disapproved it. Stone must see Lord Mansfield and consult him about it.[1] Pitt was alarmed at the extravagant rate of charge; that "for forage for the Hessians was preposterous and enough to revolt all the world were it pushed. He could not see his way through this mountain of expense unless the Treasury could reduce things to a reasonable bulk and with as much precision at least as would enable him to deal openly and fairly with the House and the nation."[2]

He was getting anxious at the rapidly-growing demands for foreign expenditure, but after serious consideration with Legge, Dupplin, and Under-Secretary Nicholls, the First Lord undertook to reduce the total of the army estimate to £1,080,000, leaving the question of the Prussian subsidy open. He contrived to dissuade the King from suspicions that he and Pitt were not acting in unison; praised his talents to the skies, and told his Majesty how much depended upon their being able to keep together. Pitt was received in the Closet in a tone and manner much softened, and he wrote forthwith effusively, thanking his Grace for his timely intervention.[3]

Never intending to do more than frighten the English Government into compliance, or probably repenting the imprudence of piquing them, as the Empress-Queen had done, into a change of policy, Frederick authorised his plenipotentiary in London to sign the Convention after all, without the impracticable stipulations. For Pitt this was another step towards ascendancy in Council. Others would have given way sooner than risk a rupture, not having the courage or capacity to calculate its inherent probabilities. Gout and genius between them cut the arguments short and reduced the alternative of resistance to dictation or breaking up the Cabinet. Whereupon they all consented to the much-elaborated despatch; but they grumbled, of course, at the

[1] To A. Stone, 4th March, 1758.—*MS.*
[2] Pitt to Newcastle, 6th February, 1758.—*MS.*
[3] Pitt to Newcastle, 16th March, 1758.—*MS.*

ill fate that had befallen them of being obliged to think in harness. And now, within a fortnight, the *mens divinior* of the dictator was proved beyond all doubt, not by him—that would have been provoking enough—but by the other *Dæmon*, whom Pitt alone seemed instinctively to understand. M. Michel called on Holdernesse to tell him the good news of his having received authority to sign the Convention.

Pitt gave himself the air of taking the matter quietly, but was in high good-humour after his interview with the Prussian Minister, with whom he talked over all the remnants of the controversy; but he owned to his colleagues that he thought it of the utmost importance to have the affair concluded within a week. He was even willing to send a few ships to take possession of the port of Emden, which had surrendered. He requested that Newcastle, Holdernesse, and Hardwicke should meet at his house to decide.[1]

Why no one else was asked to attend—neither President nor Chamberlain, nor the head of the Admiralty—must be left to conjecture. Newcastle, with feline zest for tormenting, took care to tell Legge, the most apt to be jealous at being left out, how he had been "summoned at a minute's warning to attend Mr. Pitt, which made it impracticable for him to give notice" to the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the meeting on the previous day. The minute's warning happened to be untrue, but that did not matter. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was informed that everything of moment had been completed for which his advice, or at least assent, might have been sought. Legge might proceed without further delay to open his Budget and move for the two new taxes on official salaries and window-lights.[2] Pitt was willing that one-third of all salaries should be charged as a special tax during the war, which Secretary West told him he thought very right, as if ever we had peace it would keep people from going to war; but as the Treasury had fixed the percentage at a shilling in the pound, that could not be thought of just then: to which Pitt agreed.[3]

Archbishop Hutton died on the 19th of March, and next morning the King asked Holdernesse to give him a list of

[1] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 27th March, 1758.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle to Legge, 30th March, 1758.—*MS.*
[3] West to the First Lord, 1st April, 1758.—*MS.*

recommendations for ecclesiastical preferments of various degrees. The Secretary did so, without acquainting the First Lord of the Treasury with the circumstance. There was no mistaking the purpose of this insidious procedure, no doubt preparatory to an attempt to subvert his Grace's right of nomination. It was, indeed, so palpable an indication of disloyalty on the part of the Crown that the offended Minister unbosomed his grief and indignation in a letter to Lady Yarmouth, indicating his resolve that if such manifestations of want of personal confidence in his discernment and patriotism could not be thoroughly dispelled, he would feel it his duty to retire from public life; and, as usual, he recounted his protest to her Ladyship in a letter to the ex-Chancellor, who, as he had often done before, told him he took these things too much to heart, and that he was sure all would come right with a little patience and management. How this desirable consummation was eventually accomplished the profane may never know: one can imagine how she, who was the most astute of privy councillors, gently led a tetchy Sovereign to consider whether it was worth while making a fuss about suffragan and metropolitan croziers and cathedral stalls, and things of that kind; particularly in the midst of so many perplexities abroad about forage and foreigners' pay, and really great substantial questions.[1] All we know for certain is that in an audience the Monarch acquiesced without question or demur in the promotion by the Minister of Bishop Secker from Oxford to Canterbury; the advancement of his nephew's tutor from Bristol to Oxford, and the appointment of Dr. Yonge to the See of Bristol. His Majesty made as little murmur at the transfer of Lord Bristol to Madrid, whereby room was left at Turin for Stewart Mackenzie the brother of Lord Bute.[2]

When all the best things had been given away the Leader of the House asked for a Prebendal Stall of Westminster, Canterbury, or Windsor, for the Chaplain of the House of Commons, whom Mr. Speaker had strongly recommended. "Knowing my entire inability to do *this mighty matter*, I beg leave to rest it with your Grace upon the justice and decency of the pretension. As I have not had one word to say concerning hierarchies and

[1] Newcastle Corresp., 25th March, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Pitt, 24th March, 1758.—*MS.*

powers, I would fain hope that I might be indulged an humble prebend in the name of the Commons of England." [1] The tone of this request forbade all thought of its refusal.

There was very little doing in the Session. Pitt appeared in his place only twice during the winter, and Fox was content to work by personal influence in the Upper House against a Navy Bill brought in by Grenville, and an extension of the Habeas Corpus Act carried easily by Pratt in the Commons. The Paymaster was supposed to busy himself chiefly in remodelling the gardens and completing the embellishments of Holland House. Pitt passed most of his time alone, circumscribed in movement by his old enemy, the gout; but enjoying greater freedom of military projects and prospects of territorial acquisition than he had ever known in his unofficial dreams. For society, so-called, he had never cared. He had not the gaiety or good humour that made Granville, Fox, Mansfield, and Charles Townshend, the delight of every company wherever they appeared; and his ineffable pride sniffed as incense the daily multiplying visits and messages from the inferior order of beings whom he graciously called his colleagues. By the end of the Session he had brought them to agree to a new Convention with Frederick, whereby he bound himself not to treat separately for peace during the next three years in consideration of a subsidy of £640,000 a-year. This may be called establishing a precedent in form for binding the country over in substantial securities *not* to keep the peace for at least three years.

It soon appeared why Legge had been left out of the conclave at St. James's Square. When it came to framing the estimate for the augmented Army of Observation the allowances were swollen at the instance of Munchausen in an unusual degree, and Pitt, who had the responsibility of obtaining the money from Parliament, became afflicted with a twinge of parsimony. "I confess I am astonished and overwhelmed at the exorbitance of Mr. Nicols's estimate—above one million five hundred thousand pounds. I must leave it for your Grace to judge if this be a just return for the generosity of the public disposition, or the way to preserve the continuance of it and carry us through the war. Permit me to observe that every discussion this insatiable service has undergone, your Grace has suffered the demand to

[1] Pitt to Newcastle, 29th March, 1758.—*MS.*

swell in a manner beyond all decency. I must beg to disclaim any part in the controlling and reducing this expense; and the work, such as it is, must stand upon the authority of the Treasury, and I fear that the public will think that the necessary monosyllable 'No' has been forgot between your Grace and M. Munchausen. Pardon this freedom, but I owe it to your Grace, to myself, and to an ill-requited country. Your Grace's very unhappy and most humble servant, W. PITT."[1]

The head of the Treasury sought counsel and confirmation of the questioned outlay from Legge, Nicols, and Munchausen, who all agreed that the money was required, and that the entire business must come to a stand if the estimate were not sanctioned. For himself the Duke protested that he had always been governed by the most exemplary solicitude for economy, and that he was deeply concerned at the language employed by the Secretary of State. He thought, indeed, he had settled the amount with Lady Yarmouth and Mr. Nicols at between £1,300,000 and £1,400,000, and he was surprised at perceiving that items forgotten for straw and other requisites had swelled the amount to £1,500,000.[2]

Reasonable complaints on the part of his ducal friend gave Hardwicke much concern. The behaviour (of Pitt) was certainly intolerable; but what could be done? He always feared it would be bad. He did not, however, pretend to have foreseen the manner and extent of the disagreeableness; but advantage had been taken of the low and desperate state to which other persons had reduced themselves since the coalition was made; and some pride was taken for the measure of breaking the Convention which Pitt so much pressed. He knew no other connection to which resort might be had. The money must be got in Parliament or the nation was undone. He could not blame his Grace for thinking of retiring after the Session was over. It would be unfortunate for the public, but the happiest thing in the world for Newcastle himself; for there could be no comfort in going on thus.

There was a question of who should move the Address from the Lords thanking the Crown for the Convention, pledging the life and fortune of the nation to our ally to the end of the war.

[1] April 4th, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] To Pitt, 5th April, 1758.—*MS.*

Hardwicke was asked to make the explanatory speech, but he said that the Lord President or the First Lord would do it better; but, taking the opportunity to give advice to the players, he indulged in friendly admonitions, curious and solemn, "Avoid mentioning the Convention of last September. 'Tis *locus lubricus;* do not mention or describe any *dedommagement* for the Electoral dominions; avoid flinging out anything that may be interpreted to be a Ministerial undertaking for the completeness of this army; do not be too liberal in giving hopes of the extent of its operations; do not be too liberal in commendations of the measures of the war. The message has avoided calling it necessary, and only given it the epithet of just. No other negatives occur to me. I should not have ventured thus far if your Grace's orders had not extorted it from me." [1]

These were the esoterics of war policy whose conciliation, with all that the Cabinet said and all that they did, are doubtless written in the Book of War not to be indelicately disclosed. Exultant in having brought Sovereigns and Ministers to compliance in his policy, Pitt lost no time in seeking to impress his views on legislation. A majority of the Cabinet, led by Hardwicke and Mansfield, had voted in the Lords the previous Session for the rejection of the Habeas Corpus Extension Bill; but it had been carried again in the Commons, sent up a second time, and now awaited the decision of the Upper House. A dinner party at Newcastle House on the 14th of April sat late; but after they broke up Pitt remained for an hour, and the altercation that ensued is given in the words of the Duke: "He employed all his eloquence to persuade me of the reasonableness of the Bill, and how much the nation insisted upon it. When I objected what occurred to me and argued a little from what I had heard from those who understand it, he took me up high and would have me say that the lawyers were the judges, which he scouted much, and then endeavoured to frighten or bully me into an acquiescence; that the nation would insist upon it; that it was not a squib, but a reality; that Lord Mansfield had taken upon him to alter the law by a rule of court instead of granting the writ as he was bound to do; that judges might be impeached for this; and he would undertake to say that judges had frequently given up law and liberty. It was time to prevent it; I

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 13th April, 1758.—*MS.*

saw I was to be bullied, and I determined to stick to my point. He told me that those who supported Lord Mansfield must take Lord Mansfield's fate. I talked as strongly, that I should act according to my conscience, not out of regard to Lord Mansfield, but because I thought it right. He said he thought he had now connected himself with those who thought alike on great points and were friends to liberty; for throughout the whole he asserted every opposer of this Bill to be an enemy to liberty and the Habeas Corpus. I said I was indifferent what people might think, but I did not think I should be thought an enemy to liberty. He talked of the prerogative of the Crown as if that had been insinuated by Mansfield and his friends to be affected by it. I told him I had heard the Chief Justice say that was in no ways concerned in the question. I mentioned your opinion, with the respect that is due to it, particularly with reference to its having been brought in without concert. He said you had said something of the kind to him, but he did not care to dispute with you; that he thought it a case of liberty that was not to be expected. He had read, as he supposed I had, Lyttelton, Coke, Selden, and Sir Simon Davies, and was able to talk upon this question *as any lawyer*. In short, a greater rhapsody of violence and virulence could not be flung out, and if it was not meant to bully me, in which he entirely failed of his aim, I am persuaded he will carry his point to the last extremity."[1]

Unlike many of his colleagues, Granville had the capacity to see where justice and policy lay, and did not choose to deny it. Hardwicke learned, from one he could depend on, that in conversation Lord President had said "he did not know whether the Bill was rightly framed or not; he supposed it might be taken up in prejudice to Mansfield. That he did not enter into, but this he knew—that the people of England would not bear the doctrine that it should be in the discretion of the judges whether to grant the writ or not. In all cases the body (of the prisoner) ought to be brought up, and the judges must have the judgment or discretion to determine whether he should be discharged or not." This was the fundamental ground on which the advocates for the Bill went, and if supported by the Lord President, they might spread a great way. Whether this discourse proceeded

[1] To Hardwicke, 14th April, 1758.—*MS.*

from resentment at a supposition that what the King said at his levée was insinuated to him, or that Granville thought his being known to incline to this side of the question might procure him a licence to be absent, in order not to differ on such a question, Hardwicke knew not; but he was sure his intelligence was true, and communicated it that Newcastle might the better ascertain the fact. Possibly Lord President might talk to some of the judges on the subject.[1] On a division, the Bill was again thrown out, many holders of office voting in the majority.

Pitt was furious, and sought country air for some days, which he said his health required. In a postscript to a note excusing himself from attending the Court, he exclaimed: "What a happy scene of harmony and strength to Government is thrown away for the glory of the Robe. Are they determined to involve all in confusion?"[2]

He intimated that he would be at home all the evening if the Duke would call at St. James's Square. His Grace, as he afterwards admitted, shrunk from an exciting interview, and excused himself by other engagements. Pitt expected him till past eleven, and then, in a rage, wrote to Holdernesse that "had his Grace taken the trouble to call, he should have seen him and lamented with him the fatal difficulties in carrying on the King's business in the House of Commons with harmony and national weight by the rejecting the confirmation of their liberties in the Habeas Corpus Bill. For all which reasons he begged to waive entering into particulars of business until his return from Hayes."[3]

This was taken by Newcastle for a covert threat to give up, and with characteristic commentary enclosed to Hardwicke as "the most extraordinary ever wrote by man. The high charge upon us and the House of Lords for rejecting a Bill for the confirmation of the liberties of the people by the Habeas Corpus must strike everybody alike; but what is most material is what this gentleman intends to do upon it. To believe his letter, he will not go on till I come to some explanation with him regarding the (new) measure.[4] This can mean nothing but

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 2nd May, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Pitt to Newcastle, 11th May, 1758.—*MS.*

[3] Pitt to Holdernesse, 11th May, 1758.—*MS.*

[4] Suggested by Hardwicke for giving a single judge power of issuing the writ in vacation.

some way or other dropping the (new) Bill, and that is what no consideration on earth can make me do. Our own honour, the honour of the Kingdom and the King, and the very Constitution itself will prevent me from entering into any management of that kind. The King and myself are every day taking measures to make our majority as great as possible. But the real question is—will Mr. Pitt quit his employment? what can be done to hinder him? or what if he should do it? At present I have left him to cool. For a long harangue in fine words, with some very provoking expressions about the Habeas Corpus would only have made things worse. His Majesty was extremely gracious on Friday, gave the blues to Granby easily, and the rank of Colonel over the *Noble Boys* who are lately made Colonels, to George Townshend tolerably well. He was more against the Bill than ever. He immediately proposed to remove Lord President and Mr. Pratt, to make Lord Hardwicke President and his son Attorney-General. I only answered by putting it off, and saying, 'Your Majesty will think of that.' He expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with Mr. Pitt and entertained a hope that he should somehow or other get rid of him. He was particularly gracious to me: my power, my credit, &c., always joining your Lordship with me with the highest expressions of confidence and regard. He said a great deal against Mr. Fox, that he knew he could never be Minister; but, however, he was a brave fellow, would pull an opponent by the nose, and he would have me manage him. I did not enter into it, but said I had no personal resentment to Fox, but did not let the least thing drop, as if I ever could, as I never shall, consent to act with Fox as Minister, or, what is worse, as head of the House of Commons without being so in appearance. However, as *we* were both in good humour, he went downstairs to Lady Yarmouth and put a very different construction on what passed to what it could be termed by any impartial person that heard it. He told her of his plan and flattered himself it was ready to be put into execution. He supposed he will go on without Mr. Pitt, that he is hated by everybody, and that I have my little Chancellor of the Exchequer in my pocket to do what I please with, though I have constantly told him the contrary. Lady Yarmouth talked with great honesty and resolution to him. Told him that she was sure he had misunderstood me: that we

could never act with Fox, that if Pitt went out his Majesty would be in the same case he was in last year, when he thought everybody would come in, and when he found in three days not one would accept employment. He was very angry with her, and in a degree has stopped her mouth, but I hope I have opened it again. I have promised to undeceive the King of any hopes of my engaging to act with Fox in the manner he seems to wish. But though we won't do that, we must consider what we will do. Suppose this extravagant man should determine to quit? I have talked very seriously to Mr. Legge, who is highly irritated against Mr. Pitt, but who will take no part without the consent of Leicester House. Legge has talked fully and strongly to Lord Bute, and told them there might be a third party, of which he would be one if they would give him leave, but *that* they will not do. The question is what language to hold *now* with the King; whether anything, and what, can be done to prevent Pitt quitting, and if he should quit what part you and I should take, and with whom. I see no possibility of going on with safety, yet the Government must go on in some hands. Lady Yarmouth seems to have a good opinion of Lord Bute. He is the only person who can do any good with Mr. Pitt, and if he would endeavour to persuade him to remain, and he would not, then Bute must be for forming some Administration without him. Can Leicester House be for flinging everything into confusion because a ridiculous Bill about the Habeas Corpus is thrown out by the House of Lords? Can they wish to see Mr. Pitt's obstinacy drive every man out of the Administration who has the least decency and regard for them? If Bute is not the proper person, is there any other mortal who can or will talk to Mr. Pitt, or whom he will hear? For my own part I can't pretend to talk to him upon this subject, but I can talk to nobody without knowing your opinion."[1]

Hardwicke owned that Pitt's letter was very extraordinary. "His refusal to see Holdernesse on pretence of remains of weakness at the same time that he was well enough to write such a letter at 'past eleven at night,' is vastly odd, and yet I believe there is some lowness of spirits and peevishness, arising from the effects of his distemper. My opinion is that Pitt will not quit on account of that Bill. What other circumstances, particularly

[1] To Hardwicke, 16th May, 1758.—*MS.*

his own unmanageable health, may incline him to, I do not pretend to say. I do not believe there ever was, from the beginning of time, a point so taken up and pushed on a mere question of law. Two lawyers in the King's Cabinet and not one word of consultation or communication with them, but entirely cooked up between himself and his new Attorney-General, who must be entirely inexperienced in Parliamentary or Constitutional measures. Not the least complaint or call from the people, and yet now the national weight is put upon it and it is called 'rejecting the confirmation of their liberties in the Habeas Corpus Bill,' as if it was the most solemn petition of right for the redress of real grievances. Submit to pass their Bill, you cannot with decency and common sense. If it were possible to amend it in Committee, I should be for that, but they have taken care to frame the Bill so as to make that impracticable. I can see no remedy but to let the judges prepare a reasonable Bill to remedy the defects which were admitted to exist. If nothing will satisfy but for the Lords to swallow this absurd Bill, 'tis impossible. It would be extremely wrong for the King or any of his servants to think or speak of the consequences of espousing or opposing the Bill, further than of the propriety or impropriety of the thing itself. The way to make it of still more unhappy consequence, and to add clamour to clamour, and to make it looked upon as what it is not—a point of prerogative against liberty, is to talk of turning out people for their behaviour upon this point. I would not upon any account have it imagined that the King harboured a thought of turning out Mr. Pitt or promoting my son at present. Much less would I have it buzzed or suspected that he thought of removing Lord President on this occasion. For the sake of his Majesty's service, I would by no means come in in that manner. There should be no talk or insinuation about any such consequences, though it will certainly be right for his Majesty to remain and to appear firm in his opinion against the Bill. It will be very material to gain the Duke of Bedford, or at least that he should not appear for the Bill. I think the part Lord Anson has taken[1] a most wise and manly one, and so I have writ him, and I hear that Sir E. Hawke has of himself desired to serve under him."[2]

[1] Consenting to command the Fleet in person.

[2] 17th May, 1758.—*MS.*

Having cast their lot together, each unconfessedly felt that there was nothing for it, if offences must come, but to make the best of it. Chesterfield's keen wit etched exactly the condition: "They jog on like man and wife, that is, seldom agreeing, often quarrelling, but by mutual interest, upon the whole, not parting."[1] Writing to the First Lord himself, with reference to Cabinet wedlock, he said: "Your wife is a termagant, as I told you she would be: but, termagant as she is, you could not, at that time, have married better, and you must not be separated at present. While you have war abroad you must not have war, at least open war, at home: but when you have peace abroad you may talk in another style at home. Till then, patience."[2]

At that very moment, oddly enough, fresh differences had arisen, which looked so serious that Lady Yarmouth, who was always consulted in such exigencies, thought it necessary to give the same admonition almost in the same words: "Keep Mr. Pitt until we have peace, and then do what you will with him. Peace is her only song, and I hope it will be our measure."[3]

The imperative Minister, as a last resource, sought an audience of the Lady. "Making use of all arts of threat and cajolery to show the necessity of passing the Bill, he told her that the nation would be in a flame—petitions and addresses from all quarters; nothing could go on if the Bill was rejected; that Granville had eternised his name with the nation, the city, and the constitution by the part he had taken in it. He pitied the Duke of Newcastle; it was Lord Hardwicke's vanity; and as to Lord Mansfield, he would be attacked. Lady Yarmouth reasoned as well as she could, and insisted on the opinion of the judges. He said: 'Madam, if all the Bishops on the Bench were to say that the people should not have the use of the Bible, would the people part with their Bible?' Lady Yarmouth thought the conversation most extravagant, and by way of threat there was nothing omitted that could carry terror with it." He was extremely angry at some supposed instructions to Major-General Yorke to give the Landgrave of Hesse hopes that he might withdraw his troops, which Holdernesse represented to be only matters of compliment. Pitt complained that "he knew nothing

[1] To his son, 18th May, 1758.
[2] Chesterfield to Newcastle, May, 1758.—*MS.*
[3] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 16th May, 1758.—*MS.*

but by bits that Newcastle flung out to him, and that afterwards came upon him by way of assault. But if the Bill could only be suffered to pass he would not only give the Landgrave £20,000 but even £30,000. But this made so great an impression on the person to whom it was said to the disadvantage of the author, that she determined not to tell it to the King, and it must be an absolute secret, though both Knyphausen and Holdernesse understood that to be his way of thinking and acting." Holdernesse found Bute very cool and reasonable. "He blamed the 'flights' of Mr. Pitt, which he said would blow over, and Holdernesse believed that Leicester House had taken no part in this affair. Pitt was playing his part everywhere. Newcastle did not in the least fear the steadiness either above or below stairs at Kensington."[1]

Pitt evidently felt the same, and on returning to Hayes made a last appeal by letter to the First Lord: "I beg leave to trouble you on a subject that interests my whole mind so deeply, and in favour of which I should esteem it the happiest and best work of my public life if I could engage your timely and preventive attention—I mean the Bill now depending before your Lordships' House. Let me, in a word, deprecate and conjure your Grace to interpose your weight and authority between an endless train of public mischiefs which will attend its rejection. It would be unreasonable here to enter into the merits of this most interesting matter. It is enough, my Lord, to decide on which side the public good lies, if it be certain, first, that the Royal prerogative and authority are entirely out of the question; next, that unless the Bill passes the spirits of men will not subside; and the present happy scene of harmony and union (growing beyond all your hopes, and never to be restored when lost) will be changed into distrust, alienation, and complaining in your streets, and *not in your streets alone*, but Councils too must partake of the dangerous consequences, for in effect what degree of confidence can subsist between the maintainers of this fundamental liberty and the neglecters or impairers of it? I entreat your forgiveness for my freedom and plainness, but truth and conscience impel me to suppress nothing; and I beg to leave it to your Grace's own breast (as warm for your country's good as I can pretend my own to be)

[1] To Hardwicke, 21st May, 1758.—*MS.*

whether, at this momentous crisis, when so much has been unanimously given and more may be wanted,[1] it can be advantageous for the King's service, salutary and wise for the good of the whole, to throw away all confidence, good will, and national concord. I should on any other subject blush to review the length of this letter, but as I feel it proceeds from a foresight of various mischiefs, I will not doubt your forgiveness." [2]

The Lord Chief Justice opposed the Bill in a speech of rare ability, and carried the majority of the House completely with him. The clamour raised for it, he said, arose from ignorance, and from the belief that individual liberty was unsafe without its guarantees. The right to demand a writ of Habeas Corpus had no more to do with personal freedom than the Navigation Laws or the cultivation of madder. But such ignorance was pardonable, since the knowledge of positive laws required a particular study of them. The truth was, he said, that Habeas Corpus was a writ of right but not of course; and it never had been granted except on a case stated in Court disclosing an equitable right in the applicant. He denied explicitly the miscarriage of justice in the King's Bench alluded to by Granville as having no foundation, either in the conduct of the practitioners or the ruling of the Bench, and rather rallied the Lord President for relying on the information of those who could not have known the facts. The people were sometimes cited for opinions and demands far from being their own, but which were artfully infused into them. The Militia Bill had been demanded in their name, as the only means of saving the nation from foreigners, both friends and enemies, and even from the army paid by it; yet when they had got it they so much disliked it as to prevent the execution of it by rebellion in several counties; for which a few had actually suffered death, and a great many more deserved it.

The final debate in the Lords took place on the 2nd June. Early in the morning, Hardwicke wrote that "it seemed as if the *Great Man* was putting water in his wine," [3] and finding that few would rally to the lead of Temple, the discussion ended without any serious struggle. The Bill framed by Pratt soon

[1] The increased votes in Committee of Supply.
[2] Pitt to Newcastle, 22nd May, 1758.—*MS.*
[3] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 2nd June, 1758.—*MS.*

dropped out of public notice, and was not renewed in the following Session.

The confidential relations between Bute and Pitt continued without interruption, as appears from a letter bewailing the fate of the Habeas Corpus Bill: "What a terrible proof was Friday in the House of Lords, of the total loss of public spirit, and the most supreme indifference to those valuable rights, for the obtaining which our ancestors freely risked both life and fortune. These are dreadful clouds that hang over the future accession, and damp the hopes I should otherwise entertain of that important day."[1]

The easiest day in the Committee of Ways and Means, as the Whip reported, was that in which, scarce forty members being present, the Chancellor of the Exchequer carried a tax on windows of houses above fifteen pounds' rating, which he reckoned would produce £100,000; and the reductions from salaries and pensions, which would yield £170,000. Lord Strange, in the name of Opposition, moved, and Legge seconded, that the Speaker's fees should be exempted, whereupon "Mr. Speaker came down from the gallery and insisted on not being exempted. 'How would it look if, when the Commoners of England were to pay a tax on their emoluments, the First Commoner should be exempted?' The mover expected this self-denial, but he should remain as rigid as before. The Speaker said this was a bad way; it was dangerous to exempt any person from taxes. He was himself a thousand pounds the poorer for being Speaker, but he would accept of nothing, and wished he was able to serve without receiving a shilling. It would be right to give a (fixed) salary to his successor, but not to suffer him to accept any place or employment."[2]

The Speaker till then was paid by fees, and when he ceased to be Master of the Rolls the office entailed much uncompensated outlay.

If Pitt could not have his way in legislation, he was all the more determined to have nothing but his way in foreign affairs. Divisions in Council at Versailles paralysed French arms. Battle after battle had been lost in Germany, and corps after corps driven back over the Rhine, while the intervening provinces were

[1] Chatham Correspondence, I., 317.

[2] Secretary West to Newcastle, 28th April, 1758.—*MS.*

loud in their cries for a cessation of hostilities, which resulted in nothing but their being plundered by their own troops, left heavily in arrear of pay. Yet the knowledge of all this at Whitehall, however calculated to encourage the hope of peace being near, served but to whet the appetite of conquest in the triumphant advocate of a vigorous war policy. Why seek to negotiate till the enemy were actually brought to their knees?

Prodigal expenditure of all kinds seemed to take fresh vigour and warrant from victories by sea and land; schemes of retrenchment were addled as soon as laid; augmentations of force in India, America, on the African coast, and in Germany went on without let or hindrance, till war estimates rose from twelve to fifteen millions in the following year.

The preparations being complete for the new expedition against France, Pitt summoned a Cabinet for the evening of the 19th of May, at St. James's Square, to decide on the instructions to be given to Marlborough and Anson. If Newcastle would not come on private invitation, he must be bidden by circular from the highways and hedges of Claremont to come in, and accordingly his Grace, leaving a large dinner party, took care to be up to time. Devonshire, Ligonier, and Holdernesse were there, Legge absent from the illness of his wife. No allusion was made at the meeting to the disagreement which filled every mind.

In concert with Anson, Pitt had prepared a second expedition to ravage the French coasts. Its destination was carefully kept secret, but after landing the troops under the Duke of Marlborough at St. Malo, the place was thought to be too strong to be defended against the numerous corps approaching for its recapture, and the troops re-embarked after destroying by fire shipping in the harbour, magazines, and warehouses, to the value of a million sterling.

Pitt expressed himself fully satisfied with the alarm spread and damage done; and Howe was sent for to confer on measures to be taken for fitting out a third expedition of the same character and with similar objects. The Generals were not equally proud of their bloodless performance. The Duke of Marlborough asked to be allowed to join the army in Hanover; and Lord George Sackville did so likewise, rather than again serve on what he called a buccaneering expedition. But to keep up

the taste for warfaring, twenty brass cannon from Cherbourg were for some time kept on show in Hyde Park, and then, with other trophies, were drawn through the City to the Tower with due accompaniment of martial music. Lady Anson, who inherited her father's jealousy of Pitt and all his works, laughed at the show, though "war had, to be sure, its advantages in the fine sights its triumphs afforded, of which they had one in the procession of dray-horses with the twenty Cherbourg cannon, which people were persuaded were the first brass ones that were ever seen in England. She had a great mind to have them sent to Woolwich, where there lay near two hundred her Lord had taken and never shown to anybody."[1]

[1] Barrow's "Life of Anson."

# CHAPTER XVI.

## EXPANDING ESTIMATES.

### 1758.

Royal Relatives on the Irish Pension List—Cabinet Altercations—Cherbourg Dismantled—King of America—Cost of Defending Hanover—Divergence of Bute from Pitt—Despondency of George II.—Restraint of Privateering—Right of Search—No Opposition—Ministerial Outlook.

A FEW days after Bedford's arrival at Dublin, he received a characteristic epistle from the First Lord of the Treasury proposing that he should add an annuity of £6,000 a-year of the Irish Pension List in favour of the King's daughter, the Princess of Hesse-Cassel, and her children, who had been driven by the French from their hereditary possessions. No permanent provision of the kind, his Excellency well knew, could be made on the Civil List of England, without consent of the Parliament at Westminster. The Irish Pension List, however, was subject to no such vexatious overhauling, and if only his Grace would assent the thing might be done. In guarded terms Bedford endeavoured to ward off this last exaction. George II. had, it was well known, in the course of his long reign, laid by a large amount out of the surplus of his Civil List, and the Viceroy might well, therefore, say that while it would little become him to suggest difficulties, he should do no more than state the condition of the Irish Pension List compared with what it was on the King's accession to the Throne. The pensions on the Irish establishment unvoted and uncontrolled by Parliament were then £37,994, whereas in 1757 they had reached the sum of £55,253. Additional salaries to public functionaries had in the same interval increased the charge £11,947; while the revenue had decreased in an equal degree. He therefore thought if "the Parliament of Great Britain could be prevailed on to grant £6,000 a-year to the Princess of Hesse, it would be a much

more desirable way than taking it from the Irish Establishment. When his Majesty should have considered the state of that country, which the duty of his place obliged him to lay before him, he would be the best judge how it could bear a further drain."[1]

Nothing was then done, Ministers not deeming it prudent to risk such a proposal at Westminster. But six months later £5,000 a-year in minor sums having been subtracted by death from the Irish Pension List, Bedford consented to that amount being charged upon it for the Landgravine and her children. His Excellency's complaisance drew upon him more quickly than he dreamt of the retribution it deserved. Within a month Newcastle sent for Rigby, and engaged his aid in getting the Duke to grant Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick £2,000 a-year for life out of the Irish Revenue, and swore to him that nobody but the King and himself knew anything of the affair. From Woburn, Bedford replied that, having learnt *all* particulars from Rigby, "though it was undoubtedly in his Majesty's power to dispose of the redundant money in the Treasury of Ireland, it was as undoubtedly his duty to submit to his Majesty's wisdom his doubts on the fitness of such a measure. It might be attended with great inconvenience, and probably with some clamour in the House of Commons, should this additional sum be asked, which, though to a Prince highly deserving his Majesty's favour, the whole nation might think it hard that services purely British or German should be paid out of their pockets."[2]

Some unhappy words of the Lord-Lieutenant, that if he were overruled he should endeavour to render the transaction of as little mischief to the public service as might be, emboldened the First Lord of the Treasury to try once more what might be effected through Rigby; he sent him accordingly a pressing message to attend him at Whitehall, which the Secretary told his chief did not reach him till he had left town, adding the assurance that if it was to propose a fresh job for Prince Ferdinand, he was very happy to have been out of the way, and that he should never pay any obedience or attention to that quarter more than common civility that he was not positive coincided absolutely with his Grace's inclinations. Newcastle then wrote

[1] Bedford Correspondence, 13th October, 1757.
[2] 30th June, 1758.

to say that as there was a sufficient balance in hand to satisfy his Highness of Wolfenbuttel, £2,000 a-year should in future be paid to Prince Ferdinand. Bedford, grieved and mortified, sent the whole correspondence to Primate Stone, for the information in confidence of himself and brother Lords Justices only; but manifestly to vindicate himself to them from the suspicion of having helped subserviently while absent to deal extortionately with the poorer country heavily overweighted in the race of industry. The Primate could not bring himself to own that anything was wrong that emanated from his old patron, and sought to comfort the Viceroy with an undertaking to defend the new grant if attacked in Parliament. But he hoped that the generous fight made in defence of impoverished Ireland by her absent chief governor would tend to ward off like blisters in future; but should the existing revenue fail to meet increasing expenditure, he knew not in what form additional taxes could be profitably imposed. The bulk of the people were not regularly either lodged, clothed, or fed, and those things which in England were called necessaries of life were to them only accidents, and they could, and in many places did, subsist without them. Estates had risen within thirty years to near double the value, but the condition of the occupiers of the land was not better than it had been before that increase, nor could he imagine any resource for raising money there, but by an immediate tax on land.[1]

Yet so improvident was the habit of injustice that the sole response to his representation was an embargo placed by order in Council on all ships in Irish ports freighted with beef and pork, which next to linen was the staple of its trade with the colonies.

The Primate confessed that once more he had *invita Minerva* slid into Opposition. He had tried hard, but as time went on and the Castle got into the habit of not listening for his chariot wheels, and the national plight was becoming thereby so much the worse, he could not be still. He was anxious, indeed, that the mixed motives of his chequered demeanour should be understood by the giver of all his greatness at Whitehall, and he took pains to recount how often he had obeyed his Grace's instructions to support the Viceroy, and how regretfully he had gone against them, when duty required that the crozier of St.

[1] To Duke of Bedford, 15th August, 1758.

Patrick should be raised in what the wicked called faction. The logic is not very clear, perhaps was not meant to be, but the inference was plain enough, that if he were only again taken into ruling conclave he would be the same cornerstone of order and law he had formerly been.

Unanimity in the Commons and success in the Lords salved but could not heal Ministerial wounds. The First Lord apologised to Chesterfield for not sooner disclosing to him the personal history of his recent vexations in the Cabinet, but acknowledged that he was glad he had taken his advice not to break the skin of outward appearances. "He had been so plagued and disturbed with the most unpleasant situation that ever man was in, that he had scarce had an hour to himself; disagreeable altercations, and most disagreeable correspondence had been his fate for some months."[1]

If news from America, however, chimed with that from Germany, they might hope at last for peace abroad, till which, the Earl was all for peace among themselves. After that he said a little wrangling at home would keep up their spirits.

Nor was the Black Continent wanting in its contribution of triumph. Captain Wilson, who had charge of an expedition to the Senegal, consisting of five sloops and gunboats with marines on board, was able to report entire success, with a handsome amount of negroes and cannon, as Oliver Goldsmith would say, taken prisoners of war. 400 tons of gum, 500 slaves, 50,000 dollars and a quantity of gold-dust, and a stock of goods enough to trade with the French for a year to come, with magazines full of stores.[2] Could anyone doubt that here was a good investment for some of the recent votes of credit, passed *nem. con.* for the defence of the Kingdom?

Pitt desired a Cabinet to be summoned by Holdernesse at his house on the 18th June, to consider what fresh expedition should be undertaken against Brest, Rochefort, or somewhere on the French coast in consequence of the failure at St. Malo.

Everywhere his aggressive spirit animated the forces of England by sea and land, and it only required the signal victory of Frederick over the Russians at Zorndorff somewhat later on, to render the pursuit of his ambitious policy more enthusiastic

[1] To Chesterfield, 10th June, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Cleveland, 10th June, 1758.—*MS.*

and irrestrainable than ever. To sustain the undefined and doubtful acquisitions of territory on the Gold Coast he proposed to reduce the standing garrisons in Ireland.

Early in the year Bedford had complained that Anstruther's regiment was to be taken from Ireland without the substitution of any other, and in June he demurred to further weakening of the garrisons there. But without consulting him on the subject, Rigby was desired to acquaint him that it had been resolved to withdraw three regiments "to secure our late acquired possessions at Senegal, and to make fresh conquests from the French in those parts. As it was of very little consequence what his opinion was about the general measure, he should confine himself to what related solely to his own department, viz., whether any body, and if any, what number of infantry could, consistent with the safety of the Kingdom, be spared from it." The recruiting service generally had met with little success of late, and the total number of troops in the chief towns did not exceed 10,000 men, none being left for the lesser seaports on the southern coast, which were within a few hours' sail of the coast of France. So long as a great fleet kept the sea, there might be little cause for apprehension. But should any casualty of weather or of war draw our ships temporarily elsewhere, it would be very possible, under the favour of long nights, for the French to throw over in small craft such a number of troops as might surprise Cork, or other seaports, or, which would be still more dangerous, land such a body as might be sufficient to make a place of arms, and transfer the seat of war from their own coasts into the south-west of Ireland, in the wild parts of Munster and Connaught. They might very possibly be provoked to a bold stroke of this nature, by a spirit of retaliation for the insults and losses they had sustained, and out of a point of honour to be avenged in a like manner in which they had been treated by us. There was no country more capable of subsisting, even during winter, a body of foreign infantry, than the province of Munster, which was full of fat cattle, and of potato-grounds appended to each cottage. The whole country was so full of disaffected inhabitants, that the enemy could not be in want of provisions, succours, or intelligence. Besides these considerations there was that of preserving the peace of the country, which he was sorry to be obliged to say could not well be

secured without a strong military force.[1] But the great War Minister cared for none of these things; his will must be obeyed, and the most that the Viceroy could hope to obtain was a speedy replacement of the troops withdrawn by some new device to stimulate recruiting in Ulster.

Dis-federates in defeat have in all time been prone to evil-speaking and slandering; and the campaign of 1758 was not calculated to mend the ill-temper of either Schönbrunn or Versailles. Angry remonstrances from the Empress-Queen at help long delayed in Moravia, and veiled hints, if not threats, that Austria deserted would have to take care of its own interests, were attributed by M. Belleisle to treacherous revelations by l'Abbé Bernis of something he had said in Council indicating hopes of a speedy peace. Both Courts were, in truth, heart-sick of the war, but neither knew how to own it with safety.[2]

The news of Creveldt, however, only stimulated the war-feeling at Whitehall, and quickened the despatch of six regiments of cavalry to Emden as a reinforcement of the victorious army. Anson, elated with the capture of Senegal, was busily preparing further outfit for its permanent maintenance and defence against efforts at recovery certain to be made;[3] for, if white elephants are proverbially costly to keep, black acquisitions of the same species are not much better; and Senegal, although a huge object of glorification for some time to come, proved long an additional source of expense—gold-dust, gum, and human raw material for the West Indies notwithstanding. The 1st July brought the Duke of Marlborough and his troops safe back to St. Helen's, and Pitt summoned his Grace and Lord G. Sackville forthwith to give an account of their proceedings. A conference of Ministers remaining in town was summoned by Holdernesse at his house to consider what fresh instructions should be given them,[4] for Pitt panted for something that would tell better in a despatch (or in the next Speech from the Throne) than a schedule of merchantmen and magazines for a burnt-offering. The time was evidently propitious for something heroic. The atmosphere had become so heated that even New-

[1] To Secretary Pitt, from Woburn, 29th of August, 1758.
[2] Cressener, 30th June; received 15th July, 1758.—*MS.*
[3] Admiralty, 29th June, 1758.—*MS.*
[4] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 3rd July, 1758.—*MS.*

castle persuaded himself that all the expeditions in Europe, Africa, and America, were mere realisations of his own fondest dreams. He said he had been always for vigour, but he confessed that when he heard somebody say recently in Council that "Last War they had taken Port L'Orient, Rochefort last year and St. Malo this, he could not quite come up to it. 'Twas a great point for Continent politicians like Anson and himself that 9,000 men were sent into Germany. Meantime, they must *play* a little with other Expeditions to make *that* go down. But this to Anson alone. He was undone if it was known he joked on such serious matters. They were all in high good-humour with one another."[1]

Lord President, the two Secretaries, and the First Lord—being probably the only Ministers in or near town—met on the 1st of August at Holdernesse House to consider what should be done abroad. Newcastle renewed his project of the two additional battalions for Germany, which Pitt had before put aside as diminishing the force assigned for a descent on the French coast, already weakened too far. Granville audibly, and Holdernesse silently, agreeing with him, nothing was decided but to refuse everything but the small flotilla which Knyphausen had asked for.

The Secretary once more had the satisfaction of success in his policy of dismantling the sea-coast of our neighbour. Howe, entrusted with the conduct of the third expedition, effected a landing near Cherbourg, where, on the 7th of August, General Blighe succeeded in overpowering the garrison, demolishing the costly works and careening docks planned and completed by Vauban. News of a more important triumph came to obliterate the memories of past discomfiture. Louisburgh, after a long resistance, had fallen before the conjoint efforts of Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, and the island of Cape Breton was added to the dependencies of England.

The excesses committed by privateers threatened to beget collision with more than one of the neutral Powers. Joseph Yorke, who had long regretted the umbrage given to the Dutch and had tried more than once to negotiate a convention for the mitigation, if not extinction, of the grievances complained of, explained in his confidential letters to Newcastle a renewed

[1] Newcastle to Anson, 7th July, 1758.—*MS.*

scheme of compromise for the past, on condition of an effectual curb being put on buccaneering for the future. The answer of his correspondent at the Treasury was characteristic: "I approve your plan extremely, as I think it the likeliest way to bring that material point to some decision; and therefore, I beg you, trust yourself, go on your own way, and I will take care you shall not be materially blamed here. But remember I send you *no orders*. I taste extremely your notion of compounding for the past on condition that the like practices shall not be carried on for the future. Holdernesse thinks there will be great difficulty in doing it. There may be, but I am sure the object is right, and, therefore, it should be tried. I hear the Admiralty have published a thundering advertisement against our privateers, who have acted like pirates. Upon the whole, my advice is that you should form a plan upon your present ideas and upon the hints given you by your father two years ago."[1]

Pitt took the intelligence of Cherbourg quietly, but next day proposed to his colleagues that they should send two battalions and a squadron of dragoons to reinforce General Blighe, who, he said, might do great things in Normandy. It must evidently produce a diversion from their camp at Tirlemont or the French camp somewhere. The First Lord demurred till they heard from the General what reinforcements he wished for. This Pitt said was unnecessary. He was there, and we must resolve here what should be attempted. Hardwicke was against sending any reinforcements until demanded by Blighe. Cressener had warned them that no invading corps could maintain itself long against outnumbering forces, as experience would prove, and it was to be hoped that it had not done so while they were deliberating.[2] While he wrote, the event had actually occurred, and three days after a despatch was received at the Admiralty that, the demolitions being complete, the force had re-embarked.[3] The apostle of conquest would have had them knock at the next coast door, and break it open if not admitted. But a more high-minded and humane, though not less anxious, concern for the country's honour deprecated the lust of damage to the homes of a defenceless people. Devonshire inquired, "When

[1] 11th August, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] To Newcastle, 16th August, 1758.—*MS.*

[3] Secretary Cleveland, 19th August, 1758.—*MS.*

are our expeditions to be at an end? Sure there has been enough of this sort of work? The season of the year will soon come when one shall wish our troops at home."[1]

But the inflammable nature of Pitt's influence became everywhere felt. Even the drooping spirit of the old King took fire. The capture of Louisburgh, with its attendant triumph, quickened his languid pulse, and he indulged in dreams of dominion that all his life he had hitherto disclaimed. "He says we must take Cape Breton; have two armies in Germany, consisting together of 80,000 men; and then we shall be a great Nation." His inignitable Minister tried to quench the spark of septuagenarian ambition, the dangerous effects of which upon his financial peace of mind it needed no care to discern. "I heartily wished it were practicable, and begged to know where we should get the men and the money, for I knew it was impracticable." George II. rejoined, "We must tax our trade," but Newcastle did not see where they should find fresh revenue for funding six millions every year, as would have to be done if the war was continued."

Contrary to the effect produced on the English Cabinet by the taking of Louisburgh, that on the French Government was the conviction that another campaign was thereby rendered indispensable, that honour might be redeemed; and, great as was the privation and discontent caused by the increase of taxes, even Marshal Belleisle concurred in this opinion.[2]

From official reports in the autumn of 1758, it appeared that the population of France had diminished from nineteen millions in the time of Louis XIV. to between fifteen and sixteen millions, ascribed to the pressure of taxation and the constantly-recurring drain on the life of the nation in war. The effect of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was contributory to this result, few recognisable marriages taking place between those who adhered to the Huguenot faith. The number of persons sent to the Indies was greater than could be believed, and of those who had voluntarily emigrated still greater. More singular still, several of the great families were on the point of extinction; numbers depended on a single life, and a great many on two; and the

[1] From Chatsworth, 21st August, 1758.—*MS.*
[2] Cressener.—*MS.*

families at their ease had not the number of children they formerly had, and the peasants seldom more than two or three.[1]

In England felicitations on the fall of Louisburgh poured in from all sides. Lady Yarmouth hoped that the victory would produce a glorious peace; the Archbishop offered thanksgiving, and Chesterfield said we had been greatly in want of a cordial, and here was one.

Zorndorff rekindled Pitt's aggressive ambition into flame, and in concert with Secretary Cleveland (Anson being still absent afloat), a new scheme for attacking Martinique with 4,000 men, to be despatched in September, to reinforce Admiral Moore, was ordered. The Island had for some years belonged to France, and its port was fortified; but Pitt had silenced the old-fashioned talk of impossibilities and would send instructions that the thing was to be done.[2] Doubts probably there were as to practicability and policy, and so forth from official if not Cabinet colleagues; which only tended to put the Minister out of temper. He had grown accustomed to snub such remonstrance without wasting time in explaining his intentions or his reasons.

Hardwicke did not conceal his misgivings; and Newcastle, while he would not incur the risk of renewed collision in the Cabinet, took care to lay grounds for proving his claim to foresight, should the undertaking fail, by asserting his belief that the force told off for the purpose would prove inadequate.

It is worthy of note that on the very day when first we hear of the First Lord's concurrence in the expedition, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in alarm put on record his misgivings as to the wherewithal for its execution. "I hold no speculative opinions as to Continental adventures. War, I know, always finds or makes its own theatres, and the enemy must be annoyed wherever he can be met with and soonest brought to reason. But this postulatum you and I and all the world must agree in, that no nation can afford a greater quantity of war of any species than it is able to pay for; and that if we add greatly to our expenses at one end of the scale and are not able to abate at the other we shall soon be bankrupt. Ever since the falling of the new subscription I have been in pain about the terms on which the £800,000 could be raised, and still more as that would be a

[1] From Cressener, received 27th October, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 4th Sept., 1758.—*MS.*

leading card for the rate of interest to be paid next year. We must, therefore, by all ways we can, avoid increasing the rate of interest, for if we are forced to give 4 per cent., be the events of the summer what they may, I fear we shall not be able to raise a farthing next year under that sum, and that will add considerably to the amount of tax necessary for paying the interest. Gideon imputes the downfall of Stocks, the scarcity of money to be borrowed on the Vote of Credit, and the inability of bankers to help in it, singly to the discount allowed on prompt payment. This has in all probability contributed; but the true and substantial cause is the large quantity of money drawn and sent out of the country, within a very short time. Has all the money which this artificial allurement has been able to procure you done more than enable you to defray the most indispensable services at the period when they were due—to keep touch with the King of Prussia, to pay the Hessians and Hanoverians, to pay the Dock-yards, and to keep down the course of the Navy? Which of these services could have been omitted or even postponed? The only service that in the nature of things we could delay, we did delay, and pay interest to the banks to this hour upon no less than £376,427, being the last year's deficiency of Malt Tax, a thing which I believe was never known before, and that notwithstanding the enhanced payments which the premium for prompt payment has procured you."[1]

George II. was greatly depressed by his conviction of the danger of the Electorate and the endless cost of providing for its defence. He made numerous advances out of his own income to meet the necessities of his German troops, until at last he could say with truth that he had spent two millions and a half since the beginning of the war, in addition to all that had been voted by Parliament. "I spoke to Mr. Pitt last Friday that we might leave off while we were well and successful. The recent reverse at St. Cast will give a damp to expeditions, and now about our home squadron and intended design against Martinique. I am very sorry Lord Anson did not come in immediately upon Mr. Pitt's letter and leave his squadron cruising under Admiral Saunders. I want his Lordship, for at present I transact with no one but Cleveland; and I find Pitt uneasy at the whole squadron coming home just now, as our design against Martinique should

[1] Legge to Newcastle, 4th Sept., 1758.—*MS.*

be kept the greatest secret. The continuance of alarms on the French coast would have been a blind. I like this scheme of Martinique better than any but that of Louisburgh. It should go strong enough both in troops and ships. Abercrombie is to be recalled and Amherst to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief in North America. Though Pitt at first thought well of him, poor Abercrombie was never fit for such a command. The King talks as much, and writes as much, to drive the French out of North America as the Common Council of London; but his Majesty would like to gain besides other points and advantages which I am afraid will in any event be very difficult to secure. As to carrying on the war for another year, all the Chancellor of the Exchequer's notions for improving the revenue are chimerical. The Sinking Fund must be the collateral security; the increase of the produce is no security. So that this is an indirect way of mortgaging the Sinking Fund, which is what I never can consent to, and which Mr. Pitt told me the other day he was of opinion should never be done. And if the war goes on another year we must make our account upon raising twelve millions at least, including a Vote of Credit. We must have 2d. addition on Malt. We have seen by our Plate Tax, and shall see by our Place Tax what taxes of honour and upon those of the first rank only will or can produce. It is a sad story, but thus it is."[1] Pitt talked reasonably, but would increase the force sent against Martinique to 6,000 men. He had promised to give up all other expeditions or drains from hence, except 700 men from Ireland to be sent against the Island of Goree, and something for the securing of Senegal, which Anson declared to be necessary. The difficulty of finding money increased from the quick recurrence of subscriptions to recent loans, and the First Lord lavished, as usual, much pity on himself that he was in town in the dead of the autumn "quite alone, equally to combat both his Master and Mr. Pitt at times; and the first struggle often made the last more difficult; and yet he thought he fared much better with the first than with the last. That which grieved him most was to be *alone, quite alone*, in deliberation, for meetings there were none."[2]

Bute's ambition grew exigent as his domination in the Court of the Heir Apparent became more and more established. He

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 17th Sept., 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 19th Sept., 1758.—*MS.*

could not get all his *protégés* appointed to minor offices, and because the Prince's grandsire was testy and impracticable, more than one of the Lordships of the Prince's Bedchamber continued vacant. Sometimes Pitt and sometimes Newcastle was blamed, and there are indications of Bute's being ready to set them by the ears if haply their disunion might tend to the increase of his own importance. Dodington, who now held fast by Leicester House, was said to have had a mission to the Tories in Opposition to stir them up against the excessive war expenditure, for which the Leader of the House of Commons must be held responsible, and which it was easy to show was signally at variance with all his vows and invocations of former years. But the missionary did not make way with the *ci-devant* Jacobites who since the failure of the last rebellion had silently made up their minds to have done with bootless treason, and whose hereditary and social instincts led them to prefer the nearest approach to a Crusader that the country afforded to any modification of an Executive composed of the great Whig families. They would not, therefore, lift up their heel against the man of war and the system of profusion of which he was the author and the soul; and when he told Bute once for all that he was determined to keep faith with his ducal partner in the Government, there arose such a cooling off of intimacy and confidence between the cousinhood and Leicester House as few ouside the circle suspected, far less understood. "The Grenvilles were not well with Leicester House; nor George so well as he had been."[1] Here was the beginning of the divergence so soon to widen into open schism.

George II. was led to believe by his Hanoverian Counsellors and Courtiers that "the French had ruined his country before they left it; that he was ruined for the sake of the English, who had used him very ill; that at the end of the war he who was a great Elector, would be only a little Prince; in short, Ministers would not give him money, and therefore they must increase his dominions by acquisitions from his enemies." Newcastle told him that must depend upon the events of the war. "The King ran on so that there was no making a reply with decency. He exclaimed against Prince Ferdinand, who might be a good general but had ruined him. He spurred other people's horses; and, what was worse, he was not his servant but another Prince's. If

[1] Mem. in V. Jones's handwriting, 10th Oct., 1758.—*MS.*

he had known at first how he should be used, he might have taken other measures; but now he could not; he was tied to us, and there he must remain." When Newcastle pointed to the Customs being better this year than was expected, he said, "What good will that do me? That won't pay my losses, or those of my (German) subjects." Lady Yarmouth construed aright the renewed pressure for allowances for compensation which she was not disposed to abet.

It appears that Holdernesse, beginning to look ahead, systematically paid court to Bute by acquainting him with all news of importance abroad as fast as it came in. His old friend Pitt was less communicative, which did not please the Prince's Groom of the Stole, who was already full of mischievous meddling in administrative affairs, under the pretence of keeping his young master *au courant* with what was going on. It does not seem, however, that Pitt encouraged all Bute's insinuations or intrigues, holding consistently in the main by the condition of the coalition, and often reminding mischief-makers that, after all, he and Newcastle were essential to each other during the remainder of the reign.

Intelligence came on the 25th October from Oswego of the reduction by Colonel Broadstreet of Frontenac, a fort on the St. Lawrence, well appointed and garrisoned by French troops, and the capture of 500 prisoners, 100 guns, five armed vessels, and £70,000 worth of plunder.[1]

Bute, though unprepared to oppose the war policy of Pitt, spoke of it to those in whom he could confide as not being for the interest of the Prince to have it supposed that he (when King) would support it in the manner it was now done. He began also to be fonder of Legge, and to talk of his abilities and cool judgment rather in preference to Pitt. Sackville's appointment to the command in Germany, and that of Ligonier as Master-General of the Ordnance, were both unwelcome at Leicester House, then out of humour with Pitt.[2] One of the grievances of Leicester House against Pitt was that three Garters had been given away, and not one of them offered to Prince William, who was then nearly fifteen.[3]

[1] Newcastle to the King, 30th October, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] On the authority of Count Viry who appears to have retailed at Claremont what he heard elsewhere that it imported its jealous master to know.—Newcastle Correspondence, 31st October, 1758.—*MS.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 14th November, 1758.

To appease the gathering rage of the ship-owners of Amsterdam, Government, by the advice of Yorke, resolved to restore several valuable merchantmen with their cargoes trading with Spain and the Indies. But the privateers spurned and resented what they called mean and cowardly truckling to the foreigner, and Holdernesse learned with dismay that the Surinam ships that were released by the *Tartar* privateer had been retaken in their passage from Plymouth. He had written at once to Dr. Hay, who he hoped would devise some means to prevent so scandalous an affront to the King. "God knew whether they would be able to do anything against the morrow's post. If not, this event would with reason make people in Holland quite outrageous. He dreaded the consequence."[1]

The Cabinet was occupied on the 15th November with the consideration of what should be done regarding the capture of Dutch ships by the Plymouth privateers. The Lord Keeper, Henley, Lord President, Hardwicke, the Lord Chief Justice, Secretary Pitt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the First Lord of the Treasury, took part in the discussion; Devonshire, Halifax, Rutland, and Ligonier seem to have been absent; Holdernesse and Robinson were ill, and Bedford was in Ireland. A general disposition prevailed to accommodate matters, but without mutual concession it was to be feared nothing would be done. Hardwicke opened the whole question with his wonted ability, showing where the stress lay and where alone a safe remedy could be found. In strictest confidence his notes were forwarded to his son by the Duke. If the Dutch would renounce, *bonâ fide*, all commerce during the war with France and her colonies, and the articles of contraband were somewhat extended beyond those enumerated in the Treaty of 1674, the privilege demanded of free ships making free goods might be allowed to all Dutch vessels not trading with the enemy. Further we could not go.[2]

No sooner were these reasonable views despatched by messenger to the Hague with strict injunctions that they should not be communicated to any mortal soul but the Princesse Gouvernante, whose Royal father, she might be assured, thoroughly approved of, than the First Lord of the Admiralty, who had

[1] Holdernesse to Newcastle, 14th September, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Yorke, 17th November, 1758.—*MS.*

not been at the Cabinet, broke in upon his Grace's even repose, furious at any concessions being made, and arguing that we were for ever undone if we should yield. "The Dutch might as well protect the French army by giving them Dutch colours." When he was gone, Newcastle indited a practical withdrawal of the former letter, which, if its contents were known, he was undone; in fact, he now saw that he had no business to write as he had in the morning. The illness of Holdernesse was a great misfortune, but that did not justify him in writing on a matter out of his own department. Yorke must see where the difficulty lay. Others had their popularity to care for as well as his brother Anson. In a paroxysm of terror, he ends his corrective epistle to the Envoy with, "I see *black* everywhere. Where is the King of Prussia? What is he doing? How shall we pay our army in Germany at this monstrous extravagant rate? If things go on as they are at present, four millions will not pay the German expenses; and yet we are beside to make war in Asia, Africa, and America, without one single ally in the world that we don't pay most abundantly. I pity the poor King who has ruined his Electorate and spent between two and three millions for our sake.[1]

What fed the clamour in Holland was the seizure of merchantmen trading to the Dutch colonies; no serious pretension was entertained to immunity for vessels trading to the Dependencies of France; and Yorke believed little, if any, objection would be made to recognising that distinction. But Dutch statesmen shrank from offering to yield the point openly, lest it should draw on a misunderstanding with France. If the captures made were promptly restored when found to have been only engaged in the legitimate commerce of a neutral State with its own possessions beyond sea, it would quickly allay the ill-feeling now waxing warm, and prepare the way for a permanent settlement of questions so long in controversy. A far more terrible flame would have been raised in England if a quarter of what had happened to these people had happened to us through the licentiousness of our privateers and the silence our Government observed.[2]

Ministers were willing to supplement the Treaty of 1674, with the view of effectually securing the Dutch traders, subject to the

[1] From Newcastle House to Yorke, at night, 17th November, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Joseph Yorke to Newcastle, 21st November, 1758.—*MS.*

recognition of their liability to visit English men-of-war; in order to ascertain in each case by the vessel's papers that they were not carrying goods to or from the enemy. But nothing would come of negotiation if the Dutch were not prepared to disclaim publicly freedom to pursue that practice.[1]

Misgivings were entertained lest the Dutch in their anger should be tempted to coalesce with the Danes, and send a marauding squadron into the Channel, *pour revanche;* Pitt became very reasonable at the necessity of taking precautions; made suggestions how a defensive fleet might be quickly gathered on the coast; and meantime wrote a private letter to Yorke to ease the dispute and facilitate accommodation; for which he was ready to restore four of the chief prizes at once to their owners, and then try and come to terms for the future.[2]

These peace offerings had their effect upon the Pensionary, the Greffier, and the other Ministers of the States, and the risk of rupture gradually abated.

The estimate furnished by Munchausen for the German Contingent in the ensuing year, £1,866,419, astonished and grieved the Secretary of State. The burthen was impossible to be borne; at least he was sure it would crush him. He would not enter into "the enormity of the demand, but must beg the First Lord of the Treasury to bring things to some reasonable bulk immediately, or the whole must go into confusion." This was peculiarly his province, and the weight he had in the Royal Closet enabled him alone to effect any good. On communication with Munchausen he found that the estimate provided for several thousand men beyond the 38,000 voted by Parliament last year. "In the name of God, my Lord, how comes such an idea upon paper? Has your Grace ever encouraged a hope that England could vote more troops than 50,000, including Hessians, or is it your opinion that the Electorate can be defended without some efforts on its own account? I am sorry to be forced to request some categorical answer."[3] There was no time for cogitation with Legge or West; but the First Lord was too well accustomed to the cry of wolf to be seriously frightened; and he therefore replied at once that he had given no encouragement to the extra demands,

[1] Newcastle to Yorke, 21st November, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Mems. by Newcastle for the King, 22nd December, 1758.—*MS.*

[3] Pitt to Newcastle, 22nd November, 1758.—*MS.*

and had never seen the paper complained of till he received it from Munchausen, who averred that it only contained a repetition of the previous year's estimates for the pay and support of the King's troops in Hanover. He had engaged for nothing, but was ready to confer with their colleagues wherever and whenever Pitt should name.[1] Thus spoke the soothsayer at nine at night. By half-past ten the following rebound came from the Leader of the Commons: "I send your Grace Baron Munchausen's letter to me this evening and beg leave to refer you to him for my answer. As you are pleased to decline favouring me with your opinions concerning the reasonableness or practicability of the memorial of proposed expenses for the Electoral troops, I will not trouble you again on that matter, but beg leave to express my wonder and concern that you have now, the very eve of Parliament, only to tell me that a plan of expense just *double* that of last year,—new in the mode, and one part quite additional—of which addition I had never received from your Grace or any person that lived the most remote intimation whatever,—I say that I should only have the honour of learning this night that things are open to deliberation. Allow me, my Lord Duke, to confess extreme astonishment and infinite disappointment to find that things such as a new corps of troops should slip into consideration, your Grace at the head of the Treasury neither countenancing yourself, nor apprising me of such a measure, and that you should still think it matter of deliberation."[2]

Lady Shelley's death the following day suspended the angry polemic, and Hardwicke hoped that the *aigreur* would blow off in a few days.

On reassembling, Parliament showed no disposition to cavil or to stint the supplies for another campaign. Pitt challenged criticism of the measures of Government, but provoked no one to intimate doubt or censure. His Executive supremacy was silently acknowledged by all, and it was understood that the patronage remained with the Treasury. From an expenditure of ten millions in 1758, the estimates for 1759 had grown to fifteen millions three hundred thousand pounds, agreed to without protest or dissent in Parliament, the revenue being only eight millions. This was necessary for 91,000 men under arms. Pitt in

[1] Newcastle Correspondence, 22nd November, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] *Ibid.*

exultant tones demanded supplies and exertions greater than ever. No objection was raised to any part of his statement, and no new expedient suggested for raising men. The Militia, still unpopular, and very imperfectly drilled, would, it was said, sufficiently protect the country from invasion; and while our flag waved triumphantly on every sea, who would have the meanness to palter about expense? The Crown might be said to have doubled its dependencies in three out of four quarters of the globe; and the multitudes brought to acknowledge its sway no man could number.

Pitt never stood better with the Whigs and with the Court, and Mr. Gideon was ready with new plans for raising money for the needs of the coming year. He expected, in requital of his services, to be made a Baronet, and George II., when applied to, acknowledged in the handsomest terms how much both he and the Government were obliged to their City friend. But he wished it explained to him that the accident of his not having been brought up in the religion of the country might afford an opportunity to the ill-affected to raise injurious cavils, and consequently that just then he would rather not be pressed to confer an honour which was certainly so well deserved.[1] Upon this Mr. Samson Gideon produced his baptismal certificate, which he set out in full, as furnished by the proper officer of the parish of St. Gregory, in the City of London.[2]

Lord Midleton moved the Address in the Commons, which Sir R. Grosvenor seconded in terms of florid eulogy of Ministers. Their Leader was the shining light, or rather the blazing star, of the country to carry it to honour, security, and peace. Alderman Beckford approved, but must speak his mind freely. He would give two millions but not three; but America must be the primary object, and Germany the secondary. Pitt responded to this challenge from "his friend who represented the first city in the world," by assuring him that King and Ministers alike thus marshalled in their thoughts the relative aims of the war. If the expense of the latter almost equalled that of the former it might be regretted, but could not be helped if necessity made it so. The ship was at sea: she had got winds and waves to meet; and all obstructions should be endeavoured to be re-

[1] Newcastle Correspondence, 8th December, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] Rev. William Rayner, Incumbent, 8th December, 1758.—*MS.*

moved; but England, the Mistress of the Ocean, should not act despotically there, nor sanction the excesses of our privateers, who had often done great wrong to neutrals. A battle might have even then or might soon be fought on which the fate of half the Powers of Europe might depend for half a century.[1]

The early intimacy between Pitt and Bute, after many interruptions, revived. The Groom of the Stole began to be impatient for actual participation in Executive Council.

In a memorandum dictated by the Duke, particulars are given of an alleged Conference between Bute and Pitt, in which the former asked what was to be done in case of any accident to the King. The Secretary is represented as loyally insisting on the continuance of the First Lord at the Treasury, in consideration of his long services and fidelity to the reigning family. Bute was said to have exclaimed: "What! the Duke of Newcastle remain where he is? That cannot be." All sorts of regard should be paid to him, and his friends should be considered, but he was not to continue what he then was. Pitt rejoined that without marking out any particular station he thought his Grace should be supported. Bute said the Prince of Wales would be very glad of Pitt's services, but he must not expect to assign this man this employment and another to another. This was far, Pitt said, from his thoughts.[2]

Thus early the schemes were hatching which three years later came to maturity for the reconstitution of the Cabinet.

The trusty go-between called again at Lincoln's Inn Fields to tell that Pitt had sent for him, apparently to efface any misapprehensions that might have grown out of recent talk with Bute. He said they had differed on some points, but were now pretty well of accord, though he did not mean to say *que nous sommes d'accord en tout;* but he had said plainly that "Newcastle was the Minister at present; and he had told Bute that he thought the Duke should be *un bon parti dans le Ministère à l'avenir.* His Lordship had said that to be Minister of this country hereafter was what Newcastle could not be." Pitt contented himself by saying that Temple was still his way of thinking; but it seemed clear enough to C.V. that they were all expected to submit to the Prince of Wales and Lord Bute.[3]

[1] Sec. West, 23rd November, 1758.—*MS.*

[2] V. Jones, on the information of Count Viry before quoted, 19th December, 1758.—*MS.*

[3] Confidential memorandum in handwriting of Private Sec. Jones, 20th December, 1758.—*MS.*

# CHAPTER XVII.

## BUTE AND PITT.

### 1759.

Frederick's flattery of Pitt—Clive suggests Empire in Asia—Further Subsidies—Discord in the Treasury—War Budget—Impressment—Mediation of Count Viry—Assumption of Pitt—State of the Treasury—New Taxes—Quarrel with Legge—Importance of Quebec—Pitt's unbelief in Invasion—Desire for Peace—Duplicity of Holdernesse.

WINTER wore on heavily for the Prussian King and his exhausted people, and far on into the spring there came no sign of mitigation in their discontent. His last recruits held the best face they could to their enemies all along the line; but his veteran ranks were sadly thinned. The allied forces under Soubise and Daun could not be less than double their array;[1] and exhausted Mecklenburg, Anhalt, and Saxony, ground ever so hard for contributions, could not be relied on for conscripts or commissariat in a fourth campaign. But for lavish help from England, the outlook would have been desperate. Even Mitchell thought himself bound not to keep back the evidence before his eyes, that it was time to end the work of devastation and death. Frederick himself was heard muttering that he was weary of the war, and wishing that it might soon be over. He was more gloomy and thoughtful, living as he said like a Carthusian Monk, toiling incessantly with his staff at projects of resuscitation and recovery of lost ground, but ever accessible to the English Envoy, through whom he was systematically talking at Pitt; and that he talked to some purpose we know. In the Cabinet the war-like Secretary of State was never weary of insisting on the policy and duty of supporting their only ally worthy of the name against the coalition of

[1] Hardwicke, on authority of his son at the Hague, 15th January, 1759.—*MS.*

Catholic and Cossack Europe. With him Frederick was the hero and man of genius of the time, whom it would be madness to desert and suicide to betray. Crushed in the field or beguiled into compromise by diplomacy, not only Hanover would be expropriated by Austria, but America would by degrees be subjected to the rule of France, whose armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine would be transferred to the banks of the St. Lawrence In vain the fretful First Lord and the thrifty Chancellor of the Exchequer asked where money was to be found for backing his Majesty of Prussia in his game of territorial chess. Pitt disdained to argue questions of finance. Direct and indirect taxes, lotteries, and loans must be invented and multiplied as fast as they were wanted ; and if the former were deemed inexpedient, Government might unfailingly draw through the medium of the latter on the mortgaged resources of the future.

Taking breath in winter quarters after a trying campaign, Frederick expended all his best literary skill in flattering and propitiating the only man living on whom his ultimate fortune must depend. England, he said, had been long in labour, but she had at length brought forth a man. There was, in truth, a pulse of sympathy between them of aggressive ambition and military fame which probably no one but the other comprehended in their day and generation. Equally reckless and versatile in the means required for its gratification, they felt their mutual dependence for help and sustainment; and at the beginning of a new year, when every friend and foe worth having would fain have contributed to peace, it was more than ever necessary that the fellow worshippers of the Dæmon of war should be in strict unison of purpose, if the further and complete humiliation of their neighbours was to be secured. Frederick's letter of the 5th of Jauuary, 1759, is a model of flattery and suasion. Addressed direct to the English Minister in acknowledgment of his trumpet blast of eulogy and devotion in Parliament, it could not have been more consummately devised had his old confidant in literary art, Voltaire, held the pen.[1] The House of Commons voted the renewed subsidy to Prussia and succour to the Landgrave, together with nineteen thousand Hessians for the year, with but one dissentient voice. The estimates amounted to £12,000,000 ; a hardly credible sum, yet all was subscribed and

[1] Chatham Corresp., I., 385.

more offered. The unanimity in voting such forces by sea and land was not less astonishing. This was Pitt's doing, and it was marvellous in men's eyes.

There was, indeed, another who offered incense from afar, not of Royal or noble birth, or with a reputation trained in arms; but who, nevertheless, as a conqueror, had already written his name, as Pitt had been foremost to declare, above all his drilled and decorated rivals. One of the first things the Secretary had done on taking office was to recognise and reward genius for command in aggressive war; and the triumphs won by Clive in India dazzled and delighted him. It was natural that the victor of Plassey and Moorshedabad, then employed in endeavouring to solidify his unprecedented acquisitions, should throw himself confidingly upon the only man in England who seemed capable of comprehending what he had done, or of sustaining him in having done it amid the cloud of witnesses ready to rise up in judgment against him. "Suffer an admirer of yours," wrote Clive, "at this distance, to congratulate himself on the glory and advantage which are likely to accrue to the nation by your being at its head; and at the same time to return his grateful thanks for the distinguished manner in which you have been pleased to speak of his successes in these parts, far beyond his deserving."[1] The great revolution that has been effected here by English arms, and the vast advantages gained to the company by the treaty concluded, I observe in some measure engaged the public attention (at home), but much more may yet in time be done, if the company will exert themselves in the manner the importance of their present possessions and future prospects deserves; by sending out and keeping up constantly such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandising themselves; and I dare pronounce that such an opportunity will soon offer. The reigning Prince, whom the victory of Plassey invested with the sovereignty of Bengal, still retains his attachment to us; but he has lately removed his Prime Minister, and cut off two or three of his officers all attached to our interest; and who had a share in his elevation. He is advanced in years, and his son is so apparently an enemy to the English, that it will be almost useless trusting him with the succession. Two thousand Europeans will secure us against

[1] Malcolm's "Life," II., 157.

any apprehensions from either the one or the other, and in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the company to take the sovereignty upon themselves. . . . I therefore presume to submit to your consideration, whether the execution of a design, that may hereafter be still carried to greater lengths, be worthy of the Government's taking it in hand. I have made it clear that there will be no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms on paying the Mogul a fifth of the revenues thereof. I leave you to judge whether an income of two millions sterling yearly, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable productions of nature and of art, be an object deserving the public attention; and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition." He dwelt upon the consequential advantages over all other European nations trading to the East which our permanent establishment as an Asiatic power would confer. He hoped soon to drive the French from their settlements in the Deccan where they had reigned so long. Large supplies of British troops were not required, as they could levy any number of native soldiers by the offer of better pay; but all details past, present, and future would be revealed to the Minister by his Private Secretary, who was alone cognisant of his designs.[1] What memories rose in the dreaming mind of the Secretary of State, as his daring emissary summoned him thus to the brow of a new hill of vision of conquest, splendour, and power? How often by the knee of the founder of his political fortune had he hung with breathless curiosity to hear the old smuggler's tales of lawless venture and hazardous running of blockade upon the coast and up the streams of Hindustan, unable to comprehend the mysteries of brigandage and pirate war, and pondering in his Eton brain whether his grandfather did not really deserve to be deemed as true a hero as his archetypes with classic names in the Odyssey or the Æneid? Old Tom Pitt delighted in his eager glance and question keen; but after telling him often the story of the diamond, had sunk to rest without seeing any of his political hopes accomplished beyond the acquisition of half-a-dozen family boroughs. Thirty years had come and gone since then, yet only now for the first time did the course of events appear about to realise all, and more than all, the forthshadowings

[1] Clive to Pitt, 7th January, 1759.—Chatham Corresp.

of those early days. The hour and the man at length had come, and Clive received, as he no doubt felt he had earned, sustainment and encouragement.

In other directions beyond sea, the easy capture of Gorée and the surrender of Fort Duquesne without a blow[1] were said to augur the more important acquisitions in the future; but neither struck the popular imagination or weighed for much in the wavering balances of peace or war.

Nevertheless, the Leader of the Commons briefly proposed a further sum in compensation to the Landgrave of Hesse; and then the renewal of the subsidy to the King of Prussia of £670,000, which "he hoped would be unanimously voted as it had been in the year before with the most general unanimity ever known in Parliament, inspired by the universal *vox populi*, which they were bound to receive on great occasions as the *Vox Dei*, in favour of sustaining the only bulwark of the Protestant Cause and the liberties of Europe."[2]

For these and other responsibilities of protracted war, six millions additional loan was the first requisite; and this was voted in Committee of Ways and Means on the 3rd February, *nem. con.*, there being but fifty members present.

The drain of money towards the end of February greatly alarmed the Bank and the Exchequer. Hardwicke advised that a conference should privately meet consisting of the two Secretaries, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke, and himself, with the Governor of the Bank, to consider what should be done before misfortunes befell likely to cause panic. Immediately after, the First Lord told the King it was his duty to lay before him the absolute necessity of bringing hostilities to an end. But Pitt remained unmoved.

The new excise licence on tobacco and the tax upon shops would supply the interest for the fresh war loans about to be contracted. On the six millions their City adviser, Gideon, recommended an allowance of 11 per cent. discount, which he thought there could be no objection to. Sir John Barnard had lately told his friend that if issued at 85, it would be sure to go.

It was found on inquiry that the new tax might be levied on 200,000 shops in the towns of England and Wales, which would

[1] C. Jenkinson, from Whitehall, 18th January, 1759.
[2] Sec. West, 26th January, 1759.—*MS.*

raise the balance of supply that Pitt demanded. Legge required £100,000 to be levied on tobacco.[1] Beside these there might be an additional charge on wines, and a farthing a pound on sugar, which would produce £90,000 a year. Nothing was to be said about snuff, from the difficulty of raising an impost on that article. A bright idea had likewise been suggested of taxing signs over the lintels of houses of call.[2] Pitt expressed a wish that the lowest-rated places of business should pay at least twenty shillings tax.[3]

At fault what to do regarding what was proposed in the way of new imposts, Legge suddenly proposed to give up the extra charge on wines for one on coffee and chocolate. The First Lord complained bitterly of the sudden change, which left him to defend in interview with merchants a tax that was to be renounced without any previous warning.[4]

The War Budget for 1759 was framed on the policy of dividing increased resources by land and sea to complete the national triumph in war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer briefly, and somewhat bluntly, proposed increased duties on articles of consumption distinguishable from necessaries: coffee, chocolate, dried fruit, and sugar, forbearing to lay any additional charge on the raw material of manufacturers. Beckford, in the name of the City, objected to the extra duty on sugar, quoting the economic pamphlets of Sir Josiah Child and the remonstrances of the French Deputies of Trade against similar imposts which had proved injurious to their neighbours. Pitt appreciated Beckford's reasonings, but defended Legge's choice of burthens, which necessity could alone justify, but which in time of necessity were proofs of a Minister's patriotism. He rebuked a laugh which had been raised at the Alderman's complaint of the tax on sugar; had it been corn they would have heard nothing of the kind. Entire unison of feeling with the Finance Minister he counted among the honours of his life, than whom there was not a worthier servant of the Crown. For himself he did not affect to relish having to pay more taxes, and he had not been specially

[1] Sec. West, 15th January, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] J. Roberts, one of the Government Press writers, asking for instructions, 22nd January, 1759.—*MS.*

[3] 31st January, 1759.—*MS.*

[4] To Legge, 8th March, 1759.—*MS.*

consulted regarding them; but division on such a day might be fatal, and therefore with all his heart he should oppose any modification of them. He was for taxing shops as well as public-houses, but he had been overruled. He did not disguise his opinion, though it might cause him to be stoned in the streets. His leaning had always been for heavier excise and freer ports; and he hoped the day for that financial policy might come: it might not be to-morrow, but he saw it afar off and was glad. The best statesman for England was he who understood trade and navigation best. Sir Robert Walpole meant honestly by his memorable scheme of inland duties; but, like every wise man, he was forced to yield to the exigencies of administration, without due care for which no man could accomplish anything. Without, therefore, liking the Budget, he thoroughly agreed to it. Beckford, satisfied with various compliments paid him, withdrew his amendment, and Legge's resolution passed without division. Next day Secretary West was happy to tell his chief that they had been able to make a House at four o'clock, and that all the resolutions in Committee had been agreed to.

For all the fifing and drumming in glorification of the war, and the ceaseless boasting that the nation was of one mind for its continuance—until, to use Pitt's phrase, our natural enemy "was not only brought to his knees, but laid upon his back,"—unquixotic selfishness led the humbler sort to take advantage of the occasion when they were asked to enlist. The old bounty of forty shillings did not draw; and it was found necessary to stimulate flagging zeal by supplementary offers of five guineas a head with the freedom of the City to all who should come back alive. Lest the additional sums required should not be forthcoming in voluntary subscriptions, other expedients were resorted to. Men of fortune who raised regiments were led to incur greater expense in recruiting, by being allowed to nominate to half the commissions, for which, theretofore, the price was paid to the War Office. Although such engagements were always in the name of the Crown, the Secretary of State, on his responsibility only, gave authority, after the passing of the Mutiny Act in each year, for the raising a regiment or keeping up its strength; and the Secretary-at-War, before he issued his Beating Orders to the different colonels of regiments, had to satisfy himself that Parliament had sanctioned

their "establishment," by the annual Votes in Supply, and that there were vacancies.[1]

There were not wanting those who wished to stir dissatisfaction between the ill-cemented elements of the Cabinet. James Grenville sought to propitiate Leicester House by confidential disclosures of their difficulties at the Treasury regarding the new taxes, which Bute affected to discourage, saying that if he were in the Duke's position he would not tolerate proofs like these of dissension at the Board, which, for the sake of the public, all ought to regret. But the more Pitt railed at Legge for his behaviour, the more Bute recommended him to the Prince of Wales, and the fonder the Prince grew of him. It was much to be regretted, the Earl said, that the Leader of the Commons was not content with being Secretary of State, but he must direct the Treasury likewise. The Prince and he esteemed Pitt, but his temper and his overbearing were what they could not but much blame.[2]

M. Viry went and came between the Treasury and Leicester House, and between the Groom of the Stole and the Leader of the House of Commons. Some cause of pique had suddenly arisen between the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so recently the subject of his applause; and this ill-humour it was the wish of the Plenipotentiary to allay. Newcastle imagined that Pitt and Legge wanted to find an excuse for going out, to escape the reproach of "an infamous Speech."[3] The Italian envoy, with unjaundiced eyes, read more truly between the lines of Pitt's impetuosity and petulance. In a recent interview he would not let him speak upon the business of his Court, but wished to know whether his friend Bute had spoken to him about Legge. If Leicester House would let him know their sentiments, there was nothing he would not do to please them; but they were reserved towards him and did not speak to him. If they desired he should be absolutely reconciled to Legge, he was ready to agree to it, but he endeavoured to engage M. Viry to induce Legge to take the first step, and all would be over.[4] Viry's object seems to have uniformly been

[1] Clode's "Military Forces," II., 6.

[2] Private mem. by Newcastle of conversation with Count Viry, 21st February, 1759.—*MS.*

[3] Mem. for the King, 13th March, 1759.—*MS.*

[4] Private mem. of Newcastle's, 14th March, 1759.—*MS.*

to draw together into one combining hand the reins of power, and that hand undoubtedly was Bute's. There is no trace of his trying to make jealousy or mischief between members of the Cabinet; and upon the whole there could hardly have been a craftier method taken to provide against the disruptive tendencies of a new reign.

Viry's communications became more material. Bute had been again with Pitt, who excused himself for not having seen him on account of illness. He entered fully into what had passed in the House of Commons; charged upon Legge all that had been done amiss in finance; and justified his own comments thereupon. He had not meant to lay any blame upon the First Lord, but he could not help showing up his colleague *dans son veritable jour*. He did not profess to be master of the business of the Treasury. When any suggestion of his was objected to, he readily abandoned it, and left the responsibility of finding some better substitute to the Minister for the Department. He could always get on very well with the Duke, who had but two purposes in view—the disposal of employments and the contentment of the King—in neither of which did he ever interfere. Sometimes two pettifogging lawyers put difficulties into his head, but on being reasoned with his Grace usually abandoned them. Mansfield had knowledge and parts, but they always knew the *fond de la cuirasse*, and could deter him when they would, implying thereby that they had him in their power. Hardwicke knew more of the routine of business and of the Bar, and therefore they let him talk; but he had many enemies, and was not of the consequence he imagined. Bute avoided discussion, lamented appearances of disunion, and said they would do more harm abroad than any mismanagement at the Treasury. Pitt summed up by repeating that he was at the service of Leicester House, and George Grenville had been with Bute, justifying all he had said in Parliament. The Duke had complained of Legge's conduct towards him. Had he not done so, Pitt would not have fallen upon him as he had done. His Grace could not but observe to M. de Viry how strangely he was treated, when his acquiescence in measures, merely for the sake of avoiding differences in the Government, was construed as a proof of weakness and incapacity. The diplomatist replied that Leicester House declared they should not depend solely on a

man who was treated as Pitt was half the day. The strongest offers were making from the Duke of Cumberland's quarter, and the Princess Amelia had made several approaches to the Pincess Dowager, not without creating impression. He owned that Bute wished the present Administration to continue, but they would not abandon Legge, and they felt sure Pitt would make up with him when he saw it was necessary.

It was evident that the Grenvilles were bent on continuing the war while the King lived, that the Prince might find the nation in war when he came to the Throne, and that they might consequently be indispensable; but the opposite was the wish of Bute. If Temple was not gratified with the next Garter they believed he would fly out—make *quelque ecartade*—if not in Parliament, by quitting office, in which case Pitt would be sure to follow him.[1]

Next day his Excellency came again and entered into further explanations. "The Princess Dowager had been indignant at Pitt's treatment of his Grace, for while he was uttering his *eloges* of the Duke he was actually representing him as unfit for his office. As to the doubtful expression of *Le fond de la cuirasse*, with regard to Mansfield, Newcastle had mistaken the word. It was *Le defant de la cuirasse*, intimating that they had Mansfield in their power, and could silence him when they would, but by what means was not explained. As to Lord Hardwicke, Bute had early told Pitt that if he pretended to desire to be well with Newcastle, how could he hope to be so if he was not so with his best friend—Hardwicke—whom he consulted upon all occasions? or Mansfield, for whom he had so much regard? As for the most material part of Viry's intelligence, that Pitt and Grenville were for continuing the war till the next accession, the Ambassador himself had suggested the idea to Bute, who, not long after, had reproduced it as from himself, and told him that he depended so much upon the steadiness of the Court of Turin to the King that he was not sorry there should be a correspondence between them and the Court of France, that by their means a reasonable peace might be negotiated and brought about. He knew Pitt would not be disposed for it, but if the terms were reasonable he would be afraid to oppose it lest the success of

[1] Priv. Mem. of Conversation with M. de Viry, 16th March, 1759.—*MS.*

the war might change in favour of France, and then he would be responsible for having rejected reasonable conditions.[1]

For a quarter of a century Lord Leicester had been Postmaster-General, sometimes sharing the office with a colleague, sometimes holding it alone. On his death the place was solicited by some well-known adherents of Government. Sir Francis Hoskins Eyles Stiles thought he would make a good Postmaster-General, but was reminded, by way of excuse, that the place had been asked for by most considerable persons in both Houses, and it would be impossible not to have regard for them. Lords Guilford, Buckingham, Hyde, Powis, Ashburnham, Pomfret, Hertford, Cornwallis, Falconberg, Abergavenny, Willoughby, Berkeley of Stratton, Kinnoul, Monson, Bessborough, Lyttelton, and Galway desired the place; and among the Commoners, Hampden, Calvert, and West, who had so long served efficiently as Whip. After some delay, Robert Hampden, as Pitt requested, and Lord Bessborough were appointed, the latter vacating thereby his seat at the Treasury, which Newcastle gave to his relative, Lord North, whose appearance in Parliament would, he hoped, make the choice approved, and that he would be in time an able and useful servant to the Crown.[2]

Gradually uneasiness became visible in both Houses at the effect of further taxation. Whether the drummer hit high or hit low, the cry of distress was loud, and the results were feared in doubtful constituencies. Unsatisfied ambition felt conscientiously moved to be somewhat troublesome. Lord Keeper Henley reported that Granville and Temple were again muttering disappointedly about the promised amending Habeas Corpus Bill, and evincing concern at the increase of judges' salaries at a time when the country had to undertake unwonted expenditure. In the Commons, Beckford, who had a great character for economic patriotism to keep up, had come apparently to an understanding with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but threw out that licences to trade for tea with China would be a great relief to commerce from the hard and fast monopoly of the East India Company. Legge once more leaned towards Newcastle, suspecting a design afoot for union between Pitt and

[1] Priv. Mem. of Conversation with M. de Viry, 19th March, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Pitt, 24th May, 1759.

Fox. He was in better spirits, believing himself secure in the goodwill of Leicester House, and thought that for the present things might go on—with Pitt, if he would remain, and very well without him if he would go. The First Lord differed from these speculations. Bute, less governed by temper than the rest, took care to keep open doors of confidential access, and never to close them after him. The sincerity of his disposition to prevent any change of hands was confirmed by all he said to Viry.

As the Session drew to a close, men's tempers relented into better humour, and Hume Campbell was persuaded by Legge to forego his motion against augmenting the judges' salaries, not that he had changed his mind, but that he would not run the risk of embarrassing Ministers.[1]

Bute waited, by appointment, on the Duke to submit a plan for the further establishment of the younger members of the Royal Family, the Princess intimating that she relied on him as her friend, and the Prince of Wales desiring Legge to be considered as especially in his confidence. Leicester House wanted no change, and Bute himself had told James Grenville how much he disapproved of Temple's and Pitt's canvassing for new political allies, as if they contemplated a rupture in the Exchequer. At the same time, Bute severely blamed Legge for want of discretion and of deference to his Chief in the Finance Department. Had he been in Newcastle's place, he would have dismissed him without ceremony; but if he chose to overlook his indiscretion, let it be so.[2]

One of the causes or pretences for differences in the Cabinet was the adjudication of Dutch claims for compensation for their cargoes seized by the privateers. At first Pitt leaned strongly to the policy and duty of reparation, but by the middle of April his absence at Hayes left Temple and the Grenvilles more at liberty to talk in another sense, and at length to give out that he had changed his mind, and that they were all disposed to condemn the adjudication in favour of the Dutch shipowners under the advice, as they supposed, of Hardwicke and Mansfield. It is not clear how far Pitt may have been talked over by the Cousinhood. Devonshire, hearing rumours of division, wrote

[1] Legge to Newcastle, 10th April, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Newc. Corresp., 11th April, 1759.—*MS.*

deprecatingly, and expressing his wish that the Administration should, in existing circumstances, remain unchanged.

Pitt's assumption of independent judgment and decision became daily more unbridled. On the 17th April Anson had a note from him, desiring he would receive the King's orders for ten thousand tons of transport for 5,000 men, without saying for what purpose. It was presumed that the King knew the object in view; but when Newcastle went in he found that his Majesty knew not a word of it, and said "he would first know the services." On coming out the Duke told Anson, who was very sorry for it, and thought that Pitt would be outrageous, and lay all the blame upon them. He believed Pitt meant nothing but giving an alarm, and he was so strong in opinion of the ill-consequences of refusing, that Newcastle consented to let Anson tell the King that on further consideration, as it would take time to carry the order into execution (which Anson promised to delay), Newcastle rather wished his Majesty would allow it to be done, and so the King yielded in a degree, but Anson was to go to Pitt from the King to know the service intended. If there was no expedition actually proposed the expense would be thrown away. If there were any fresh attack proposed, Newcastle would never consent to part with another man more when we had so few troops at home "It was a most abominable and unheard-of measure to send orders to the Admiralty for such an expense without condescending to tell either King or Ministers what that service should be."[1]

Anson next day learned from Under-Secretary Wood that Pitt was in the gout, too ill to see anyone, but that the sudden order for transport was to cause alarm in the proper quarter, and show a readiness to encounter any descent that might be threatened upon the Irish coast.[2]

Reliable information left little doubt that the uppermost thought at Versailles was, at any cost, to save Canada, felt to be in imminent jeopardy since the loss of Louisburgh. Renewed threats of a descent on the Irish coast were loud but unreal, save for the purposes of distraction. The true object of the unprecedented rigour of impressment at Brest and Toulon was the need of arraying in the St. Lawrence such a fleet as might yet save

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 17th April, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Anson to Newcastle, 18th April, 1759.—*MS.*

Quebec from its impending peril. For this, men of all classes and callings were crowded on board, where they must long be incapable of gunnery or seamanship. Desperate efforts at retrenchment and reform of administrative abuses might save considerable waste in public expenditure, but numbers of families had gradually come to subsist altogether on the profusion of the Court. Panic spread amongst them, and the discontent it brought added to the misery of the town populations, who sat in sackcloth at the continuance of the war. The aged Belleisle drooped visibly, and when he fell no obstacle would remain to the complete ascendancy of Madame de Pompadour in all branches of the Administration.[1]

Legge was more than ever despondent at the continued fall in the funds, and audible anticipations in the City of a new loan being inevitable on worse terms than ever. Enclosing his new scale of additional stamp duties for approval by Newcastle, he said he hardly saw how they were to pull through without "running in the courses of the Navy, Ordnance, Dockyards, and, in short, wherever they could. This was a great evil, but not so great as the other mode of bankruptcy, by attempting to get more money and failing, though they offered exorbitant terms; but if they could show the moneyed people that they could rub on with a million less than they expected, Legge believed the Government would again have the upper hand in the money market. If something of this sort was not done, he was sure the whole would blow up."[2]

To provide £7,500 required for augmenting the English judges' salaries, it was proposed to add a small addition to the stamps on legal instruments. The augmentation in Scotland was to arise from the local revenues there. Audible murmurs arose among the country gentlemen who usually supported Government; and though one increased payment had already been made by the Treasury in compliance with the resolution of the House of Commons, the First Lord suggested whether it would not be better to stop the mouth of discontent among their friends by suspending the augmentation for a time and remitting the additional charge on salaries recently decreed as far as the judges were concerned. A vote of credit for a million must be taken,

[1] Cressener, 18th April, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] To Martin, 18th April, 1759.—*MS.*

though it would not suffice, and the failure of subscription for the War Loan at three-and-a-half per cent., consequent on the unexampled outflow of bullion both to Germany and to India, made a prorogation for a day necessary in order to take fresh powers to offer higher interest. Meanwhile, their moneyed friends in the City might be privately consulted at the Cockpit when his Grace came to town, as to what measures could be taken to stop the drain of gold, by encouraging the Dutch to bring their specie into the country, or arrest the outflow.[1]

The recent attack on the financial policy of Administration by the Leader of the House, whether interpreted as aimed at the Board of Treasury in general, or at the Chancellor of the Exchequer in particular, fostered the misgiving without doors, if not within, that there was division in the Cabinet, tending to a breach ere long; and this evil was worsened by the fact, not unknown abroad, of a certain crippling in the credit of the Government, in which our enemies could not but exult. Pitt disclaimed any other purpose in the sharpness of his recent words than to stimulate those who had charge of the national finance to take the necessity of the case to heart, and before it might be too late to provide against the evil day of discredit. In a piteous tone, the First Lord said that "it was, indeed, amazing that one who, by his own measures, had thrown the nation into immense expenditure which it could not support, and caused such drains of money out of the Kingdom which could not be supplied, and the present fall of Stock, should think to lay the blame upon the Treasury because they could not make more money than there was in the Kingdom, or bring it in from abroad when there was nothing to come. The real cause of the misfortune was that we engaged in expenses infinitely above our strength, and that people did not see an end of it. Expedition after expedition, campaign after campaign; no approach from any quarter towards peace; but scorn or imputation on those who might either think of it or talk of the necessity of it. The Powers arrayed against us were united as ever. The Court of Vienna had but one object—to wrest Silesia from the King of Prussia—and for that would give up all their measures in Italy and Flanders, and accede to joint measures with France, let them be ever so extravagant. How to lessen the present expense so as to reduce the

[1] Mem. of Newcastle, 18th April, 1759.—*MS.*

money to be borrowed from six and a half millions to three millions only (as Legge had flung out), he knew not. They hoped to be successful in America this year; but to think of being able to extirpate the French, or that if we did, such a nation as France would sit down tamely under it, was to him the idlest of all imaginations, and therefore he did not suppose that any advantage we might gain there would lessen our expense. Fleets and armies we must have to support our conquests, as well as to make them. There was a disposition to despise the idea of a French invasion of England or Ireland, but this was still the design of France, who had twenty-five sail of the line at Toulon, and fourteen at Brest. Probably the design would be postponed till October. It was to be hoped Spain would continue neuter, but nobody could say how long the neutrality would last. It deserved consideration whether the King of Prussia should not be apprised, *in confidence*, that it was impossible for this country to support the war another year. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was owing to an order sent to Lord Sandwich in February or March to declare to the Queen of Hungary's Ministers that we could not carry on the war any longer than that campaign." The true state of the finances, the credit and the distress of the Kingdom had never been concealed from Pitt. He had often been told the impossibility of going on another year, and, whatever his real opinion might be, he never owned that he saw things in that light. If the Treasury was in any degree to be blamed for delay, procrastination, or uncertainty in their method of raising the money, Newcastle was undoubtedly clear of that imputation. Everybody knew that he had proposed a tax upon malt just after Christmas, which, if it had not been absolutely rejected by Pitt and Legge, would have passed in January without opposition.[1]

Hardwicke shared these financial fears. The picture was disheartening, and in their situation it was much easier to state the evil than to find a remedy. Legge's suggestion of running into debt on the various services and raising a million less was a ruinous one. There was a great objection to making a new Session in order to increase the discounts to be allowed on new loans: "It had never been done but once, and that after the South Sea scare. It would cause an alarm throughout the

[1] Mem. of Newcastle's, 19th April, 1759.—*MS.*

nation, and depreciate our credit all over Europe."[1] Contrary to expectation, three millions instead of two were subscribed in the City during the next few days, and the pressure was relieved.

At this time, as Newcastle told the King, "Pitt was quite beat out at Leicester House. Legge had got the better of him there. Without that, Pitt was nothing at all." In the late discussion in the Commons he was not present, and the Attorney-General and G. Grenville went away without voting.[2] The relations between Bute and Newcastle thenceforth grew more intimate, Bute entertaining Hardwicke, Lincoln, and others of the Duke's personal friends, and making a point of his being of the party.

Years began at length to tell upon the First Lord of the Treasury, and as it was taken for granted that his official career would terminate with the reign, the ungrateful world of fashion began somewhat to neglect him. At a great party at Bedford House, he afforded amusement to Selwyn and H. Walpole by his vain endeavours to attract the attention of those who fluttered near, or to win a Royal Highness' nod: "From the gallery he went into the hazard room and wriggled and shuffled, and lisped and winked and spied, till he got behind the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Bedford and Rigby; the first of whom did not deign to notice him. You would have died to see his pitiful and distressed figure: nobody went near him. He tried to flatter people that were too busy to mind him. His treachery used to be so sheathed in folly that he was never out of countenance; but it is plain he grows old. George Selwyn, Brand, and I, went and stood near him, and in half whispers, that he might hear, said, 'How he is broke. This room feels very cold, I believe there never is a fire in it. It must have been washed to-day.' In short, I believe we made him take a double dose of Gascoyn's powder when he went home."[3]

On the subject of privateering Ministers differed among themselves. Bedford and other representatives in Parliament of populous seaports advocated free trade in prize-making, without checking the practice of issuing letters of marque by the

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 22nd April, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] Mem. for the King, 1st May, 1759.—*MS.*
[3] H. Walpole to G. Montagu, 26th April, 1759.

Admiralty. Our neighbours relied on small armed vessels for the privilege of retaliation ; and the best defence of our carrying and coasting traders when our ships were in shore consisted in the fear of their small cruisers being outnumbered by armed vessels of equally light draught. The naval officers in Parliament, on the other hand, were all for narrowing the scope of the system to a larger class of ships, carrying eight or ten guns, and commanded by officers in uniform. Pitt, Granville, and Temple, whose ethics of war were those of the classic youth of the world, which made the highest glory consist in the greatest amount of ruin and death that might be inflicted on neighbours with whose rulers our own happened to quarrel, had no scruples about the matter. But when Anson showed that, in spite of the utmost rigour of impressment, the muster of able-bodied seamen fell short, and argued irrefragably that the competition for volunteer service afloat was a main cause of the deficiency, the case was changed.

The outcry from Holland, Spain, and Denmark growing loud, and the excesses committed daily savouring often of piracy, unpopular as was a measure of control, Pitt and his friends stoutly insisted upon it. He had often had the happiness, he said, to have had his ideas of carrying on the war approved by the majority of his countrymen ; but when it was otherwise he must do the best he could ; and the Government were bound, in that case, to show firmness till the prejudices and misinformations of the people were dispelled. The misfortunes accruing to this country from the robberies committed by privateers were such that unless a step was timely made the country was undone. Were they to suffer the practice longer, the neutral nations would all be offended. Great moderation was consistent with true dignity, and it was best to use it before the storm (which might happen in a month) should break over their heads, when concession must be taken for fear.[1] Pitt's tone, it was supposed, was influenced by what had fallen from Bute at his house, when Hardwicke and Newcastle were present. The owners and agents of privateers hailing from Bristol reminded Parliament that they had, at an expense of £300,000, fitted out a great number of well-armed vessels bearing his Majesty's Commission, greatly increasing the number of seamen engaged in preserving the com-

[1] Sec. West from the House of Commons, to the First Lord, 4th May, 1759.—*MS.*

merce of the country, and reducing that of the enemy; that thereby the French intercourse with their Colonies and with foreign countries had been greatly distressed; which would have led them ere now to strike for peace but for collusive means of conducting their commerce in neutral bottoms, and that, in consequence, petitioners, animated by true patriotism and relying on encouragement from Government, had taken several vessels trading under Dutch and other colours, which had been duly awarded lawful prize by the Court of Admiralty. These cargoes proving profitable, petitioners were encouraged to fit out other ships, for the retention of whose captures they relied on the course of legal decisions; that if now called upon to give them up petitioners would be nearly ruined, and the multitude of brave seamen, who relied on their share of prize money, would be reduced to the utmost extremity.[1] But Ministers advised that no regard should be paid to what they termed "the insolent petition of the privateers."[2]

As summer advanced and prospects of the war on the Rhine continued to be overclouded, the French set more store than ever on timely reinforcing their defensive strength in Canada, and, above all, on holding fast to their position at Quebec. No sacrifice would be too great to this purpose, which far exceeded, in their estimate of its importance the engaging the Czarina to undertake a fresh advance against Germany.[3]

The Secretary of State, Pitt, appeared seldom in Council during the summer. When in town, Cabinets were sometimes summoned to meet at St. James's Square, because he had "taken to a great shoe";[4] and when at Hayes, his colleagues understood that his temper was likely to be better when unruffled by questions about foreign affairs, with which he was more and more engrossed, and less than ever disposed to suffer anyone else to deal. Contrary to the ribald prognostics of Potter,[5] his married life was one of unbroken and increasing happiness. Lady Hester shared the pride and ambition of her family; and the world said that he had married for rank and she for distinction: whereout tenderness or affection was unlikely to come.

[1] Newcastle Corresp., 22nd May, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] Cressener, 7th May, 1759.—*MS.*
[3] 24th May, 1759.—*MS.*
[4] Temple to G. Grenville.
[5] Wilkes Correspondence, *MS.*

And yet both came and grew together into strong and enduring attachment. The best, because the least selfish, aspect of the politician's character was the delight he took in his fireside with his children about him; and in the never-failing sympathy of his wife, the only friend with whom in reason or unreason he never quarrelled. The birth of a second son in May, 1759, renewed his hopes of perpetuating his name, though he could have little dreamt that this last pledge of love was destined, after he himself had passed away, to fill a place in the world's history greater even than his own.

Several meetings of the Cabinet were held early in May to consider what should be done in case the rumours of invasion reported from Versailles should be confirmed. Bedford distrusted the adequacy of the regular troops left in Ireland to resist a landing on the southern coast, and he urged his colleagues to authorise the calling out the Militia in Ulster as the only means of strengthening the force whereby that province and Leinster might be preserved from the miseries of war. He was ready himself to take the command at an hour's notice; but he had been dissuaded from suddenly quitting the capital lest it should cause public alarm.

Devonshire laid before the Cabinet information furnished by a spy from Flanders that the Irish Brigade, under Lords Clare and Clancarty, were on their march to the place of embarkation, where a powerful squadron lay awaiting a fair wind for a descent on the Irish Coast, which they hoped the Chevalier would command. The Cabinet adjourned to reassemble at Pitt's residence on the 8th of May, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was specially summoned from Woburn to attend.[1]

When they met Pitt made little of the rumours of invasion, and told the Cabinet his information dispelled all notion of France being prepared with any armament for the purpose by sea or land, such as Hardwicke and Newcastle feared. Holdernesse said nothing, Bedford took his part, showing the defenceless state of Ireland. A fleet of twenty sail of the line under Sir E. Hawke was ordered to rendezvous at Torbay to watch the French Armada.[2] Ten days later apprehensions were again renewed, and Ministers sat at the house of Holdernesse.

[1] Newcastle to Bedford, 4th May, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Note of proceedings of Cabinet, laid before the King, 8th May, 1759.—*MS.*

Far into the night ingenuity and patience were spent in vain in trying to reconcile difficulties with the captured Dutch merchantmen. Pitt had taken a decided view to yield them all they required, but in the complication of claim and counter claim it seemed almost hopeless to settle the dispute.[1]

An Act being passed, calling out the Militia, West brought the Proclamation in the terms required. Pitt, with whom nothing was approvable that was not dramatic, "thought the message very dry, and that some words might be added to the preamble to give it spirit. West said that it was in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, which was always dry. Pitt said *imminent danger* must be in, or there was no foundation to draw out the Militia; that there was a great difference between *imminent danger of invasion* and *imminent danger from invasion;* that he might not think the latter and yet think the former."[2] A force of Militia was all very well, but for the purpose of frightening France into leaving us alone, it would have been hardly worth having without the war paint. The King's assent was, indeed, obtained, notwithstanding, but although obtained, Pitt insisted that the word she wanted, or some equivalent, should be inserted "for fear of bad consequences."[3]

Devonshire was not satisfied with the progress made in embodying the Militia, though Derbyshire did well. He strongly urged, therefore, the enlistment of Light Companies everywhere, on condition of serving only within the Kingdom, to be added to the regiments quartered at home, as a better resource than reliance on the obligation of the Dutch under the old Treaty to furnish their quota of six thousand men to sustain the Hanover succession. Newcastle objected, of course, to this, as he did to every other new expedient, and told the King that the people would be very much frightened at resort to one so anomalous. Pitt was in communication with Argyll about further enlistments in the Highlands, and he had also a plan on foot for additional Regiments of the Line to be raised by noblemen of influence upon certain conditions as to rank and pay.

The number of British seamen actually afloat at midsummer, 1759, was above 80,000, at least one-fourth more than it had

[1] Newcastle Correspondence, 18th May, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] West to Newcastle, 22nd May, 1759.—*MS.*
[3] Pitt to Newcastle, 24th May, 1759.—*MS.*

ever previously been. The land forces in pay amounted to 120,000 men; yet Pitt held close conferences with Bute regarding the supplemental companies which might be raised in Scotland, and Argyll co-operated with him respecting the Highlands and Islands.[1]

Before leaving town for the autumn, it was thought desirable to have a Cabinet where Devonshire would be present, and which it might be expedient that Argyll, Lord Justice General of Scotland, should be asked to attend, to consider the various steps in progress for the raising additional troops,[2] especially those north of the Tweed.

The boasts of preparation for invasion by the French were prodigious; and they held the same language to the foreign Ministers of their allies; but the confidential accounts from Brest did not impress Whitehall in a manner quite so formidable, for there was still a great want of seamen and cannon. A proclamation was issued, countersigned by Barrington, inviting enlistment throughout the Kingdom in a new corps, on condition that they were not to be sent abroad under any circumstances, and should be paid off at the end of the war.[3] Devonshire and Rockingham, who were much averse from measures lately taken for Militia organisation, chiefly from a feeling of distrust of the politics of numbers who must have commissions in their respective counties, came, by degrees, to acquiesce loyally in the system. Their adhesion was the more remarkable, as at first there had been loud threats that Wentworth would be pulled down about the owner's ears if he helped to carry the Act into execution. Rockingham had now taken the colonelcy, with Lord Downes, Sir G. Sackville, and Mr. Thornton as his lieutenants.[4]

The youthful Heir to the Throne besought his grandsire to allow him to take military service, feeling, as he said, "unwilling to remain inactive when the whole country was arming for its defence." His anxiety, he said, prevented his asking the favour in person.[5]

George II. was at first disposed to reply that the time had not

[1] Newcastle's Mems. for the King, 6th July, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle to Holdernesse, 7th July, 1759.—*MS.*
[3] War Office, 15th July, 1759.—*MS.*
[4] Lord Kinnoul to Newcastle, 20th July, 1759.—*MS.*
[5] Prince of Wales to the King, 20th July, 1759.—*MS.*

yet come; but he was dissuaded by Newcastle, who justly approved of the tone and feeling of the letter, and advised instead that Lord Pembroke should be desired to thank the Prince, and say that his Majesty would give his request his best consideration. The Duke, as usual, consulted "the Lady *alone*," who agreed with him that the fear of the Duke of Cumberland was the cause of the letter, and that it pointed to the command of the Army; but that if the French landed the King meant to go himself, and would take his grandson with him.[1]

It was left to Pitt to frame the answer, and when inflated duly with the pomp of words, in which he never failed, it was submitted to his colleagues, to whom it seemed to be neither gracious nor polite; but as he had vouchsafed his countersign, he was evidently proud of it, and they were content to let it go.[2] Frederick was never so sincerely anxious to bring about a peace. He told Mitchell that it was a miracle things had gone so well hitherto. "I have," he said, "deceived my enemies this year by acting where they did not expect I would, and by being on the defensive where they thought I intended to make my push. The stratagem will do for once, but must not be repeated; for my enemies will learn at last to be upon their guard, and strong everywhere, and then I shall have a bad time of it."[3] The letter containing these urgent confessions of danger was received at Whitehall on the 2nd of June, and it weighed heavily on the conscience of the Cabinet, but under the inexorable ascendancy of Pitt no new resolution was taken. He was sorry, of course, for Frederick's defeat at Bergen,[4] and his subsequent despondency; but no misfortune or misery of his ally or of his decimated people could be suffered to cloud the future of foreign conquest, of which he believed himself to be the informing spirit.

Although every suggestion of peace from Frederick had been hitherto spurned, the First Lord fervently, though feebly, clutched at the renewed hope Mitchell's last letters conveyed: "The greatest attention should be given to this overture from Prussia, and Frederick should be acquainted that though George II.

[1] To Hardwicke, 20th July, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle Corresp., 29th July, 1759.—*MS.*
[3] Mitchell to Newcastle, 20th May, 1759.—*MS.*
[4] 23rd April, 1759.

was ready and determined to push on the war in all parts with the utmost vigour, he was fully sensible of the necessity of peace; and was, therefore, desirous to enter with confidence and secrecy into an immediate consideration with his Prussian Majesty of the means of bringing it about. The most zealous supporters and promoters of war would consider that, after this second admonition from the King of Prussia, after his frank declaration that he had deceived his enemies this year by a stratagem which would do for once, but must not be repeated,—if after this they took little or no notice of this declaration, but obstinately opinionated the continuance of war, the King of Prussia would be justified before God and man if he took the best care he could of himself."[1]

In all which Hardwicke thoroughly agreed, and wished for a meeting of the Cabinet as soon as Devonshire and the Lord Keeper could attend.[2] Mansfield, on the other hand, did not believe it was in the power of Prussia or England to make peace at present.

The dependence upon Holdernesse in the Cabinet and at Court was gradually wearing away in the absorbing control over foreign affairs, both Northern and Southern, which his colleague had come to exercise. On the 3rd of June, having to explain some difference of understanding between them which the Duke wished to clear up at Kensington, his once obsequious lieutenant was "both rude and impertinent, and was pleased to sneer at him when his back was turned. He would not endure this behaviour, and would, in future, have as little communication with him as possible."[3] More than ever he relied on being fed with the sort of information (usually unimportant, if true) from the Hague, wherewith to garnish his morning refection at Kensington; and thus Holdernesse was slowly and stupidly mining, though with damp combustibles, his own unbuttressed position.

Hardwicke saw clearly "how silly and surprising Holdernesse's conduct was." The difficulty lay—not in parting with him, but supplying his place.

More distressed in Administration no one could be than New-

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 3rd June, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Reply, same date.

[3] Hardwicke, 3rd June, 1759.—*MS.*

castle: "Insulted every day by that *chit*, Lord Holdernesse, not very agreeably or respectfully treated by Pitt, and yet so well treated by the King that he could not well leave him." His Majesty had lately said that he should "keep the House of Commons in his own hand." The First Lord's whole dependence had come to be on Hardwicke and Mansfield; and he would soon come to a resolution not to meet in Council when one of the two could not be there,[1] for it was clear to him that Holdernesse had become appropriated by Pitt.

Pitt was in good spirits and extremely gay. He laughed at the French threats of invasion, saying that twelve battalions could be mustered at a moment's notice under the grandees who commanded in the various counties; and that there were 40,000 men altogether to defend the Realm. But the demeanour of Holdernesse was more impertinent than ever: "Lord Anson has just been witness at Lady Yarmouth's of such a familiar whispering between the Lady and Lord Holdernesse as could only be meant to insult me."[2]

Writing to Hardwicke, grief would have way: "This is a situation I cannot and will not continue long in, though nothing shall make me quit when the Pretender or the French are coming. I am scarce now consulted on anything except where they want my opinion to make use of to my disadvantage. The Lady is quite silent towards me, and I know little of some pretty material occurrences but what the King is so good as to tell me. That is an odd figure for me to make, and I will not make it long." But his correspondent understood too well the deceitfulness of the human heart to be much moved by a threat of abdication based on such flimsy provocations. Still, his unhappy Grace insisted that things could not go on as they were: "Mansfield wishes me extremely well, and is a useful friend; the Duke of Devonshire is of great use to the whole, and I readily believe does all the good he can at present; the Duke of Bedford is also very favourable to us, but I never touch upon these subjects with him. The great consideration is the Lady. It is certainly high time we should meet together; and I cannot get the better of myself so far as to assist willingly when I have no one that is tolerably civil or impartial towards me."[3]

[1] To Mansfield, 8th June, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 12th June, 1759.—*MS.*

[3] To Hardwicke, 14th June, 1759.—*MS.*

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## THREATS OF ABDICATION.

### 1759.

Capture of Guadeloupe—Bombardment of Havre—Potter and Wilkes—Time to have Done with War—Lord G. Sackville at Minden—Devonshire on Foreign Policy—Discontent of Leicester House—George II. Dissatisfied with Pitt—General Wall—The Garter for Temple—Mansfield and Pitt—Taking of Quebec—Pitt Offers to Resign—Irish Mastership of the Rolls—Inveteracy of Pitt for War—George II. Bent on Abdication—Barrington and his Brethren.

HAD Pitt been asked where the limit should be set in the quest of new allies, offensive and defensive, in the world-wide war which now absorbed his every energy and thought, he might have fitly replied, in the dialect he loved to affect, *si nequeo superos, acheronta movebo.* The Ambassador at the Porte was instructed in cypher, most secret, repeated for caution by another messenger, and then "in triplicate," that "he could not render a more important or acceptable service than by contributing to determine the Ottoman Porte to immediate and decisive operations, before the precious moments of an opportunity never likely to return were further wasted in a prolix and most unseasonable negotiation. Although it was not practicable for the King to enter at present into particular engagements, yet so entirely his Majesty had it at heart to concur and co-operate with the King of Prussia, and so fixed was his purpose to go to the utmost extent the interests of the Kingdom would permit, that in case the proposed treaty between Prussia and the Porte should be concluded on terms of defensive engagements only, Mr. Porter was authorised to make a verbal declaration that his Majesty would, in the most earnest and efficacious manner, employ his good offices with the King of Prussia for the full performance of all obligations with the Porte; and that the King

desired nothing more ardently than to cultivate and perpetuate the most cordial amity and intimate correspondence with the sublime Porte."[1]

Lest the barbaric mind, dull of diplomatic apprehension, should fail to take in all that was hereby meant by the Secretary of State, his letter was backed by a communication in prose from the First Lord of the Treasury, which admitted of no mistake: "Your Excellency is already authorised to employ a considerable sum of money if necessary, to engage the Ottoman Porte to act in the manner now proposed. I have now orders to acquaint you that his Majesty thinks the immediate proceeding to action on their part is of such great importance to the King's service and to the measures carrying on with Prussia, that his Majesty does further authorise you to make any present in reason to their Vizier (or to the person who must bring it about) that may secure the success of it; but the money not to be paid till the Ottoman troops have begun to act."

At length a gleam of victory from the darkened West lighted up disunion and dejection at home.

Having been invested for several weeks, Guadeloupe, colonised by the French in 1664, and their chief *entrepot* of West Indian trade, surrendered to General Barrington, brother of the Secretary-at-War, on the 9th May, 1759. More sugar was said to be grown there than in all the Leeward Islands, besides great quantities of cotton and coffee, and its loss was consequently deeply felt. It was well watered by divergent streams, and there was a harbour where the whole West India fleet might ride in safety. On the 13th June Colonel Clavering arrived with the despatches from General Barrington, announcing the surrender of Grandterre and Bapeterre, and the whole of the French settlements in Guadeloupe. Pitt carried off the letters to Kensington, which prevented Mr. Wood transmitting them to the First Lord.[2] Next day the *Gazette* proclaimed the full details of triumph before they were communicated to the overlooked First Lord. In his memoranda for the King he notes, "the treatment I receive from both Secretaries."

The fortunes of the East India Company in their conflict with their French rivals wavered; but the defeat of Lally's attempt to

[1] Pitt to Mr. James Porter, Envoy Ex. to the Porte, 12th June, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] R. Wood from St. James's Square, 13th June, 1759.—*MS.*

take Madras by storm compensated for his capture of St. David's not long before.

Rodney anchored off Havre on the 4th of July and proceeded on the following day to execute his orders, bombarding the port and shipping in the harbour. He reported having encountered a brisk fire from the batteries, but succeeded in destroying numerous vessels and stores.[1] The bombardment lasted for fifty-two hours without intermission. The town was several times in flames, and the destruction caused was great. The inhabitants fled in despair, leaving only the troops to extinguish the flames:[2] but all figured as solid gain in Pitt's triumphant tale of glory.

Pitt was now to suffer what he deemed a serious personal loss. By both him and Temple, the premature death of Thomas Potter was regarded as having caused a vacancy in their muster-roll of adherents which, excepting Wilkes, none of his associates was fitted to supply. With no inconsiderable talents and attainments, he was the readiest and most unscrupulous of political instruments in the Press, in Parliament, or in electioneering; and though in public his audacious attacks on opponents, or brazen denials of the faults of friends were seldom in terms backed by his distinguished patrons, he was never disavowed, and to the last he enjoyed, not only their compliments in private, but, what perhaps he valued more, the unreserved freedom of access whenever he could spare a serious hour from the riotous pleasures to which he was abandoned. If not the founder, he was the foremost, and politically the most fortunate, of the notorious club which held its revels at Medmenham. His Cabinet friends had made him one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, a post which he held till his death. On that event, Pitt desired that Thomas Pitt should have the reversion of his place, and his seat for Oakhampton. Newcastle excused himself from acquiescing, on the ground that, in the expectation of the event, both had been promised some time before. Thomas Pitt himself pleaded, but apparently to little purpose, that were his wishes granted, a sinecure he held of a thousand pounds a-year might be saved to the public,[3] and the Lord-Lieutenant supported his claim on considerations of economy.[4]

[1] 4th July, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] To Secretary Cleveland from Rodney, 6th July, 1759.—*MS.*
[3] Newcastle Correspondence, July, 1759.—*MS.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 7th July, 1759.—*MS.*

A friendly note from Devonshire recounts the substance of a conversation with George II. regarding Frederick's suggestion that it was time to have done with an exhausting war. The King said that Newcastle was for putting an end to useless hostilities, as everyone head of the Treasury must be. Pitt looked, indeed, the other way. "I replied that if the former was for peace it was because he saw the difficulties that would attend the raising the money another year, a melancholy consideration in the low state of our funds and credit. The King said, 'Why, I have told the King of Prussia that I shall be for peace if it can be *utile et honorable!*' I said that I thought the campaign was not yet so decided as to judge upon what terms a peace was to be procured. He then added that he hoped *his* country would be considered and entered upon *dedommagement*, &c. I told him I was sure his servants would do all in their power to serve him. I related this below stairs. Lady Yarmouth sighed upon the last subject. I replied that they would, when the time came, do all they could, and in the *interim* the less said the better. She said that was all very well for one to say who was going to Chatsworth. I said I was always ready to come and take my part whenever it was necessary. Whenever a peace was to be made, it must be the joint work of the whole Ministry."[1]

M. Cressener persisted in his view that the talk of invasion was kept up by the French Government to gratify the angry feeling of the nation at the bombardment of Havre, and he did not hesitate to avow his belief that Admiral Conflans had secret instructions not to risk his fleet out of harbour while Hawke was hovering in the offing.[2]

The melancholy head of the Treasury asked comfort from Hardwicke, Yorke, and Stone for the unsatisfactory outlook at home and abroad; being particularly vexed in spirit by the ridiculous notice of the French Post Office of the charge for letters to their armies in England, Ireland, and Scotland, where his Grace authoritatively declared they had not a man. Nevertheless, he was not sure that there was not something in their threats after all. Yet Pitt was so sure of his new Corps of Highlanders and supplemental companies of English regulars that he wanted to detach men-of-war from the Channel Fleet on fresh

[1] To Newcastle, 10th July, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Cressener, Versailles, 21st July, 1759.—*MS.*

expeditions afar. When spoken to about peace, he said Louisburgh and Guadeloupe would be the best plenipotentiaries at any Congress, and he would not withdraw a man from America. Senegal and Gorée were good things to make peace with. The King of Prussia wrote plausibly in favour of pacification, but having said on any favourable opportunity, Pitt construed the phrase to mean as soon as he or we should have gained a great victory. This would be less dangerous if they had wherewithal to pay their way; but on the last day of July the Board of Treasury sat till a late hour endeavouring to devise means for meeting the payments of two millions, falling due in August, while they could see their way to not more than half that sum. The King was all that could be wished, except that he agreed about continuing the war, though with *very different views*. He asked the other day: "How can you make peace?" Newcastle replied: "Some persons of knowledge and consequence have said the first question was, 'How can we carry on the war?'" Pitt had told the King that Newcastle would be for recalling troops from Germany; but that he was against it. By desire of the Lady and the King, the breach with Holdernesse had been closed, if not thoroughly healed; and both the Secretaries were favourably received at Kensington. The young Prince of Wales expressed himself satisfied with the answer to his letter offering to serve with the Army; but Bute saw in it merely evasion unless something definite were done. Pitt declared that he should be opposed to giving a young man who had hitherto lived as a recluse any discretional power of command; but proposed that he should be named to review the troops along with Lord Ligonier, and that his grandfather should ask him, on his return, how things were. If this led to something further it would be the duty of the Ministers to refuse. The First Lord was perplexed, but he would consult Lady Yarmouth. Mr. Martin, of the Treasury, kept Bute informed of what was going on and saw him frequently. He found him "far from satisfied or pleased with Pitt, but he would act as if he was."[1]

News reached Government on the 8th August from the Hague of a decisive victory over the French at Minden, who lost above 8,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon. An intercepted message from the field contained the expression of M. de Contades,

[1] Newcastle to Stone, 1st August, 1759.—*MS*

*etait totalement battu.*[1] Minden surrendered next day, and Munster soon after. All was thus recovered in two days which had taken months to acquire.[2] The blame was laid upon the Duke de Broglie for the loss of the battle, which greatly disheartened, and for a time disorganised, the French Army. Much discord and contention arose in consequence at Versailles, where no two Ministers agreed about either the past or the future, and concurred in nothing but an earnest wish for peace. Louis XV. was known to have said that he was thoroughly tired of the war, and would be content with even bad terms of pacification, rather than see the ruin of his people, and Mdme. de Pompadour was of the same opinion.[3] Satisfaction in England was, however, damped by the notoriety of Prince Ferdinand's censure of Lord G. Sackville, who at a critical moment of the battle held the corps he commanded in check when ordered to advance, conceiving, as he said, that the order conveyed to him must have been given in mistake. His offer of congratulation at the end of the day was spurned by the Prince in the face of his exhausted Staff, on the ground that by his disobedience the retreating host had escaped destruction. Lord Granby, who replaced him in command, did not disguise in a confidential letter his regretful concurrence in the judgment of the General-in-Chief; and Sackville could only ask leave of absence to vindicate himself at home as best he might.

The funds rose when the news of Minden was confirmed, and went higher on the first intelligence of the conflict between Frederick and his Russian adversary. All the Cabinet but Pitt and Temple interchanged congratulations at these reassurances that peace was nigh, nay certain, if Providence would smite the French in Canada.[4] Beaten on the Continent and desponding in America, nothing remained for the enemy but the forlorn hope of invasion. Although the King of Prussia had been beaten at Zullichau by the Russians, he seemed to be rallying his broken corps in the hope of covering Berlin. And thus the politics of the Exchequer looked overcast. The Bank would not advance another shilling on the Vote of Credit, and the best

[1] Yorke to Newcastle, 6th August, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 7th August, 1759.—*MS.*
[3] Cressener, August, received 6th September, 1759.—*MS.*
[4] Newcastle to Mansfield, 22nd August, 1759.—*MS.*

they could offer was four-and-a-half per cent. for a partial advance on the Land Tax, which, with prize money of more than half a million, would perhaps enable Legge to present a solvent Budget at the close of the year. Next year the moneyed men would possibly find a way to lend another seven millions to provide for another campaign "on their own terms and conditions, which, to be sure, would be high. But if we must make war we must pay for it as long as we could. As for taxes, there was no other but twopence or threepence additional on malt and a moderate tax on shops, which would be objected to by many, and would be very unpopular if not known to be the scheme of a certain person. Sugar and tobacco were already loaded to a height which made any further Excise impracticable."[1] All these growing sources of difficulty and causes of misgiving are painted out, if, indeed, they were ever accurately noted, in the panoramic histories of the Seven Years' War. Pitt had for two years the upper hand in Council, and something nearly approaching a Dictatorship in the use of naval and military force by sea and land; and we are still told to sit with bated breath and contemplate his glory. Public credit was not, indeed, broken; but it was maintained only by daily augmenting bonuses in one shape or other out of the pockets of posterity. Commerce was not, indeed, crippled; but confessedly it was stimulated and pampered by lawless domination at sea. The increase of population had not been arrested; but its young fruit was squandered in every clime and zone, "for power, for plunder, and extended rule." There is not in the Cabinet correspondence of the time a snatch of pity or remorse for the price thus exacted.

The first sanguine account of Kunnersdorff gave to Frederick a supposed victory over the Russians, but ere there was time to acquaint the scattered members of the Cabinet, the truer version of that sanguinary conflict came to hand, by which it appeared that the Prussians, much disorganised, were obliged to fall back, in order to cover Berlin, whence the Royal Family had fled to Magdeburg. The strategic results of the battle proved less formidable than was expected, but in giving an account of it to George I. the First Lord of the Treasury stated that 40,000 slain were left upon the field.[2]

[1] Newcastle to Mansfield, 26th August, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Mem. for the King, 27th August, 1759.—*MS.*

When there had been time to collate conflicting versions of the late events, and to consider calmly and in a rational sense what Government should think and do, Devonshire wrote to Newcastle in terms worth recording. The seizure of Contade's papers after his defeat at Minden, which revealed his sore distress for money, would, no doubt, be very welcome to the head of the Treasury: "I have often told you that you might depend on those below stairs (at Kensington) as well as those above, and I have always thought that you were better in both places than anybody. I agree with her and you about a certain person's reviewing. I think it, in the manner proposed, a trifle, and for the sake of peace and quiet not to be hesitated upon. At the same time, I must tell you freely, and I believe you will find mankind of my opinion, that if this country is to be fought for at home, you must take those to fight for you that are fittest to do it; for this Nation will not suffer itself to be undone on account of *idle fears and jealousies*. I am persuaded you understand me."[1]

Leicester House had during the summer shown much discontent at what was deemed deliberate neglect by the Court. In spite of the good offices of M. Viry and Chesterfield, a certain degree of alienation took place, the increasing haughtiness of the latter at length evoking from the former bitter complaints. Bute wrote to Pitt: "I am extremely concerned to observe by your letter that all endeavours have proved hitherto unsuccessful in regard to a business the Prince has so much at heart. I need not tell you that he complains bitterly of the extreme neglect he ever meets with in any matter (be it what it will) that immediately concerns himself. The most gentle, patient, dispositions may be at last so soured that all the prudential reasons and arguments in the world will not prevent bad effects. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to preserve peace and good humour, but I will not be answerable for the consequences of this treatment; though I am very certain that whatever resolution his Royal Highness shall take, whatever measures he shall think necessary for his own honour to pursue at this crisis, he will do nothing unworthy of himself, or that he shall think disrespectful to the King. Your most affectionate, humble servant, Bute."

Once more thoroughly out of temper, and mortified at sup-

[1] From Chatsworth, 24th Aug., 1759.—*MS.*

posed neglect, Pitt was outspoken in complaint, and more than ever arbitrary in demanding concessions, not as of favour, but as his due, in recognition and reward for his services.

He proposed that Legge should be made a Peer. The King objected, because he was against G. Grenville being made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and thus throwing everything in the Commons into Pitt's hands; and Newcastle knew not how he could stay in if Legge went out. How could the war go on without a financier in whom he had confidence?

Just then the news arrived of Boscawen's victory over St. Clue, five of whose ships were sunk, and three added to the victorious squadron. This once more dispelled the haunting threats of invasion. The chief anxiety remaining was for Frederick's defeated army likely to be overpowered by Daun.[1] The King was very uneasy at the thought of Cabinet resignations, and of being left with Pitt alone in the dark.

When Devonshire came to town, he and Mansfield held a consultation with Newcastle, regarding the new difficulties with Pitt. After Boscawen's victory the King did not speak to him. Pitt would not suffer anyone to be put in competition with Temple for the vacant Garter, and if Amherst were not made Governor of Virginia, as he required, he was determined to resign, for "he would not remain in a position where he could not make a tide waiter." He said "he had done for the King what none of his other Ministers could do—what they dared not do. He would not open the Session. He would not see himself and his relations slighted, for he was not owned by the King. He could go on for the sake of the public; but if the public was not served—if Amherst was not rewarded (which he had been six months about), he would not stay one moment longer. He would not ask for Temple, but he would not suffer any Lord to be named with his brother."[2]

Bedford added his congratulations to those from all sides on Boscawen's victory, but added emphatically his reliance that if equally good news came from Amherst and Wolfe, the opportunity would be taken of concluding "a safe, honourable, and durable peace."[3]

[1] 6th Sept., 1759, Newcastle to Hardwicke.—*MS.*

[2] First Lord's mem. for the King, 9th Sept., 1759.—*MS.*

[3] From Woburn, 9th Sept., 1759.—*MS.*

Where the difficulty arose about Amherst's promotion is not very clear; neither Ligonier or Barrington was likely to resist his imperious master in foreign affairs: and foreign affairs comprehended the affairs of the army. At length the autumn of the Minister's discontent passed away, and the rough soldier of his choice was gazetted Governor of Virginia, as well as Commander-in-Chief of the forces in North America,[1] not to supersede Wolfe, but to strengthen and roughen his mode of warfare with foes, savage or civilised, as the case might be. Newcastle found the Secretary of State in better humour; but if Temple had not the Garter before Parliament met, though he would remain in office, and serve the public, he would declare that he had not the countenance of the King.

The Secretary lamented Temple's passion; but he could not or would not separate himself from his friend. The First Lord, therefore, made up his mind once more to represent all this to the King, with a view to convince him how much it would tend to his convenience and comfort to yield.[2] The ex-Chancellor felt that he had no function to interfere in so delicate a matter, but he bore testimony to the expediency of quieting the master of Stowe.[3] Thus, as so often before, George II. was to be worried, after all semblance of grace and spontaneity was lost, into suffering the chief toy in his gift to be snatched from him. There remained Sackville's place at the Ordnance to be filled up, which was claimed by Tyrawley as oldest in standing, but which Pitt was willing should be given to Newcastle's nephew, Lord Granby, and he was appointed accordingly.

Once more what he took, perhaps intended, for urgency in his next audience met with another negative, for George II. was now seventy-six, and the hinges of his magnanimity were not grown easier, or his memory grown more forgiving towards those who had affronted him. He said the Order of the Garter would be disgraced.[4] The Lord Chamberlain, from no peculiar love of Temple, but from a clear conviction that the Blue Riband was not worth fighting over, in the then condition of the world, did his best to coax the testy Monarch into greatness of soul,

[1] September, 1759.—*London Gazette.*

[2] Memorandum for Audience, 10th Sept., 1759.—*MS.*

[3] From Wimpole, 12th Sept., 1759.—*MS.*

[4] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 19th Sept., 1759.—*MS.*

and at first he, too, failed. But what he did not suspect was even then happening—nay, had already happened: other stars in their courses fought for Sisera.

Legge continued importunate for a peerage for his wife and her issue, and as she was the daughter and heiress of Lord Stawel, and as he himself was Lord Dartmouth's favourite son, Leicester House could not be convinced that he ought not to be gratified.

At a subsequent audience, at which the two Secretaries and Newcastle were present, George II. betrayed great dissatisfaction with Pitt, frequently not answering him on administrative questions requiring Royal sanction, and for the rest only muttering, "Do as you please." When they came out, Pitt behaved with commendable forbearance and dignity, saying he had done his best, but found he was so disagreeable to the King that he did not know what to do. Holdernesse only lifted up his eyes, and said he had never seen anything so bad. Lady Yarmouth was in the utmost distress and concern. She thought nothing could prevent the Secretary's quitting. She could say nothing to bring him back. She blamed the King in the greatest degree, took Pitt's part in everything: the success of the measures everywhere; the great assistance given to the King in his Electoral affairs; the unanimity and support of the Nation in everything. In short, she was as strong on this head as Pitt could be himself. The King had told her that Newcastle was a coward, and might, if he would, carry on the Government without Pitt, but in the high light he stood with all these recent successes that was impossible.[1]

The First Lord continued to use every opportunity of parleying or pottering with his affronted colleague, but with little effect. He persisted in disclaiming any partition of Parliamentary patronage, though he had but two Aides-de-Camp to be recommended to his Grace. He spoke of his mother's family, Villiers, for whom he might have reasonably asked promotion. He might expect the disposal of employments, and the government of the House of Commons. He did not do that; but without the Garter (for Temple) and public marks of the King's acceptance of his service, he would not go on. What would be the consequence?

[1] Newcastle Correspondence.—*MS.*

General Wall, who had so long successfully guided the Councils of Madrid, chafed at merely holding the saddle when he wished to be riding on. The envy by which he was encompassed, was inextinguishable by mere proofs of integrity, talent, and devotion to the service of Spain. He was an alien; he was not a Catholic, and, worse than all, he had no grandfather. Grandees, Prelates, great ladies, soldiers of rank, and Court adventurers of all sorts hated him, not from personal resentment, but because they could not help it. It was in the atmosphere of Castille; in the blood of the Hidalgos. He had more than once offered to retire, but had been dissuaded by the instinct of self-preservation that still flickered in the Royal mind; and from time to time he submitted rather than sought to retain power because, as he told Lord Bristol, the English Minister, he was unchangeably convinced that true Spanish policy lay in close alliance with Great Britain, and in keeping clear of entanglement with France. Should an opposite course be ever adopted, nothing would induce him to hold office at the Escurial.[1]

The ex-Chancellor was all for a Congress, and, meantime, for undertaking the pay of as many additional German troops as Prince Ferdinand could obtain; but he objected to any cessation of arms pending events in America, because "if Quebec and Montreal should not be taken till after the cessation of arms was to take place in America, we should be absolutely obliged to restore them; not that he meant that they would not be restored at a peace in all events, but what he meant was that they must, in the case put first, be restored without any consideration or equivalent, which would be unfortunate, for if taken before a suspension of arms, either of them would count for a great deal in the terms of peace, and to the consideration of some advantages for Great Britain." [2]

So little did Hardwicke entertain the idea of carrying on the war for what Voltaire called "the possession of some acres of snow in the direction of the North Pole."

The majority of the Cabinet were prepared for negotiation with Russia, but hesitated to take any step without the sanction of Pitt, and it was certain that he would not tolerate any proposal being made to her Czarish Majesty without the explicit

[1] Bristol to Pitt. Received 24th Aug., 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 23rd Sept., 1759.—*MS.*

approval of the King of Prussia. George II. deprecated the initiative being taken in any steps to bring about peace. Hardwicke and Newcastle, he said, must take care of him (meaning the Electorate) in any future rearrangement of territories. His distrust of Pitt thus implied was plainly avowed in his persistent refusal to give Temple the Garter. After an unsatisfactory audience, his Grace recurred to the Lady, who vowed she had done nothing in the matter, which he attributed to a natural unwillingness to disoblige the King, who had that day given a Colonelcy of Horse to her son. She said that if he did yield the Blue Riband he would do it in such an offensive manner that it had better not have been done. She undertook after a day or two, however, to intercede as Ministers wished; and Newcastle deferred opening the question again in audience; remaining in town to learn the result of her good offices.

Meanwhile the Protocol, concerted with Knyphausen and approved by Pitt, required despatch. His Grace, therefore, felt compelled to bring it before his Majesty. After giving his formal assent, he broke out into a torrent of reproaches. "He had nothing to say to the Protocol. We did as we pleased. He was *nothing* here. He wished he had stayed in Hanover in 1755. I took the liberty to ask his Majesty if he thought he should have been so quiet at Hanover when there was, or would have been, a war in Germany. But you don't know which side I would have taken. Either side, sir, your Majesty must have been subject to the fortune of war. But I wish I could now go back to Hanover. Does your Majesty think that at present you would be more easy there than here? To which I had no reply, and I proceeded to open my budget; and though very negative, yet after the first flights were over the King was civil and gracious, and rather cajoling. I saw the view of that, but it gave me an opportunity for giving my opinion most clearly upon the subject. I made a faithful report of the conversation I had had with Mr. Pitt, but in as advantageous a manner as I could. His Majesty began very crossly, 'I know you have been tormenting Lady Yarmouth. Why do you plague her? What has she to do with these things? The only comfortable two hours I have in the whole day are those I pass there; and you are always teazing her with these things.' Because, sir, I thought that the most respectful way of conveying them to your Majesty. I then

made my relation, and his answer was that he would not give the Garter; that Lord Temple had insulted him; that it was a shame to be so treated; that if a method could be found by which the thing could be done without any act to be performed by him, he would consent to it. I assured him that Mr. Pitt had expressed himself with the utmost decency and respect; that he had renounced the notion of force from the beginning; that he wished it only as a demonstration of his Majesty's appprobation of his services, by this mark in the person of his brother-in-law, whose station, fortune, and family rendered him an object. To that the King made no reply, but that other Lords Privy Seal had not had it. I represented the consequence of the refusal, and the opinion of Devonshire, Hardwicke, and myself. He said that the Duke was a very good man, but that he was a coward like myself; that Hardwicke had more courage; and that I would have given up the Habeas Corpus affair if it had not been for Hardwicke and Lord Mansfield. I assured him that was a misinformation, and that I should never have given up a point so material. He said very angrily, 'Did you not tell me you would not leave me?' 'Yes, sir; and I don't think of leaving you.' 'What did you mean, then, by what you said to Lady Yarmouth?' 'Nothing of leaving you. I only said I did not see the possibility of carrying on your affairs.' I afterwards asked the King what his own thoughts were upon that. He said. 'There is Legge and Barrington.' 'Indeed, sir, that will not do, I have spoken to Legge, and find he will not dare undertake anything.' 'Well, if Mr. Pitt comes to Court seldom, so much the better. I don't like to see him.' 'But, sir, what will be the consequence if Mr. Pitt is dissatisfied and his brothers are in open opposition?' 'Pitt will not oppose his own measures.' 'No, but his friends will oppose everything else, and particularly the affairs of the Treasury; and when such immense sums are to be raised, it is always easy to find out objections. Sir, let me not carry a positive refusal. Let me tell Mr. Pitt your Majesty will consider it for a fortnight; then he will have hopes.' 'If you say anything of that kind I will disavow you to Pitt. I will be forced.' 'For God's sake, sir, don't say so. What an appearance will that have?' I told him Mr. Pitt said his Majesty was within two fingers' breadth of passing his reign in quiet and ease, or of not having an easy moment. I had my reason for

saying it. 'Why, eh, is not that force?' 'Indeed, sir, he did not speak of himself, he meant something else. What he meant I know not.' '*I will be forced!* The world shall see how I am used. I will have it known.' 'What good, sir, can arise from thence? Perhaps many may blame Mr. Pitt for pushing it; but at the same time they will be sorry to see your affairs in confusion for such an object.' All the answer I could get was, 'I will be forced;' and I was to acquaint Mr. Pitt of what the King had said.

"I then made my full report to Mr. Pitt, who received it as like a reasonable man as ever man received anything. He lamented very much his situation. He begged I would inform the King that he renounced force, and neither proposed nor would accept it upon that foot. What he wanted was the Garter *given*, not *taken*. He had no thoughts of leaving, and would do the same for the King, both as King and Elector, as he would have done had this been granted. He talked feelingly of the part Devonshire, yourself, and I had taken, and said what must be his case when we three, assisted by Lady Yarmouth, could not procure such a trifle? The purport for him was that the King did not think much of his services. He might reason that a peace was near, and that he might have no further occasion for him. He would, however, still do his best, hoping that at last his Majesty would do it voluntarily. But if Temple did not know the whole he would suspect those he had no right to suspect.

"I made my report to Lady Yarmouth, who thinks Pitt's dependence upon her will be disappointed. She thinks a longer absence from Court would have done more. During my audience, the King talked slightingly of Holdernesse, and said he did not know what to do with him. Legge is giving himself airs, and will not return from the country till his wife has the peerage."

Next day came Pitt's memorable explosion of disappointment and mock humiliation, which Newcastle attempted to read to the King. His Majesty refused to hear it. He abused the style of the letter, his eloquence, &c., and said, 'Well, now I see I am to be sometimes forced, sometimes wheedled; I see plainly I am nothing and wish to be gone.' 'Sir! I hope your Majesty will not talk so, and you will neither think it advisable nor practicable.' '*Practicable!* What do you mean? Nobody can force

anything upon me' (meaning this Kingdom) 'if I don't like it.' 'Well, sir, I must make the best answer I can to Mr. Pitt, conveying this refusal.'"

Then, addressing himself to his official confessor, Newcastle asked Hardwicke plaintively what he was to do. "Am I to go on and be the sole acting Minister, engaging for everything, forming the plan of the Session, at least the material part of it —the money affairs, the great Lord Holdernesse laughing at the distress of both of us, and thinking that, to a certain extent, he has gained his point? Am I to enter with the King to form a new Administration, which I cannot do? Am I to admit a possibility of going on with this as it is, which I think less practicable than the other? And to make it still worse, you see by West's letter, the arrogance and impertinence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which I verily believe he assumes from the knowledge he has of Pitt's situation. What shall I say to Legge? If I could procure this for his wife, which is more than a Garter for Lord Temple, Pitt would be outrageous, and with reason. Shall I tell Pitt my situation with Legge? In short, my Lord, I beg your advice on these points. Shall I push the affair or let it sleep, and give Mr. Legge the true reason— the favour lately refused Mr. Pitt? This will not satisfy the little man, who has again been trafficking with Bute. I found it out by Viry. He talks as impertinently about the measures of the Treasury, and is now scheming about them. What a situation am I in? Had Charles Townshend any solidity or character I would take him at once; but I own I am at a loss, and don't know how to proceed one step. What has the poor King brought upon himself and his Administration?"[1]

Mansfield was staunch to Newcastle, and in his own idiomatic and inspiriting language praised him for what he had done, and bade him persevere: "The refusal of the Garter would not continue beyond a time."[2]

Did the wind whisper through the leaves of Caen Wood what they were bearing across the ocean, and had already well-nigh borne to land? Without the relic of anticipation of its ultimate consequences, there seems to have been in the minds of all concerned a vague but throbbing sense that the supreme hour was

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 27th and 28th September, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] To Newcastle, 1st October, 1759.—*MS.*

nearly come, and that all schemes of patriotism or ambition must await the impending fate of the fleet and army on the St. Lawrence. Not that a trace is discernible from the most overwrought seer or pretended seer into the future of the gigantic acquisition which engravers of the true picture of the time have made the background of their would-be historic tribute to Pitt's statesmanship and glory. In our sense of the term, or in any sense truly interchangeable with it, the conquest of Canada was no more a dream of Minister or Mistress, Cabinet or King, than an expansion of the realm to the mountains of the moon. French missionaries and settlers had sometimes indulged in political perspective about *Acadie*, but it meant only the promise to Versailles of limitless fishing and hunting grounds in snatches of fine weather; and it bore not a semblance, to say nothing of a resemblance, to the Dominion of Canada that was to be thereafter. History written backwards is a stranger fable than any in Greek mythology or Arabian Nights. What Pitt was really waiting for as a "crowning mercy," was the sinking of a dozen more French men-of-war, and the putting to the sword of a few thousand French men-at-arms; and his less sanguine colleagues, though eager to order any number of thanksgivings and *feus de joies* for a victory by Amherst that would cap that of Boscawen, would have laughed in one another's faces at the notion of our carrying on the exhausting struggle for the sake of acquiring a thoroughfare to the Pacific.

To meet the exigencies of another campaign Legge, in October, 1759, advocated strongly an increased tax on malt in preference to one in any shape on houses. "It is upon the voluntary consumption of a commodity which is very distributive and of universal use, whereas hearth-money upon the back of house-money and window-tax cannot fail to complete the ruin of that valuable species in this country who are possessed of from £300 to £1,000 per annum, many of whom war has already swallowed up; and who are, generally speaking, much better housed, in proportion to their families, than landed people. The consideration of the present year's plenty may, as you observe, procure a little good humour in the House at the time of proposing it, though I fear it will not weigh much with those who consider this relief as temporary and occasional only, but the tax itself as perpetual.

I conclude you have intelligence of money to come from abroad as well as such large sums to be had at home as incline you to be more sanguine than I am, who think this utterly impossible; and which, if it can be brought about, cannot be accomplished without immoderate detriment to the proprietors of the old Debt. But why may not such a sum only be taken for the navy as is necessary to pay wages and, perhaps, a month or two of the course at critical times? The weightiest objection will be that the navy bills will go to ten per cent. discount, as they did in the last war. If the campaign should be opened next summer, it will probably go on and exhaust the whole of the supplies; and then the same necessity of raising money will recur in order to an armed negotiation; for any other will be very ineffectual towards obtaining a good peace.[1] Since the affair of the Garter went wrong the great Ministerial strategist had made a flank movement in the direction of Leicester House, and sent Lady Hester to put herself under the standard of Lady Yarmouth. Bute affected no little pique at the Secretary's treatment of Lord G. Sackville, who had flattered the Heir Apparent into especial friendship.

Townshend for some time had been the coming man of the party, yet his hour had not come. Of the right stock, with competent fortune, good looks, and many accomplishments, no varnish of manner could conceal from relatives or friends that he was, after all, but a rarely-gifted fribble. With hardly an equal in versatility, and in volubility none, he was one of the men who amused his hearers with the conviction that he could do just as well, if not better, on a subject of which he knew nothing than on one on which he knew much. Often witty and oftener whimsical, he was better worth listening to than anyone else when Fox was absent and Pitt in the gout, and it is a curious tribute to the electric brilliancy of his fantastical wealth of illustration that in after years he was able to fascinate Edmund Burke. But uncle Newcastle and old Hardwicke were not to be swayed by imperfect reports of his casual exploits in Parliament. Like a race-horsed tandem, dashing its way through a crowd of waggons, he oftener provoked the waggoners into profane swearing than compliment; for practically, he had been, and, as far as they could see, he could be

[1] To the First Lord, 3rd October, 1759.—*MS.*

of no real use to them. Still, he was Lord Townshend's son, and obviously one of the shareholders in the joint-stock concern, which must be kept homogeneous or perish.

Mansfield was less easily frightened than Newcastle at Pitt's rehearsal of thunder and lightning scenes in private. He did not believe that he meant to give up because of Temple's disappointment, whatever he might have said to the contrary. "He did not mean to quit. It was a force to obtain a boon; but he might act the part till he was taken at his word and then he would be ready to hang himself."[1]

The Duke's letter to Legge ought, therefore, to be warily worded. Stone gave the same advice. "As you have reason to wish and do really wish, and would have Mr. Legge persuaded that you wish, his continuance in the Treasury and in the House of Commons, nothing can be more proper than the draught of your letter. The reasons urged are so strong that they must and will prevail, though I believe he is at present very firm in his resolution of quitting. None would have more weight than the prospect of peace this winter. If he believes that probable, he will not persist. I hope it is probable, and that he will not."[2] Legge proved placable, and without giving up his pretensions, hesitated to cause the confusion and ruin which he had been assured his retirement would create; but he would talk the matter over with the First Lord when next in town.[3] Pitt had daily audience of the King, who fancied he had cajoled him by making Holdernesse furnish despatches more quickly than was his wont; but before leaving Kensington the Secretary took care to pay his court to the Lady, who told Newcastle his Majesty had much mistaken the man whose vanity he thought he could thus play upon.[4]

For many weeks Government listened in vain for tidings from the St. Lawrence justifying Wolfe's expedition; but fortune seemed untoward. At length, at eleven at night of the 16th of October, a message from Pitt in characteristic terms acquainted the First Lord with the memorable issue of

[1] To Newcastle. From Caen Wood, 11th October, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] To Newcastle from Kew, 11th October, 1759.—*MS.*
[3] From Holte Forest, 14th October, 1759.—*MS.*
[4] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 15th October, 1759.

the daring enterprise: "Mr. Secretary Pitt has the pleasure to send the Duke of Newcastle the joyful news that Quebec is taken, after a signal and complete victory over the French army. General Wolfe is killed; Brigadier Moncton wounded, but in a fair way; Brigadier Townshend perfectly well; Montcalm is killed, and about 1,500 French."

If Pitt was heretofore intermittently confessed by his reluctant colleagues to be irresistible, he was thenceforth acknowledged without stammering to be supreme. The full-length glass at Hayes had often assured him that he was the axis on which the world turned, and now it was plainly the fact, which even Hardwicke who hated him, and Bute, who envied him, alike owned with effusion; while all the rest sang his triumph in chorus. The Primate saw the finger of Providence unmistakably marked in the death and destruction of our enemies beyond the sea; and Lady Yarmouth, true to her usual good sense, prepared the King to give in to Temple as Pitt desired.

Many of the Cabinet and others earnestly mingled their gratulations with entreaties that the unlooked-for victory might be made the occasion of making peace and ensuring it; and the gentle and noble spirit of Wolfe seemed to plead for the speedy cessation of war. But when the thanksgiving proclamation appeared, no more mention was made of the sacrifice the nation mourned than if the best and noblest of persons had been a burnt-offering to Moloch.

Is the fence never safe between the sublime and the ridiculous; or is the incredible in party politics always liable to happen at some conjuncture where it is demonstrable beforehand that it could not possibly occur? What would the world of gratulation and thanksgiving have thought or said had it been known that at the zenith of triumph the Ministerial conqueror was the prey of such a fury of disappointment and mortification at the discovery of a supposed design to undermine his power that he asked to be relieved from his office, well knowing that his out-going would break up the Cabinet, and set all Europe by the ears? Without the original document under his hand, attesting the fact, the historian would be bound certainly not to believe it; but here is the wondrous scroll:—

"Hayes, October 23rd, 1759.

"MY LORD,—I return herewith the letters with which your Grace has honoured me, and will enter no further into this matter than to observe the date of Mr. Yorke's letter and that of the trouble I am now giving your Grace. The interval is not inconsiderable, and much mischief has been done in less time. Mr. Yorke's letter, I think, with all who have read it, very pretty, but I cannot help differing with your Grace in not thinking that any letter, however prettily turned and addressed to the amiable sex, ought to be deemed matter of amusement, when it relates to the great subject of peace. I am not the least surprised that Mr. Yorke should write as agreeably as *voiture*, but I confess I am much so to find a letter on so grave a subject wrote without permission from hence, and afterwards suppressed here and concealed from those who have the best right, from their office, to receive the earliest notice of all incidents of this important and, I fear, very dangerous nature. I acknowledge my unfitness for the high station where his Majesty has been pleased to place me, but while the King deigns to continue me there I trust it is not presumption to lay myself at his Majesty's feet and most humbly request his gracious permission to retire whenever his Majesty thinks it for his service to treat of a peace in the vehicle of letters of amusement, and to order his servants to conceal, under so thin a covering, the first dawnings of information relative to so high and delicate an object.

"I am, with great respect, your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant,

"W. PITT."[1]

The First Lord did not affect being moved to anger or even astonishment at this eruption of the volcano, to whose threatenings he had grown tolerably accustomed. His explanation was that General Yorke had some time before received from a person not named certain suggestions for a general peace, which he thought contained good sense enough for his father's consideration; and Hardwicke, who kept back nothing from the Duke, had transmitted them, without comment, to him. His Grace, for want of some better material wherewith to amuse the King,

[1] To Newcastle.—*MS.*

recited the contents in an audience at Kensington, whence, through Knyphausen, they were informally communicated to Holdernesse, and by him to Pitt. In his reply to his enraged colleague, Newcastle enclosed the correspondence with Yorke, "which would, he hoped, convince him that this was an affair of no serious consequence whatever; he knew not one word of it, and had been determined not to say one word upon it, but to send it back, which he would have done that very night. He would not have entered into any correspondence of business, especially relating to peace, with Mr. Yorke or any of the King's Ministers (abroad) whatever, upon any account in the world. He was as innocent and as ignorant of everything relating to the affair, if it were of consequence, as any man alive."[1]

Newcastle had never attached any importance to what he termed "those cursed female letters" from Paris, which Yorke had sent him, and which he always feared would sooner or later cause some embarrassment. On the 21st October "the great Lord Holdernesse told him that he had found out, or by some means it had come to his knowledge, that Yorke had sent him two letters from a lady at Paris relating to peace; that he thought it his duty to acquaint Pitt with it, that as it was in his (Lord Holdernesse's) province, Pitt might not suspect him. Was there ever such a wicked part played by man as this by Holdernesse to destroy the King's affairs, to make Pitt outrageous with Joe Yorke and himself?" He had at once answered Pitt's complaint, and made a full report of the entire transaction to the King on the following day. George II. said that Holdernesse was Pitt's footman.[2]

The wrath of Pitt was not thus to be appeased: "I understand your Grace has received, some days since, a letter from Mr. Yorke relating to certain dapplings for peace on the part of some lady (supposed to be the Dowager Princess of Zerbist), together with Mr. Yorke's answer to the same. As it is so indispensably the right of a Secretary of State to be informed, *instantly*, of every transaction of this nature, and as the King's service and the public good must be essentially and incurably prejudiced by such suppressions in a moment so critical that one

[1] Newcastle to Pitt, 23rd October, 1759.

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 23rd October, 1759.—*MS.*

false step may prove fatal, I find myself necessitated to mention this matter to your Grace. I know not how far your Grace may have had the King's orders for this clandestine proceeding. If such be his Majesty's pleasure, it is my duty to receive it with all possible respect and submission; but I must find myself thereby deprived of the means of doing his Majesty any service. I beg the favour of your Grace to lay me at the King's feet and to inform his Majesty that my health requires the air of the country for two or three days."[1]

The King asked the First Lord, with a smile, what answer he had had from Pitt. His Grace replied, "A very bad one," and then read the letter, which the King appeared to know. Newcastle said Pitt might mean to quit, but George I. said he would not quit his own schemes and measures. "Suppose he should determine not to go on, does your Majesty think it possible for me to carry on the business, receiving two or three threatening letters a week?"—"My Lord, you must bear what I bear."—"Affairs cannot go on without Mr. Pitt, and nobody can go on with him except he is brought into humour. It is not the affair of Yorke, it is the other object." The King then reproached Newcastle for having brought in Pitt and connected himself with him. Newcastle said nothing else would then do, and asked whether the war could have been carried on at such immense expense without the unanimity of the people, the popularity, the Common Council, &c., which was all owing to Pitt, so that it could not have been done without him. The King returned no answer to this, but said that Pitt could not look upon Yorke's correspondence in the light of a negotiation for peace, for he had told him he would not conclude a peace without first consulting him. Newcastle could carry on the Government without Pitt, for he had a majority in the Commons. The Duke said nobody could have a majority at present against Pitt. Notwithstanding this, the King replied that he would not give the Garter unless forced to it.[2]

Pitt said he knew there were some who desired another campaign, but for his part he differed, as he did not think we should be in a better position than now. He also expressed the hope that something might be agreed on for mention in the Speech.

[1] Pitt to Newcastle, 23rd Oct., 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 25th Oct., 1759.—*MS.*

He spoke of the extravagant way the King talked; that we must keep what we had conquered, &c., and insisted that Newcastle should tell the King that under no circumstances would he consent to any *dedommagement*. He thought it destruction to his Majesty both as King and Elector. He knew he was supposed to be governed by popularity, which was to a degree true, and he had risked his popularity by the immense sums given for the support of the war upon the Continent and in the Hanoverian dominions. He had thought it right, and had so far risked his popularity, but then he had the comfort of thinking that the people would see it was done for the good of the whole and not for the aggrandisement of Hanover. If the King persisted in his demand for acquisitions at a peace he would consult with Lady Yarmouth, and retire as inoffensively as possible. When Newcastle told him he would not on any account enter into separate negotiations, he said that if he did so he would not be able to walk the streets without a guard. Newcastle told the King of his interview with Pitt, and his Majesty said: "I approve of Yorke. I love him so much, that if Pitt should go out I will have him succeed him": which Newcastle ridiculed, saying that Yorke could at most be only Secretary under Pitt.[1]

When the Irish Mastership of the Rolls became vacant by the death of Mr. Singleton, Rigby asked beforehand to be named his successor, and begged the favour, by letter, of the First Lord's friendship "on this the most interesting and material circumstance of his life." If successful, he had nothing to offer in return but the poor, the best, services of a grateful man. The salary was but a hundred and fifty, but with the fees it made the income from eleven to twelve hundred a-year; and it was for life. He did not offer to resign his seat at the Board of Trade, but would be content at any disposition that Government might make.[2] For the present he had no objection to fill the three offices, the Irish Mastership of the Rolls being then nearly a sinecure, and capable of being held by an absentee. He was not allowed to retain *in commendam* his seat at the Board of Trade, now wanted for Mr. Eliot, M.P. for St. German's, who had long been waiting for something of the kind. But as Mr. Pitt required it for a friend of his, Mr. Bacon, of Norwich, it was agreed that

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 31st Oct., 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Rigby to Newcastle, 11th Nov., 1759.—*MS.*

neither should be gratified until two seats at the Board were vacant; and with a view to bringing about this propitious coincidence Rigby was called upon to resign.[1] Bedford's misuse of patronage has been excused by the allegation that the office of the Rolls was not then one of business, a euphemism applicable to any job. It was probably so represented at the time, though with doubtful accuracy. The clearer objection lay in the fact that Rigby had never been even a resident in Ireland except for a few months at the Castle, and that he never meant to remain for a day in the country longer than his Chief-Secretaryship lasted. It was neither more or less than a pension payable out of the Irish revenue to an Essex country gentleman, a popular member of the British House of Commons, who had done nothing whatever to earn it, but who continued to draw the pay of his sinecure for nine and twenty years. Pitt concurred readily with Newcastle in the bestowal of a gift which lightened by so much their load of Westminster claims. But the Lord-Lieutenant, who had so recently been protesting against the poorer Exchequer being thus charged with unacknowledged rates in aid of that at Whitehall, would have found it harder to excuse the inconsistency.

On the approach of winter the Council at Versailles were more than ever ill-agreed. Everyone saw that the King's glory was faded, the reputation of the troops sunk, the navy damaged, the finances exhausted, and the Colonies in danger.[2] Wise men in both countries were for peace without delay; but Frederick and Pitt were alike obdurate; and the short days were spent by each in ruminating further projects of war.

In the debate on the Address, Beckford, who was wont to signal the coming thunder of the Minister, owned that moneyed men were all for peace as soon as might be; but, for himself, he thought they had resources adequate for another ten years, and that persistency in a career which had proved so triumphant was the true way to obtain a peace which would last for generations. Pitt would not have spoken, he said, but for what had dropped from his friend. He thought that to pursue the war in all its parts was the only way to secure an honourable peace. He laid his strength on the totality of carrying on hostilities, for

[1] Newcastle to Rigby, 19th Nov. 1759.—*MS.*

[2] M. Cressener, 6th Nov., 1759.—*MS.*

the least omission in any part might be fatal to the whole. They had got almost to the top of the hill, but the stone might roll down and give us a repercussion. The country had, indeed, resources to carry on the struggle for years. He had a great regard for public credit; it was a more tender flower than the land, and must be softly treated. Others were better acquainted with financial matters, and could judge better of the abilities of the country, but he was for an increase of expenditure. Prince Ferdinand should have ten thousand additional men. He had hopes of Prussia, whom every tie of interest made congenial to us. Nothing could have been done without the King of Prussia, and he desired gentlemen to think what would have been the case if that great and enterprising Prince had joined with France against us. He was a hearty friend to the Militia, and looked on it as a vital support of the war, for had it not been for that strength, he would have been for recalling our troops from Germany.[1] They were bound to do their utmost, and then trust to Providence; which Frederick took care to say meant "having the best park of artillery."

Temple was so much out of humour when the Session opened that neither of his brothers ventured to talk to him, and Pitt was content to invite him to dinner only by the use of a card. The Secretary had no notion of retiring, but meant to hold on, whatever might betide, till the measures he had framed had come to completion; but the only thing further he ventured to suggest was that the young Prince of Wales, being now about to take his seat in the House of Lords, should from time to time be made acquainted with affairs of importance, and "that the King should order him to assist at Council"; but since that was not the Royal pleasure, he did not think it right for any of his servants to inform his Highness of the King's business. What made it very hard was that, meantime, Holdernesse communicated everything to the Prince.

It had "made Pitt very ill there, and would make him worse every day. His condition was very hard: he was ill with the Prince for not acting contrary to the King's pleasure at the same time that he could not obtain a personal favour from his Majesty. In short, nothing would do but Temple's Garter."[2]

[1] Sec. West's account of Debate, 13th Nov., 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Count Viry to Newcastle, 10th Nov., 1759.—*MS.*

The sense of his own pre-eminent importance and his irritation at being unable occasionally to exact the consideration for his wishes which he thought himself entitled to, were perpetually fanned into flame by his relatives and connections, who saw no use in having a triumphant Minister in the Cabinet if their pretensions were to be passed over for the gratification of friends or dependents of the great families. Temple renewed his importunity and induced Pitt—when excusing himself from attendance at Kensington on the two-fold ground of "unexampled depressions, and a slight eruption on the skin,"—to give vent in terms little removed from frenzy to his vexation at the postponement of this coveted distinction: "I only desire that when next my reluctant steps shall bring me up the stairs of Kensington and mix me with the dust of the antechamber, I may learn, once for all, whether the King continues finally inexorable and obdurate to all such united entreaties and remonstrances, as, except towards me and mine, never fail of success." [1]

Newcastle protested his deep regret at Temple's disappointment and his intention without delay to bring the matter again before the King. He was extremely sorry for Pitt's slight indisposition, and sent the best compliments of her Grace the Duchess to Lady Hester. He never was more concerned than when obliged next day to acquaint his colleague that all he had been able to say at Kensington had not produced any alteration in the answer he was directed to give respecting the Garter. His only comfort was that he had "omitted nothing which could contribute to the success of what he had so much at heart; and appeared to him so necessary for the service of the public and the King." [2] How much of this the brothers-in-law believed, who would venture to say? but as neither manifested any immediate sign of resentment, the mutually distrustful sections of the Cabinet resolved to jog on together a little longer. Catching a sight of the great man in the Park looking as well as usual, his Grace the First Lord of the Treasury sat down to offer thanksgiving "that his slight indisposition was quite over, and subscribing himself his affectionate and most humble servant." [3] Not to be outdone in the diplomacy of co-partnership, the master

[1] To Newcastle, 27th September, 1759.
[2] To Pitt, 27th and 28th September, 1759.
[3] From Newcastle House, 4th October, 1759.

of fine words replied : " I was at table when the honour of your Grace's letter came, or I should not have deferred a moment expressing my best thanks for the obliging marks of your Grace's attention to my health, the little alteration wherein has been next to nothing. With the greatest truth and respect, Your most affectionate, humble servant." [1] While the two Ministers were thus trying to befool each other with platitudes of preposterous pomp, Temple was making up his mind to deal with the affront in his own way. This he did soon after by resigning the Privy Seal, but insisting on Pitt and his brothers George and James Grenville retaining their offices. Then there was bustling to and fro of colleagues, muttering their despair of the things that were coming on earth, even as at the first tremblings of an earthquake; and then Royal obstinacy, having made good its original threat of not yielding unless compelled, professed to be satisfied that the pressure no longer left any choice, and that the Earl might have his Garter, having succeeded in taking it by force : " I told you I would be forced and I am forced." The final scene is one of general rejoicing at the blessed consummation thus accomplished, and Hardwicke, from his sick bed, writes to say that he can now die with comfort, as the union of Administration is once more secure. The potion proved, in fact, an elixir; for at their next meeting the Duke congratulated the invalid on looking remarkably well.[2]

Thus at the close of his long reign of submissions even the ribands of reward which George II. fancied he could hold so tightly were taken out of his hands, despite his angry complaint at their being used to decorate men whom he personally detested.

A more serious question actually awaited solution, that of the *dedommagement* asserted by the Hanoverian Ministers as due to George II. in his character of Elector, for the losses and injuries sustained during the war. On this point the Cabinet were unanimous, and told him the impossibility of their acquiescence. Angry altercations occurred, in which his Majesty declared his belief that they were all alike careless of his personal interests; he must think for himself. He said : " I will never trouble you any more upon the subject. I will do for myself. I will let you

[1] From St. James's Square, 4th October, 1759.

[2] Newcastle Correspondence, November, 1759.—*MS.*

do what you please for yourselves this winter and then leave you."[1]

But there was no longer any terror in this threat of abdication, which after thirty years' experience his Ministers knew to mean no more than the stage menace of throwing his wig in the fire, whenever the Elector-King was in a passion. It is worth noting, however, that Hardwicke, the most calmly forethoughtful Minister of his time, owned his regret that a severance of the Electorate from the Kingdom, though more than once talked of, had never seemed practicable: "Nobody could see his way thro' it either here or in Germany. There could be no other way but passing an Act of Parliament laying disabilities on that branch which should be in possession of the Electorate unless they should renounce and abdicate it, and there occurred the danger of creating Pretenders even in the family of Hanover itself."[2] The solution of the difficulty which peaceably came about a century later was not foreseen.

One chance of retrieval remained to the French, if Conflans, reinforced as he was promised that he would be, should break out of his long immurement, and escape or overwhelm the inferior naval force under Hawke. There was great anxiety in England as to the issue of a possible conflict; and the pulse of Government was quickened by the intelligence that Saunders, learning at Plymouth how near the crisis was at hand, without waiting for orders from the Admiralty put about forthwith with his squadron just returned from America, and resolved to seek his comrades off the shore of Biscay, if haply he might find them ere they were attacked; and he had his reward. Ministers, delighted with his self-denying promptitude, were flushed with expectation hard to sustain with equanimity while doubt hung over the momentous issue; for they knew that extraordinary efforts had been made to mass contingents of all arms on the western coasts of France, though as yet the great expedition under Soubise was reported as not having set forth.

At length the startling flash of victory broke the oppressive stillness; and late at night on the 30th November the tidings reached the Admiralty that the flag of Hawke floated at Queberon over the captured wreck of Conflans' fleet. Four of his best

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 16th November, 1759.—*MS.*

[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 21st November, 1759.

ships had been destroyed—two made the prey of fire, and the rest were nowhere to be seen. Two frigates—the *Essex* and the *Resolution*—had gone ashore in pursuit of them, their crews being with difficulty saved. The loss of life had been comparatively small; and but one officer had fallen in the struggle.

The appetite for conquest grew by what it fed on, and Ministers did not hesitate to ask increased supplies to carry on the war. Seventy thousand seamen were necessary for the armed marine; and Legge told the Committee of Supply that he could not bring the Navy Estimates within £3,640,000. For the land forces, consisting of 57,294, garrisons, fortresses, and Crown Colonies, embodied militia, 38,750 troops in Hanover, with various other supplementary corps, he would require a sum of £3,236,729; in addition to which £781,489 must be provided for ordnance, hospitals, half-pay, &c.; for pay and clothing of the unembodied militia, £80,000; rate of credit for the current year, £1,000,000. In all, upwards of £15,000,000 for the cost of war. The net revenue for the year 1760 was estimated for Great Britain, at £9,207,445 18s. 5d.; produce of funded and unfunded debt, £14,464,061 12s. 2d.

Barrington had a younger brother who was his chief anxiety. He still remained without any provision, "which was the more distressful to the Secretary-at-War because every other brother was most happily provided for; a most amiable and accomplished young man, who was loved and esteemed by all who knew him, and who had never in his whole life done anything which his brother had not approved, seemed to be singled out for neglect. He had been two years in priest's orders, and was one of the King's chaplains. Anything in the Church not under three hundred pounds a-year would make both him and Barrington completely happy. As they belonged to Berkshire, a stall at Windsor would be peculiarly acceptable. Two of his brothers had served the King well in the army and the fleet, and he must be the most ungrateful man living if he forgot the infinite obligations to his Grace when one of his brothers was made a Welsh Judge. Whatever advantage he might receive from his present solicitation, he would be entirely devoted to his Grace. If his brother got nothing that devotion would not be the less, and if he were made an Archbishop it could not be greater."[1]

[1] Barrington to Newcastle, 26th December, 1759.—*MS.*

He was not long afterwards made Bishop of Llandaff, and ultimately of Durham. Robert Nugent, who with Beckford's brother represented Bristol, was rewarded for his adherence to the fortunes of the Pelhams with one of the Vice-Treasurerships of Ireland. Thenceforth he drew nearer to Pitt, and in consequence became Viscount Clare in the Irish Peerage. Goldsmith was his frequent and flattered guest, but he had no influence to spare for the service of his friend.

The eventful year appropriately closed with a Cabinet by special summons called at the Admiralty to consider the orders to be issued to the fleets. Boscawen was to replace Hawke, and if Pitt did not disclose some immediate purpose of dealing with the advances recently made by the French commander, D'Aguillon, great efforts were to be made to reinforce the squadron in the Baltic.[1] Pitt, however, disconcerted by the imminence of peace, if negotiations were opened with France, had refurbished his reasons for prolonging war, one of which was that "if we made a separate peace with France, including even the King of Prussia and the King of England as Elector, Prussia and Hanover might not be able to carry on the war against the Queen of Hungary, and possibly Russia, without powerful assistance from hence, which he thought when our affairs were made up could not be had." Whatever force there might be in this argument, his colleagues were persuaded that if we could not treat with France apart from her Allies, the proposed Congress would come to naught, for the Court of Vienna was so elated with recent successes that it would agree to nothing short of a restitution of Silesia.

For the rest, the Dictator was apparently in good humour, and though placing no confidence in Holdernesse, said "that he had good parts, but that he was futile except as a spokesman for Leicester House, where he would be the *vortex* in the next reign."[2]

[1] Newcastle Correspondence, December, 1759.—*MS.*
[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 2nd January, 1760.—*MS.*

# CHAPTER XIX.

## LAST DAYS OF A LONG REIGN.

### 1760.

Defence of Canada—Financial Difficulties—Sackville at Leicester House—Forbidden the Court—Negotiations for Peace—Scotch Militia Bill—Property Qualification—Legge's Budget—Jemmy for Windsor—Lady Katherine's Coachman—Relief of Quebec—Condé da Fuentes—The Townshends—The Inner Cabinet—Death of George II.—Retrospect of the Reign—Government by Cabinet Established.

ON the recovery of their financial spirits, Ministers were led by Pitt to decide on sending three regiments from England and two from Ireland to reinforce Prince Ferdinand. Yorke was instructed positively to deny the statement of M. D'Affry that preliminaries of peace had been sent by his Government but refused.[1] He was at the same time told by the First Lord how steadily the Empress-Queen was bent on another campaign; and how the Czarina had recently said she did not understand the humanity of suspending the shedding of blood for a time. Thus in every direction the word was once more given to prime and load.

Lord Morton, a man of literary and scientific attainments, was charged with a special commission to inquire and report on the condition and future prospect of our widely scattered dependencies beyond the ocean. His account of the extent of territory stretching from the Ohio to the sea, and of its capability of supporting a settled population, though doubtless deemed exaggerated at the time, has been more than verified. The area of the thirteen Colonies, taken together with the prairie lands when enclosed, would, he believed, easily support fifty millions of people; and to add by conquest to such an expanse could only be inspired by anxiety to get rid of bad European neighbours.

[1] 14th January, 1760.—*MS.*

A cloud of witnesses testified that the design and hope of France was to perfect a line of communications between the great inland waters of the Continent from Lake Erie to Louisiana and to drive the English from the New World. The French settlers allowed to remain in Nova Scotia after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle lent their aid to their countrymen in the late campaign; and there were numerous families on the south side of the river, where they had brought into cultivation some thirty leagues in extent, who probably ought to be transplanted to some place further south, where they could do less harm. "It should be considered what restraint should be laid upon intercourse of trade between the English and French settlements, if the latter were suffered to exist. But the most desirable thing for Britain would be to have that continent entirely evacuated by her rivals."[1]

Unfriendly mutterings were indistinctly audible over the cradle of the new Loan, requiring attentive if not tender care. On the 4th of January West returned from the City to acquaint his chief that "the subscription was rising, and if it continued so, with no more than necessary firmness they might ride through the storm which threatened, but which he still thought would blow over." Next day was a little more anxious. Thomas Walpole, Martin, and Vanneck were of opinion that there was no occasion for meddling with it. Magens said £100,000 laid out in the purchase of so much of it would give it all the assistance it would want. If it should fall lower, he should be ready to buy the same, and to pay in the deposit thereupon of £15,000 in Dutch names, that it might have the appearance of coming from Holland, and he would dispose of it again after the deposits, when the loss might be from £500 to £1,000. Walpole thought nothing need be done for a day or two, and that if it was flat, then the assistance of £100,000 or £200,000 would raise it sufficiently; but if money could not be had from the public, the buying £100,000 or £200 000 for the receipts coming out would have some effect; only the profit or loss would then have to be accounted for, in which case he should desire a letter from the First Lord for his security and authority. West saw Gideon separately, who told him that nothing could be done properly but by buying, and that no one was to be trusted; for every

[1] Earl of Morton to Secretary of State, 15th January, 1760.—*MS.*

man would sell his own, and it could be no secret.[1] The Duke took comfort from this intelligence, and wished the Paymaster to be assured that any loss upon £100,000 he might advance should be made good to him. West was to compliment Gideon from his Grace, hoping he would not desert them in time of need.[2] It was not necessary to remind the Secretary of the Treasury that he must not let his right hand know what his left hand did. Various rich friends of the Government were informed that they might have allotments of the new Stock if they pleased, but few responded. The Paymaster-General, learning the difficulty, agreed to take £100,000 of the Stock,[3] which the copious balances in his department enabled him easily to do.

The outlook for the next campaign was grave indeed. In England there was all the confidence of unquestioned credit and the elation of unusual victory; but where Prussia was to find men enough to resist her gathering foes the Cabinet could not tell, or delude one another by conjecturing. From Mitchell they learned in February that in *tête-à-tête* Frederick owned that the allies could bring into the field 230,000, while he could muster but 90,000 men. Yet his incorrigible daring did not despair, counting as he did on the blunders of his enemies, of which indeed there had been great store. If the Austrians moved early he did not fear them, but if they waited till midsummer, when the Russians could effectually co-operate with them, he might be exposed to the greatest difficulties and hazards. He confessed his army was not what it had been in other years. One part were fit only to be shown at a distance, if possible, to impose on the enemy, and the other part were dispirited by the memory of the last campaign. But he thought he could bring them back to their former firmness and intrepidity."[4]

The case of Lord George Sackville still lay over. He persisted that he should be brought to a court-martial and that definite charges should be formulated and proofs produced before he was called on for his defence. When at last the Cabinet yielded, two serious questions arose: First, whether an officer removed from the army could be tried by court-martial,

[1] West to Newcastle, 4-5th January, 1760.—*MS.*
[2] 5th January, 1760.—*MS.*
[3] Memoranda for the King, 7th January, 1760.
[4] Mitchell to Holdernesse, 12th February, 1760.—*MS.*

and secondly, if guilty, whether they could sentence him to any punishment but that of death for cowardice or disobedience under fire. The Cabinet debated without coming to any conclusion, and it was finally resolved to refer the questions to the judges for decision. Contrary to anticipation, the judges, with one exception, at once gave their opinion that there was no doubt of the legality of a court-martial in the case submitted to them, and of its competence to try an officer who had been dismissed the service and who had no longer any military employment, but who was charged with an offence committed by him while in actual service and pay. From his sick room Pitt concurred in what the Cabinet had done, which he thought "perfectly right, and hoped it would have the effect expected from it. He had had a bad night and was in great pain,"[1] of which his handwriting bore the traces visibly. A court-martial accordingly heard the accused in his defence. Government were apprised from day to day how proceedings went on. Notes in the handwriting of the Secretary-at-War epitomise the evidence taken by the Court against Sackville, observing only that his cross-examination of the witnesses touched no point of his personal demeanour. Relying on the influence of his family and the favour of Leicester House, Lord George treated his judges with little deference, brow-beat the witnesses against him, and in his own fashion defied alike military and public opinion. The Court were, nevertheless, unanimous in finding that in the midst of battle he had disobeyed orders materially affecting the event, and judged him incapable henceforth of holding any commission under the Crown.

Lady Yarmouth, in strict confidence, informed the First Lord that Sackville, immediately after his sentence, had been received at Leicester House.[2] Hardwicke stared his surprise, but could not see what could be done if people were so foolish. Were the King to take any notice of it, it would be called persecution. The sentence had not yet been published in the *Gazette*, and he himself thought that Pitt was beginning to soften.

Devonshire was desired to forbid Sackville the Court; but in what terms was this ungracious duty to be performed? The Duke, after causing the books to be searched, could not find

[1] 1st March, 1760.
[2] 18th April, 1760.—*MS.*

that there was any precedent for the Lord Chamberlain signifying the King's orders to any person not to come to Court. He wished, therefore, it might be considered what he was to say.[1]

The same day Lord George appeared in his place in the House of Commons.

Marshal Belleisle and Madame de Pompadour agreed to make a last effort, *au désespoir*, to draw the British Government into negotiations for a separate peace. Count St. Germain, a man of fashion, of good address, and rare volubility, was sent on a mission to the Hague to try what could be done through General Yorke, without the help of M. D'Affry, who had hitherto wholly failed. His only credentials were letters from Belleisle intended to speed his movements and avowing anxiety for their success. Yorke, distrustful of the man, whom he knew to be a volatile intriguer, declined to open himself as to terms.

Pitt highly relished Yorke's finesse, and took pains from his sick bed to make it plain in the despatch Holdernesse was to send that England was ready for peace, but could not treat with either D'Affry, or "the General's new friend" without proof of explicit instructions and explicit terms. Does it require peculiar insight to discern in this pedantry of plain dealing the subtle purpose of recording readiness for peace while as fervidly as ever lusting for the continuance of war? The First Lord had known the Count in England and thought him a clever adventurer; but at best he only represented "Belleisle's part of the Court." The great point was—on which side was the Lady? That would determine the whole.[2] But "England would never hear of any *pourparlers*, for peace which did not comprehend his Majesty as Elector, and his ally *eo nomine* the King of Prussia."[3]

Yorke was assured that the influential members of the Cabinet wished him to keep open the negotiation for peace, but he must not expect such cordial approbation from the Secretary's office as he had from his friend at the Treasury.[4] Hardwicke's comment was characteristic: "I much like your answer to Joe, but what can he do if he receives no orders, or what are equal to none, from the Secretary of State? You give him very good

[1] 2nd April, 1760.—*MS.*
[2] To Yorke, 21st March, 1760.—*MS.*
[3] Addition to Holdernesse's despatch by Pitt.—*MS.*
[4] 25th March, 1760.—*MS.*

hints ; but if he cannot avow them, he can make no use of them to justify himself either in doing or saying anything not presented from the office in the King's name. Lord Holdernesse will be always on the catch ; and Mr. Pitt may either strongly approve or as strongly condemn, according to the prevailing humour. The truth is his Majesty ought either to have another Secretary of State in the Northern Department or another Minister in Holland. The Cabinet should meet on these points very soon. The opportunity, if it is one, may slip through your fingers, for the campaign advances apace, and the Duc de Choiseul certainly means delay." [1]

Pitt and his admirers in Parliament, whom Newcastle called fanatics for war, were zealous in promoting the Scotch Militia Bill, for which the Court and a majority of the Cabinet had no liking. After an audience on the 14th March, the First Lord was not unwilling, if it came up unaltered from the Commons, to help in throwing it out in the Lords. It would not suffice, for nothing in his opinion would, to enable them to carry on the war another year. He could not find the resources, and he would not try, but give place to anyone who thought he could.[2] The King said that no amendment of the measure would do : " Pray throw it out." He went on, moreover, to observe that " Pitt was supporting these points, laying the Duke under difficulties, and dividing his friends, in order to destroy his influence and credit, and enable himself and his Tories to carry everything they pleased." Newcastle felt the anomalous position of affairs. " Pitt, by his situation and consequence, was at the head of affairs in the Commons, of which the Tories scarce formed a sixth part ; and all extra-judicial business was to be agreed and concerted with them, without any notice taken of friends, who composed the majority ; and then if they did not come blindly in there was a confusion of measures and a misunderstanding in the Administration upon them. For his part, he was unable to act in such circumstances. If he gave into the reasonable objection of friends, he would break with Mr. Pitt." [3]

Vigorous attempts had been made by Elliott and Oswald and all the Scotch Members to establish a general militia in Scot-

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 26th March, 1760.—*MS.*
[2] To Harwicke, 15th March, 1760.—*MS.*
[3] *Ibid.*

land on the same foot as that in England, except that England was to have paid for it; and in this they were supported by Pitt and Devonshire. The First Lord "thought this so contrary to all the principles they had ever acted on; so repugnant to the notions and practices of Lord Somers and those that formed and wished well to the Union, that he told Pitt very early that he would oppose it throughout." On this Pitt took a middle part, repudiating the notion of a Scotch Militia identical with the English and disowning any intention of indiscriminately arming the Highlanders; but recommending a modified scheme of enrolment in the counties beyond the Tweed, with the suspension of embodiment until urgent occasion should arise. This the Scotch disliked even more than a direct negative; and Newcastle boasted that having gone to work in the old way to bring all his friends together from all parts of the country to vote against the Bill, it was thrown out by an overwhelming majority.[1]

Great efforts had been made to whip the Members of the Lower House for the critical division on the Scotch Militia Bill; but it was thrown out in a full House by two to one. Kensington and Claremont were elated, and Hayes overcast with chagrin. "Our great friend declares that if the Militia is not kept in good humour he cannot be for sending one man more to Germany; but we hope we shall get the better of that."[2]

Pitt professed to regard with jealousy the refusal of Frederick to confide to the English Government what concessions he was willing to make for the sake of peace; and construed his reserve as evidence of an attempt to get into his own hands the conduct of negotiations to which he had no reasonable claim, having lost much, while we had gained much more, by the events of war. These views did not accord with those of Newcastle, but they pleased the King. Pitt's vehemence almost betrayed him into a quarrel with M. Knyphausen; and it looked as if he meant to fling the blame of both war and peace, or rather the not making a proper peace, upon the King of Prussia, who in his desperate circumstances—and nobody thought them more desperate than Pitt—did nothing to help himself.

Newcastle said we could not carry on the war another year, as we should leave a debt upon the nation of four millions for the ex-

[1] To Kinnoul, 1st June, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Granby, 22nd April, 1760.—*MS.*

penses of the current year. Pitt flew into a passion on this, and said that was the way to make peace impracticable and to encourage our enemy. We might have difficulties, but he knew we could carry on the struggle and were a hundred times better able to do it than the French. *We* did not want a peace; but for the sake of the King of Prussia we were willing to forego all the advantages of this campaign in every part of the world. In short, there was no talking to him. He ran on afterwards like this to Lady Yarmouth, to which the Duke answered scarce one word, for it was to no purpose, and he began now to think with Hardwicke—though he owned from all his previous conversations he was of a contrary opinion—that nothing serious and effectual would be done towards peace, and God knew what the consequences would be! Everyone cried out for sending more troops to Germany, thinking rightly that that was where they were wanted, and that we had no occasion for them at home, where we had 30,000 regulars and 24,000 militia. Devonshire had always been in favour of sending reinforcements to Germany rather than that of creating diversions by expeditions[1] against France, which meant burning and ravaging the sea-coast districts whither they were sent. A new and unexpected jar in the Cabinet arose on the support promised by Pitt to Tory amendments of the Landed Qualification Bill. The Whigs were outrageous. Devonshire would oppose them, and Newcastle would oppose everything that differed from the last Bill, except the taking the oath in the House of Commons. Hardwicke tried to talk Pitt over, but without effect, for he seemed to have made up his mind.

The debate on the Bill was opened by Lord Carysfort, who, with Townshend, Fuller, Egmont, and Lord Midleton, opposed, and Stanton, Beckford, Sir John Phillips, Sir T. Robinson, Lord John Cavendish, and Pitt, were for going into Committee. The Secretary rebuked the democratic spirit in young men who objected to a property test of representation. "He was for a Bill that made land a turnpike to get into that House, equally for the landed and moneyed interest. He had himself been called an adventurer in tempestuous times; he only came because he was called. Nothing could make him stay but the continuance of union and the support of the landed interest in that House,

[1] From Chatsworth, 10th April, 1760.—*MS.*

without which he would not have helped in loading his country with fifteen millions of taxes. When that ceased he would retire, and never more propose the laying on of a single half-crown. He submitted to the House the going quietly to a general election, which would be heated if this Bill should be thrown out. He was neither Whig nor Tory, but venerated the memory of King William, and would die by the principles of the Revolution." The Bill was committed by 121 to 76.[1]

As the season advanced, the friends of war drew encouragement—not only from the surrender of Montreal, which went far to complete the acquisition of Canada, the obstinacy of Frederick, and the sanguine belief of Maria Theresa that she would yet recover all her hereditary domains, but from the helpless incapacity of Louis XV. to realise the impoverishment and demoralisation into which France was sinking under his misrule. For a time it was supposed that the dominant influences at Versailles were really tending towards peace, but by the end of April that gleam of returning reason died away. M. Kaunitz had succeeded, through Count Stahremberg and Cardinal Bernis, in persuading Choiseul and Madame de Pompadour that the close union of the two Empresses would in one more campaign bring Prussia to her knees, and that France might then exact any restitution and reparation for her losses she thought fit. Though the best revenues of the Kingdom were long since mortgaged, the benevolences of the Church anticipated, and the Crown plate and jewels actually pawned to raise money to enrol and arm the last levies to reinforce de Broglie,[2] it was once more resolved that the memory of past glory, and the dream that to-morrow would be as yesterday, or yet more abundant, required another effort to meet the Anglo-German enemy all along the line.

Cressener was shown the account ordered by Belleisle of the loss incurred in guns and stores after Minden, of the pensions to wounded officers, and the cost of repairing baggage train and repurchase of horses, with other charges, in all amounting to forty-five millions of livres; and this, with its naval counterpart, after the destruction of Conflans' fleet, would go near absorbing supplies raised by fresh loans and extra taxes in the

[1] Sec. West from the House, 21st April, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Cressener, 21st April, 1760.—*MS.*

winter. As a last resource, Belleisle tried to convince the Monarch and his mistress that it was not the interest of France to play a game of blood that would bring the Cossack nearer to the heart of Europe, but, on the contrary, to let Prussia grow in strength and permanently divide with Austria the resources of Germany.[1] But the knowledge of all this division and distraction in Council served but to whet the thirst for conquest in Pitt, and to enable him to confirm the idea growing fixed in the mind of George II. that it was his destiny to have found England a parish and to leave it an Empire.

An unsuccessful sally was made by Murray at the close of April, in the hope of repelling a formidable French force attempting the recapture of Quebec. The severity of the winter had prevented the possibility of restoring the works on the heights of Abraham, and the General, relying too confidently on the spirit and valour of his men, had ventured to give his assailants battle. One third of his little force being killed or wounded, he could only retire to the Isle of Orleans until the arrival of the fleet so long expected should help to change the fortune of the day. On the tidings of Murray's defeat becoming known, Bute asked Holdernesse whether there would not be some long faces, and had for reply that there could be but one long face, meaning Pitt, "for he alone did everything there. He was Admiral, General; so much so that Lord Ligonier did not know the number of troops that were there."[2]

To justify the fresh demands on Parliament for extended war supplies, the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered into a long review of the successive failures by French Ministers of Finance to sustain public credit, and provide for the exhausting drain upon the resources of their country. With the secret information before us, furnished from time to time by M. Cressener, we no longer marvel at the curious anatomy of loans and taxes, extravagant usury and depreciation of securities, with which Legge riveted the attention of the Commons, and beguiled them into acceding without dissent to the huge demands he had to make. M. Silhouette, in the preceding year, had undertaken to rectify the errors of his predecessors, and by various plausible expedients to equalise the revenue and ex-

[1] Cressener, 21st April, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Conversation with M. Viry, 18th July, 1760.—*MS.*

penditure of the Most Christian King; but his plans had broken down, his projects of new exaction had proved abortive, and in a storm of discredit he had been driven from power amid the execrations of a beggared people. If we only held inflexibly to our just purpose in war, another campaign would infallibly bring the once proud Monarchy of France to sue for peace on whatever terms we should have the magnanimity to name. He had, therefore, to propose votes of £1,500,000 for the Navy debt, £2,600,000 for the produce of the Sinking Fund, and a million for the Vote of Credit, which were all agreed to unanimously. Beckford declared the City would not object, but he frankly owned he did not believe France was reduced to the degree mentioned, as she found means to pay the army in Germany with paper, and supported that paper with credit. His friend and intimate, M. Silhouette, far from being disgraced, had retired on a pension of £2,500 a-year. He could not conceive how fifteen millions per annum could be spent by us, and he could name twelve men who would save the country three millions a-year if they were employed.[1] All which was taken, if not intended, as unofficial notice by Pitt that if the present outgoings, great as they were, should not accomplish all that an aggressive policy sought to attain, the Cabinet must not be held bound by the promises of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the House was in good humour, and went to dinner without attempting any computation of what another year's war might bring forth. The total domestic expenditure had risen to £4,523,507, while the military and naval services had expanded to £13,469,721, and the permanent debt was yearly rolling up, at a rate which former statesmen would have regarded with incredulity and despair. The land tax had remained at four shillings for ten years. Pelham reduced it to three, and in 1753, to two shillings. But on the revival of the war spirit in 1756, it was raised again to four; and Pitt declared he could not do without it on that footing during his tenancy of power. The amount received under George II. for land tax was about £49,500,000, while the total from the excise was nearly £94,000,000, and from the customs £50,000,000; the stamp duties yielded £4,000,000, and the other taxes about £20,000,000; the gross aggregate of the thirty-three years amounting to about £218,000,000.

[1] West to Newcastle, 12th May, 1760.—*MS.*

The Session on the whole had been satisfactory to the friends respectively of the querulous rivals for ascendancy in the Cabinet, and if faith could be placed in the assurances of Newcastle, he and Pitt were "more sincerely united than ever." Whether this mood would last Kinnoul, to whom the assurance was addressed, knew better than most people. They had had their differences over Scotch Militia, and the Property Qualification Bill; but which, as it tended to cripple the choice of Borough Members, the great families in general opposed. Finding the project as originally framed impracticable, Pitt agreed to a compromise, throwing the essential principle of the measure overboard and reducing it merely to a direction regarding the oath of allegiance to be taken at the table. He made a speech on the subject of oaths, which reads curiously after a century has passed, indicating as it does how paramount with him was the abiding wish not to be confounded with any other man or men. Fox tried hard to get the emasculated measure thrown out in the Lords, but was defeated, and there was once more peace in the Cabinet. "There was at present a greater probability of a thorough and lasting union and good humour in Administration than they had ever seen, both sides being convinced that such a union was as necessary for themselves as it was for the public; but that which had contributed and would do more so to its continuance, was the credit and influence which Lord Hardwicke daily gained with Pitt, Temple, and their friends."

The centripetal tendency of oligarchic rule practically vested the power of Government in the Inner Cabinet, which consisted of Pitt, Newcastle, Devonshire, and Hardwicke; and even on questions of commercial negotiation like that with Spain, they seem to have consulted and acted to a great extent without reference to their colleagues.[1]

Considering how much unpaid labour and trouble the Ex-Chancellor took, patiently and efficiently, in the affairs of Administration, it was hardly thought unreasonable that he should try once more to do something for his son in the Church. The newspapers had libelled him, he said, by supposing him an applicant for the Deanery of Canterbury; but Windsor was quite another matter. "There he should be extremely obliged to the First Lord for an addition to the many instances of his

[1] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 12th June, 1760.—*MS.*

friendship and assistance; for the incumbent was very old, and could not last long. His son had not yet been any charge to his Majesty. But he would be much hurt if Lord Albemarle's brother were preferred to him."[1] The Earl's request was granted, and the reversion of the Deanery was promised to console him in his affliction for the loss of his daughter, Lady Anson.

Lady Katherine Pelham had a peculiar way of extracting favours from her brother-in-law. In June she wrote to the Duke: "If what I am going to ask you will be called one of Lady Katherine's jobs by some of your intimates whom I never desire to make mine, I beg to drop my request; but if you receive it as I wish, and like to grant it, because you care for me, then I ask the Duke of Newcastle whether he will be so kind as to promise me the first vacancy of a Windsor surveyor for old Jonathan Walker, my coachman."[2] Faithless history has forgotten to record the issue of the lady's prayer.

Lord Bristol, writing from Madrid, commended the Condé da Fuentes as the person best qualified of all the Grandees to prove useful and acceptable as Ambassador in England. He was received accordingly with marked attention, and Ministers professed themselves highly pleased with his frank and unaffected tone. Only Horace Walpole's habitual scepticism seems to have doubted the genuineness of the new Plenipotentiary's bearing, because he took no airs of Castilian pomp at Miss Chudleigh's ball. For once the surmise of the cynic proved more accurate than the judgment of Ministers who expressed their conviction that da Fuentes had been sent to keep the peace between England and Spain, and, if practicable, to reconcile England and France, without meaning to push mediation too far.[3] At Versailles a gleam of more pacific counsels was observable. Choiseul was said to have been won over to the policy of Belleisle by the promotion of his brother to the rank of Lieut.-General; and in the *salon* of his sister, Madame de Grammont, he was spoken of as willing to come to terms with England and Prussia. The Empress-Queen deprecated strongly any pacification that would deprive her of territories that she had gained during the war; but Belleisle asked, could his Sovereign

[1] To Newcastle, 31st May, 1760.—*MS.*
[2] Lady K. Pelham, 3rd June, 1760.—*MS.*
[3] Chatham Corresp., 3rd June, 1760.

be expected to complete the ruin of his country only to add to the dominions of the House of Austria?[1] Thus from every side came concurrent hopes of peace. But while Court and Cabinet longed for their realisation, the overruling mind of the Secretary was still for war. All his prognostics had proved true; and, whoever else had lost in the protracted struggle, the fortune and the fame of England had gained, and the cup of triumph was not yet full.

"The siege of Quebec was raised on the 17th May. The enemy left their camp standing and abandoned 40 pieces of cannon. Swanton arrived there in the *Vanguard* on the 15th and destroyed all the French shipping, six or seven in number. Happy, happy day! My joy and hurry are inexpressible."[2]

Confirmation of the news naturally filled his colleagues with exultation, but likewise with renewed confidence in the approaching end of hostilities. Devonshire, generally phlegmatic in his estimate of things, shared in the enthusiasm. He thought "this campaign would make them masters of that part of the world and be instrumental in bringing about the great object of peace."[3] In general the distrust originally felt for the audacity of Pitt's designs, and his recklessness of the cost in life and treasure in pursuing them seemed to thaw, in the summer-tide of success. Incapable of envy or grudge, Granville sympathised in the feeling of national triumph, and forgave the egotism of the man for sake of the marvels his dauntless energy had wrought. From fear of his Quixotism, people came to half believe in his genius; and generously stopped their ears to complaints of his belligerent vanity without ceasing to see the peril of allowing it free scope too long. The softening of Hardwicke's sentiments towards him, and the subtle, yet dignified, care with which he made his way into his confidence, continued. Not seldom objecting to details he thought inexpedient, he was ready with alternatives that wore so many features of the original progeny, that the prolific parent was coaxed into taking them up at last as his natural children. Newcastle was too happy to play in when told apart what to do; but without capacity or courage to lead on such occasions, he was constantly appealing for sugges-

[1] Secret despatch from M. Cressener, 8th June, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Pitt to his wife, June, 1760.

[3] To Newcastle, 28th June, 1760.—*MS.*

tions and hints to the mentor on whose sagacity and fertility of resource he officially subsisted. When left to himself he could only mimic badly the haughty tone and imperious bearing of the Secretary of State when recounting what passed at an interview with the new Spanish Ambassador. By desire of his Excellency, a conference took place at Lincoln's Inn Fields. He said that while he was Minister at Turin General Wall had consulted him on the best policy to be pursued by Spain under her new King; and that he had strongly advised the drawing closer if possible with Great Britain; for so allied the two nations might dispense with the necessity of wasting their resources in thankless subsidies. The Spanish Premier so thoroughly concurred in these views, and they were so cordially approved by his Catholic Majesty, that it was soon afterwards proposed to send him to London as their fitting exponent there. For himself he would only say, that with no other purpose he had come. Newcastle declared for himself and his colleagues that their sincere desire was to maintain cordial relations with the Court of Madrid, whereupon Fuentes rejoined that they must have material proofs of their good intentions. The right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland conceded to France ought not to be denied any longer to Spain; while the privilege hitherto disputed of cutting logwood in the Bay of Campeachy ought to be finally abandoned, and permission instead accepted by commercial arrangement. Newcastle was on neither point prepared to yield. The French had the right of fishing by an existing treaty; and our right in Honduras rested on unbroken user, which we could not be expected to forego.[1]

Pitt was not satisfied with the First Lord's account of his colloquy with the Ambassador. He said, in "a very extraordinary manner, and persisted in it to the last, that when the affair came to be decided—which must be soon—he would give no opinion; that it was Newcastle and Hardwicke who must determine it; and he begged of them to be considering of the affair, and come prepared with an opinion, when he (Pitt) would lay before them all the lights he could procure; that this affair had been long depending; that they were perfectly masters of it; and that General Wall always mentioned some hopes that had been given him of which he (Pitt) was entirely ignorant.

[1] Mem. of Conference at Newcastle House, 3rd July, 1760.—*MS.*

The Duke assured him that he knew nothing that could in any measure imply an intention of receding from our rights. He (Mr. Pitt) was not in a situation in the Administration to stand either breaking with Spain or giving up any right of this country. He did not apprehend the consequences of a breach with Spain so much as others might do, though he wished extremely to avoid it, in order to secure an alliance with that Crown. He thought Spain would give up the point of the Newfoundland fishery and would propose some expedient with regard to the logwood. He said the First Lord was the person who had the confidence of the King and the votes of the Commons, and a power which might enable him to withstand the one or the other; but his situation was very different. The Duke attributed this turn of conversation and this ill-humour to the Spanish Ambassador's having talked so fully to him on a point in Pitt's department.[1]

Pitt sought, through Count Viry, to ascertain how Leicester House regarded, or were likely to regard, the concessions asked by Spain. Bute told him that no British Minister would venture to make them all, but that the question of Campeachy Bay might be adjusted. If Spain could be satisfied at the expense of France, it would be our policy and duty to conciliate her.[2] The sentiments of the Princess and her son upon the subject, if they had any, were not even glanced at in the narration, but Bute complained, not for the first time, that Pitt kept him at a distance, and communicated nothing to him in confidence. He seemed, notwithstanding, well up in the details of the Spanish affair, of which he pointedly remarked that he must have been ignorant if he had not other channels of communication, meaning thereby, as his visitor supposed, what he learned from Holdernesse.

July passed in feverish anxiety. The perils of Frederick's position, overmatched and circumvented by the Imperialists, who were full of plans for the dismemberment of Prussia, left the English Ministry brief intervals of repose. Frederick was ably sustained by Prince Ferdinand and Prince Henry, in each of whose separate *corps d'armée* English contingents greatly distinguished themselves. Pitt was enthusiastic in their praise; Newcastle thought all the feats of the campaign would prove

[1] Mem. Newcastle Corresp., 4th July, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Mem. Conversation with Viry, 25th July, 1760.—*MS.*

but forlorn hopes, and even Hardwicke owned that he trembled for the issue. Neither ebb nor flow, however, in the sanguinary tide of war appeared to presage its cessation. M. Viry persisted in representing Pitt and Bute as ill together. When Bute thought Pitt was for peace he always made difficulties, and when he seemed for continuing the conflict Bute appeared to be pacific. He made proposals to talk to the Secretary upon the affairs of the Heir Apparent. Pitt replied that he was ready to meet and talk, but not on the affairs of the Prince without the express sanction of his grandfather and the knowledge of the rest of the Cabinet. He was in good-humour just then with Newcastle, but said the conduct of Holdernesse was unendurable, for communicating confidential letters from Ministers and dispatches without leave or knowledge to persons not of the Cabinet. But it was not extraordinary that one who had used Newcastle so ill, who had raised him from nothing, should behave as he had done to his colleague in the Secretaryship; but he would try and manage him on account of Leicester House, whose confidence Holdernesse was believed to retain. With characteristic petulance and pride, he added that he would never again set foot in Bute's residence until the Earl had been at his door, which he had not been since Pitt had called to inquire for him after his illness.[1]

When at his worst, Frederick retrieved once more his desperate fortunes. The battle of Leignitz, on the 15th of August, cost him 8,000 men, and his enemies a still greater number, but he drove them back for a time, and it allowed him to find bread for his famished troops. He said, "You see how I have laboured to no purpose to bring about the event which has now happened by the chance of half-an-hour's preoccupation of the ground."[2] Before the action he was indeed in a dreadful situation, and if this, which was certainly a *coup de désespoir*, had failed, he was undone.[3]

Amid all the hubbub of rejoicing, Pitt found time to inflate grander paragraphs of felicitation than any or all the rest. "I cannot let a messenger go away without expressions, at least, of all my heart feels on the glorious and stupendous successes with

[1] Conversation with Viry, 8th August, 1760.—Newc. Corresp.
[2] Mitchell to Newcastle, 18th August, 1760.
[3] Mitchell to Pitt, 18th August, 1760.

which Providence has at last crowned the heroic constancy of spirit and unexampled activity of mind of that truly great King you are so fortunate as to contemplate nearly. Amid a whole nation's joy, none can surpass, if any can equal, mine. May Heaven continue to prosper the arduous work, for much, very much, remains to be done, and other wonders to be performed."[1]

On the other hand, George II. was naturally cast down at the tidings that the French had overrun Cassell, and that his son-in-law, the Landgrave, was obliged to succumb. The silence which want of exact information on the subject imposed on Ministers alarmed the City and depressed the Funds, the worst being feared. Another consequence was the suspicion by Pitt that the capitulation was the result of an understanding not communicated to him. Newcastle's account of his morbid state of mind reads more like whimsical fiction than the demeanour of a great statesman holding the balance of nations in his hand: There must be some mystery, he said, in this. It must be in concert with somebody (meaning the Duke of Cumberland). It was a treatment not to be borne, that the King should not think fit to talk to any of his Ministers. He himself had long found he had nothing to expect from Royalty. Sometimes civil, he had hardly spoken to him of the late events. The First Lord thought it was inexcusable to treat one of Mr. Pitt's station and consequence in this manner, and the King would feel the effects of it sooner, perhaps, than he imagined. What the Minister felt more than anything was the refusal of his recommendation of Lieut.-Col. Dalrymple as Governor of Guadeloupe. He talked in the highest strain that he was left to answer for everything that was to be done in America. The task was hard, and yet his Majesty would not suffer him to make use of proper instruments. If this was to be the case, he had done. At first he said he would go out in the best manner he was able, and accept any other employment; then he talked in a higher tone, and said that he had been able to reconcile the nation to measures and expenses which nobody had been able to do before him; that by that he had got such credit with the nation that the King, perhaps, might see the effect of it (meaning, Newcastle supposed, the impossibility of going on without him).

[1] To A. Mitchell, 9th Sept., 1760.

On hearing all this, Lady Yarmouth said Pitt might be assured that there was no foundation for the suspicion about Cassell. She herself felt his Majesty's ill-humour for want of accounts from abroad; but this palliated matters little. To see what counter-irritation might do, the First Lord made his own complaints of treatment "as cruel as anything Pitt had met with," the more so because the income from 1759 to Midsummer, 1760, was £1,080,000 more than it was the year before.

The term of Parliament running out, a question naturally arose whether the Speaker should be rechosen or another sought for to succeed him. George Grenville would do very well, but he was not liked by his Majesty, and it was thought better to suggest that Onslow should be asked to reoccupy the Chair. But on his son being named for a small office hardly worth having, Royalty waxed wroth anew: "He saw plainly that all was to go in one circle." On hearing this Pitt said it was monstrous, but the King used all his servants so. "Serving him might be a duty, but it was the most disagreeable thing imaginable to those who had that honour."

There was some idea that a complimentary present should be made to Prince Ferdinand on his last victory, and the First Lord suggested that if the King sent him ten thousand pounds out of the Privy Purse, which the accumulations just then might well afford, it would be very popular when known; and he might likewise send a gift to his daughter, the Landgravine of Cassell. His Majesty said, "I like it very well, but my daughter will expect it every year while the war lasts." The Duke asked leave, at all events, to prepare a warrant for £10,000 in favour of the Hereditary Prince. "That is always the way with you. You carry it too far. I will give him £5,000, and no more." A warrant was filled up, and next day brought for signature, when Newcastle asked to whom he was to write, whereupon the King flew into a passion, said he would have him write to no one, and the warrant should be made out to him as secret service. He would send it to Hanover, where they would make the most of it, and send it on from thence. The First Lord replied, "'It is your Majesty's own money; you may do with it what you please.' Was ever anything so ungracious, just after he had been informed of the large balances accruing, or so cruel to the nation as to let the German

Ministers have all the credit, and the money have the appearance of coming out of the Electorate?"

A letter from the Duke desired Lord Granby, who was in the camp of Prince Ferdinand, to acquaint his Highness that he, the Duke, had been trying to obtain for him a "handsome present; he wanted mightily to get ten thousand pounds, but could procure only five, and he would acquaint the Prince."

The First Lord proposed to give his private secretary, Valence Jones, the Receivership of the Customs, worth £2,000 a-year, or a Commissionership of Revenue in Ireland, £900 a-year, though perhaps he might have both. He had already a smaller place from the Treasury of £200 a-year; another under the Great Seal worth as much more; and the reversion of a fifth, yielding £1,200 a-year. Still he was not satisfied, and his Chief, who knew his "value to himself personally, but also knew his vanity," was not at ease while he was unsatisfied.[1]

Pitt received two memorials from the Spanish Government, which he sent on without comment to Hardwicke, "because he knew the man," and wisely sought his opinion unprompted and unasked. They seemed to him rough and impolite, and to have emanated, as he fancied, from Ensenada, who was the rival of Wall, and no friend to the English Alliance. He had overdone his hostility in the former reign, and been driven from power in consequence of having persuaded Ferdinand to put his hand to schemes of adventure and surprise against the British settlers on the Mosquito Coast; as Keene when at Madrid had informed him. Was he at mischief again? Without giving any decided opinion, Hardwicke owned that these memorials had merits in them regarding the right of cutting logwood, which were but too well founded. He did not think the same concerning the Newfoundland fishery. France was to be called as a witness—she who at Utrecht, had sold us the right. "This was as if a man who had sold another his estate, should be produced as a witness to overthrow the title which he had conveyed to the buyer."

There ought to be a larger meeting of the Cabinet than could be expected at this season of the year. "As Mr. Pitt has not writ to me, but only sent the copies for my information, I shall not at present trouble him with a letter."[2] Thus in the twilight

[1] Newcastle Corresp., 13th September, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Hardwicke to Newcastle, 14th September, 1760.—*MS.*

of intimate confidence the naked truth escapes from the muffling drapery of officialism. The great jurist was less inclined than formerly to find, far less to make, cause of contention with Pitt: and for the Hidalgos and their narrow-minded King he cared not a jot; while for the sake of his own historic name now that he was done with personal ambition, perhaps even more for the sake of the idolised son whom it was his evening dream to see uplifted to the place he had himself so long occupied with honour—he could not easily bring himself to abet what he knew to be dangerous and felt to be wrong. It was more than ordinarily circumspect in Pitt to invoke the judgment of the only power that exercised any real control over his colleague at the Treasury before the Government were committed to any grave step or word that might haply prove irretrievable. Until Newcastle was prepared, however, to summon the Cabinet for such a purpose he had rather not return to town. The corn was led and the pheasants about to fall, but they were still in mid-autumn; and the rattle of hoofs and wheels in Grosvenor Square and Kensington Palace Yard was a poor substitute for the tranquillity of Wimpole. Hardwicke was willing to take his unofficial share of Executive business during the Session; but during the no long time that he allowed himself to reside at home, he must be excused from summonses to ordinary meetings at the Cockpit and the consequent long journeys they entailed, which did not agree with him at seventy as they did when he was younger; but he was ready to come up six weeks later, by which time the negotiation might be ready for consideration.[1]

Nearly all the other Members of the Government were taking holiday, and only the Secretary and the First Lord had audience at Kensington. The latter owned that he had seldom anything to complain of, though "at times he was horribly vexed." At the Treasury he had no one better than a clerk to advise with, and he often felt lonely and depressed. He begged Mansfield to come for a few days to Claremont, where he would have the Prussian Envoy to meet him by way of attraction.[2] He was sensible of Hardwicke's goodness to him, and sent on his long letter to Mansfield for his consideration. From Chatsworth also he heard occasionally, but from Granville not a

[1] 14th September, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle Correspondence, 14th September, 1760.—*MS.*

word. It was agreed that the Spanish question should abide the deliberation of a full Council. Pitt told Knyphausen that it was impossible to attempt another joint campaign on the present foot; but if his master would make some sacrifice to Russia and gain over that Power, we might make war to eternity.[1]

About this time the Commander-in-Chief was laid aside by illness, and the physicians thought his case so critical that for some days nothing was talked of at Court but who should succeed the veteran Ligonier. George II. was supposed to wish for the restoration of the Duke of Cumberland with the title of Captain-General, and Lady Yarmouth asked the First Lord to see her after the levée before he was admitted to audience with reference to this matter. Ministers, he assured her, would be nearly all opposed to it—Pitt violently, as it would evidently cause the retirement of Prince Ferdinand, and would render his own position untenable. He must have a general officer to consult with who understood war, and was capable of bearing the weight of responsibility. Sinclair, he said, would do best, and Bute thought so too, but Newcastle would not consent, for he was, he said, a low Scotchman, and would fill the army with his countrymen. But were not Stair and Argyll Scotchmen? Yes, but there was a difference between the Duke of Argyll or the Earl of Stair and a Lieutenant-General Sinclair. He would prefer Tyrawley, whom Pitt said the King could not endure; and there remained only Granby, still too inexperienced for so great a post. If he gained any *éclat* before the vacancy arose it might be different, but meanwhile the Court would not have Sinclair on any terms. "I wanted to know why not his Royal Highness." The favourite undertook to persuade his Majesty it would never do; and in the apparent dilemma the wild project was broached that the Monarch at seventy-five should assume the functions of Commander-in-Chief, with a Secretary of War, who should do the whole business.[2]

In a few days the invalid General was pronounced in a fair way of recovery, and the perplexity was willingly forgotten. It served, perhaps, to suggest to Bute the importance (for his purpose and policy) of breaking up the Military Department of Government, for which the opportunity was nearer at hand than

[1] 17th September, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle Correspondence, 17th September, 1760.—*MS.*

anyone ventured to imagine. The Prince of Wales, whose ideas of Administration were mainly formed by him, did not probably forget the discussions and contentions of these last days of his grandsire. Pitt said that he saw no prospect of peace, and that we must prepare once more for war. If peace was to be negotiated for in the winter we must be ready for another campaign, or we should be at a disadvantage. Newcastle replied that he was preparing a state of the expenses. Pitt said we must raise sixteen millions. We could easily do it; for there was such an affluence of money from all parts, the East Indies and elsewhere, that we could raise as many millions as we pleased. The First Lord agreed, but said the question was, where were they to find the security for those funds? Pitt admitted the difficulty, but declared it could be done. Pitt evidently wanted to tell the head of the Treasury what to do. His Grace took it up warmly, and asked why it was not considered that he was preparing everything. Pitt replied: "I know you are of my opinion, but there are little low geniuses (meaning Legge) that think otherwise." His Grace thought that considering the pains he was taking to procure a correct statement of the finances to be laid before his colleagues "it was a little hard to be dictated to by this gentleman. However, he bore it all." The Budget for the coming year would be over sixteen millions, and with the great amount of money in the country he had no doubt he could raise ten millions; but the rapid increase of the National Debt was a terrible consideration. He had been turning over in his mind every tax that had been ever suggested. Tobacco was already so highly charged that it would be no use adding to it; it was different with regard to wine. The great objection to Walpole's scheme was the entering private houses, but if wine duties were collected in the form of excise like those on beer, candles, &c., from the dealers, vintners, and publicans, an immense sum might be raised.

Much to their surprise, Pitt submitted to his colleagues, in a small Cabinet *improvisé* at Kensington, a new scheme which he had put together to humour the King, of a descent on the French coast with 5,000 men, escorted by a squadron of gunboats, &c. It might by surprise or a short siege capture Belleisle, that long-coveted object with him. Newcastle sympathised with the design, but feared it was too late in the year to make the attempt.

It would take out of the Realm all the troops of the line we had remaining, and we could not hope to see them back till Christmas. The eloquent apostle of aggression reckoned on the support of the heads of the Naval and Military Departments, but neither Anson nor Ligonier saw his way, the season being too far advanced. As an alternative, Pitt suggested a descent on Boulogne, which would be easily captured or destroyed, and that would be better than nothing. Holdernesse, seeing the division of opinion, sided with Pitt, and was guilty, the Duke said, of great impertinence to him, ridiculing all his arguments. Finally, Ligonier undertook to ascertain how long it would take to get everything ready, and be able to furnish details to an adjourned meeting.[1] Devonshire's opinion was relied on against the scheme. It was more difficult to get the Chief Justice to come from Caen Wood to dine and deliberate. Newcastle was sorry to find that everybody was in favour of the expedition except Admiral Keppel, who, from recent observation of Belleisle, reported that it had been strengthened since Boscawen's attempt in 1756, and that it was very doubtful whether the citadel did not now command the only landing-place. Nevertheless, the staff were appointed and the flotilla equipped. The more opposition that was offered on the score of details, the more positively Pitt insisted on the enterprise, which he gravely said was the most important he had ever undertaken. "Two or three regiments were actually ordered from Ireland for the expedition, and such a train of artillery and ordnance had passed Claremont on the way to Portsmouth as had never been known to go out of England before; and no one but Hardwicke and Newcastle said no." The Duke told the King of his objections, but he only replied that "Pitt had made the suggestion and he could not stop it, but left it to the Council." The Secretary had talked Lady Yarmouth into thinking it would make a diversion, and was angry with the First Lord for daring to disagree with him. This absurd project had marred the harmony of the Cabinet, but Newcastle was determined it should be dissolved before he would give in to a scheme which would take 10,000 men out of the country, especially as not above a month before Pitt had declared he would not think the country safe with one man less than we then had. The King said he could not support his 4,500 troops in Germany as Elector,

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 3rd October. 1760.—*MS.*

and Pitt talked of reducing the contingent there. George II. went so far as to suggest recalling some of the regiments from America, and that they should make a descent on Martinique as they returned. Pitt argued that we had no more troops in America than were absolutely necessary, and as to Martinique, the officers considered the design impracticable.[1] Admiral Hawke was consulted as to the practicability of the Belleisle scheme, and he declared against it, for from actual knowledge he was certain that it would be impossible to get within two miles of the citadel, and that every part of the island which nature had not rendered impregnable had been strongly fortified or palisaded. Moreover, he asked, after we had gained it, what benefit should we derive from possession of an island totally detached from the mainland? If an expedition was to be undertaken, he was equally averse from one against Martinique.[2] Pitt grumbled at Hawke's answer to the questions put to him, and for some days longer refused to give way. At length his Majesty was effectually frightened at the perils involved in the attempt on Belleisle, and it was deferred *sine die.*

Feeling himself crippled in his expanding designs by the want of disciplined instruments, the resource suggested itself to Pitt of an extended and organised militia. He would certainly bring on the question the first thing when Parliament met, and would give it his persistent support. Newcastle was afraid that anything like a national militia would be subversive of the Constitution, and he declared that no advice or authority could induce him to vote for it. The majority of his colleagues sided with him, but he knew the Secretary too well to think that this would weigh with him, or that once resolved he would change his mind. Might he not make the rejection of a scheme which he considered so essential to his system a handle for going out? "After having been in Ministerial office thirty-six years, he (the Duke) should be ashamed of himself if he gave in to a measure he thought so ruinous to the Constitution."[3] Hardwicke had never yet seen a vigour and readiness in the people to reject the Bill absolutely, unless in some of the warm young men. Henry Fox and his party would never oppose it. In the Session

[1] To Hardwicke, 11th October, 1760.—*MS.*
[2] To Anson, 17th October, 1760.—*MS.*
[3] To Hardwicke, 18th October, 1760.—*MS.*

of 1756 he voted for it, and looking towards Leicester House he might be encouraged to do so now. Many persons who were against the militia in general, thought it of use during the war, and this rendered a consideration of the matter essential before a final resolution to oppose it were come to. Had his Grace always been of the same mind? Hardwicke begged he would "reflect on his former conduct on this point. He thought the Duke voted for it in 1756; he was sure he did in 1757, when there appeared more reason for opposing it from its unpopularity in several counties. He begged he would recollect the speeches he made in favour of the militia at the meetings of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Middlesex; not that he considered him bound by what he then said in a case where his conscience convinced him he ought to oppose a measure, but only to dissuade him from giving anyone a handle to charge him with inconsistency. Still, he could not suffer it to proceed and give his final vote in the Lords against it. That would be more unbecoming, and to quit at present would be impossible."[1] The First Lord said he had never been for the militia, and had only acted in it as Lord-Lieutenant. The trial had been made and failed. The King said he would not permit it, and Newcastle, whose Administration this was, must throw it out. The First Lord expressed his willingness to do this, but pointed out the consequence of losing Pitt at this time. His Majesty treating this with indifference, Newcastle asked how affairs were to be carried on without Pitt, to which he replied, ungraciously: "This country will be too hot for me after the peace."[2]

A warlike address from the city, exulting in the fall of Montreal, and promising no lack of supplies, filled the Secretary's sanguine cup to overflowing: Pitt said "every word in it was worth £100,000, but these gentlemen and his financial colleagues were not the persons who would furnish Government with money, and Newcastle was persuaded that the Corporation who presented the address would not subscribe £200,000 to the new Loan Holdernesse on the 20th of October learned from Lord Granby at Warburg that Generals Tottleben and Lascy, at the head of the Austro-Russian army, were known to have entered Berlin, making prisoners of the garrison. The Duke of Wurtemberg

[1] From Wimpole, 19th October, 1760.—*MS.*

[2] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 20th October, 1760.—*MS.*

moreover, had detached his forces and prepared to go over to the allies; his corps being reported in good heart and excellent discipline.[1] A few days later came the news that Berlin had been evacuated at the approach of its indomitable King.

But the perplexities caused by these conflicting events, and the anxieties to which they gave rise were suddenly effaced by one whereof there had not been the least forewarning or misgiving. On the morning of the 25th of October, without the least indication of illness or even exceptional weakness, George II. passed away. It is not certain that the temporary reverses of his German allies had made any deep impression on his mind, and they had certainly not affected his temper or spirit. It was his rare fortune to close a reign of three-and-thirty years amid a long round of gratulations on the triumph of his arms in every quarter of the globe. At home tranquillity had been long unbroken, and abroad the character of the nation for enterprise and valour had never stood so high. Save for the part he had borne at Dettingen, he was not personally credited, indeed, with any share of the unexampled success of his time; but, as compared with other occupants of the Throne, he had upon the whole escaped unpopularity and censure; and few, if any of the prominent errors of Administration were ascribed to him from the day on which Walpole knelt by his bedside to waken him with the epithet of Majesty, to that on which his daughter tried in vain to find pulsation in his aged heart. He had in turn accepted for his Ministers the men who in the fluctuations of party showed themselves to be best able to take and hold the reins of power. Only on one occasion of importance was he betrayed by temper rather than deliberate purpose into seeking to impose an Administration on the country which the majority of the ruling classes did not want; and though he frequently demurred and hesitated about appointing to office particular individuals, he eventually acceded always to the predominant views of those around him who swayed the two Houses of the Legislature. If they were often inconsistent and unpatriotic, alternately parsimonious and prodigal, occasionally intolerant without being fanatical, and shamelessly profuse without providing for merit or protecting trade, he was not to blame. He was the acceptor, not the drawer, of the Executive bills presented to him, often against his private

[1] Lord Granby to Secretary Pitt, 13th October, 1760.

prejudice and individual will; and he probably never contemplated the possibility of reigning on any other terms.

George II. might well have distrusted the motives of those who overruled him, as they always said, for his good, but mainly for their own. His character and temper as delineated by one who had the closest opportunities of observing them, do not correspond with the uncandid description given by the impatience of those whose encroachments he frequently kept at bay. Occasionally petulant and hasty in refusing favours which his common sense told him were undeserved, and which there was always someone about him ready to designate as party or personal jobs, he listened to remonstrance; and, the first irritation passed, he yielded when any ground could be shown. Hemmed in on every side by competing rivals and flatterers, disenchanting experience taught him to weigh each new suggestion with reserve and often with reticence. That he did not ultimately bar any good design proposed by responsible Ministers, or reject any good measure adopted by Parliament, can hardly be made the subject of his praise. The veto on legislation was no more a weapon in his time than the prerogative of the Tudor, or the battle-axe of the Norman; and as for resisting pressure from the Cabinet, it is clear that every attempt he made proved brief and nugatory. His only practical assertion of the power of dismissal ended after three months' struggle in palpable failure, and in the main it may be truly said that, with very few exceptions, every great office during his long reign was filled in his name by the party potentates of the hour. His knowledge of foreign affairs, which was greater than most of those around him, gave weight to his discrimination of motives and suggestion of means of diplomatic action, which men like Walpole, Granville, and Henry Fox knew how to appreciate and use. With the wider circle of courtiers and politicians he had the merit of being candid, outspoken, careful of his word, yet easily placable when he thought himself slighted or felt offended. His inherited susceptibility on the subject of Hanover, and partiality for his quaint residence there, begat many troubles and misgivings between him and his advisers; but he certainly had no desire to squander the blood or treasure of his people in aggressive war; he had neither sympathy nor rivalry with his kinsman Frederick in his schemes of gain and glory; and the gravest fault ever charged against him

Constitutionally was his having tried to obtain by a separate treaty in 1757 the neutralisation of the Electorate, which his English Cabinet disapproved, and obliged him to forego.

Lord Waldegrave, who knew him as well as any of his courtiers, says that, in his later years, public business was his chief amusement. He knew more of foreign affairs than most of his Ministers, and took pains to understand the extent and balance of Constitutional rights and duties, of which he was ready at all times to be faithfully advised, even when the counsel offered was not expected or agreeable. Ministers who could not win his personal esteem complained that he was oftentimes abrupt and passionate; but he had the rare virtue of not dissembling; and his reconciliation was owned with as little semblance of disguise as his previous ill-humour. With his son he probably remembered that he had often been unreasonable; and to his grandson he seemed as though he would make amends in many traits of kindness and consideration. The experience of a long reign was not calculated to improve his opinion of the purity of Parliament or the patriotism of Ministers. But at least it may be said of George II. that he never engaged in any selfish intrigue to turn the ambition or corruption of party to dynastic account. His concern for the safety of his Electorate was natural and just, and much more to his credit as a man than the recklessly inconsistent way which for twenty years the defence of Hanover was made the football in Parliament and the Press by competing factions.

Cabinet rule had been upon its trial for nearly half a century; and, despite many blemishes and errors, its superiority to the systems of government that had preceded it was tacitly accepted by the nation. Dynastic controversies had been laid to rest, and civil strife endangering the public peace was heard of no more. The Crown devolved without question or grudge on the next lineal heir; but, shorn of the power to perplex or disturb the community by the gratification of arbitrary whim, it was no longer an object of jealousy or fear. The supremacy of Parliament had been gradually established—not only in the making of laws, but in the power of enforcing them; for the Ministers who in combination formed the Executive, though nominally appointed by the King, were, as everybody knew, co-optatively chosen by the chiefs of the party that hap-

pened to be in power. The great nobles who led the Upper House and, through their connections and adherents, swayed the councils of the Lower, decided from amongst themselves who should fill from time to time the great offices of State. Commoners of pre-eminent claims of distinction occasionally won admission to the Cabinet, but the Primacy of the Church and the Presidency of the House of Peers were traditionally reserved for men belonging to the middle ranks of life. Gradually, commercial wealth and ambition vied with the owners of landed estates for the possession of seats in Parliament, and though the anomalies in the representative system admitted neither of question nor justification, the bulk of the community troubled their heads with none of these things. Compared with their neighbours in France, the weight of taxation was moderate if not light; compared with their kinsfolk in Germany, the immunity from military service was a matter of ineffable pride and boast. Trade throve apace; invention and enterprise daily added to the national store; the Church maintained its traditional ascendancy, but claimed no longer the right to dictate or domineer in matters of conscience. Catholics and Dissenters were still excluded by statute from the privileges and rewards of citizenship; but the liberty of opinion, of association, and of worship was practically recognised; and, if the Press was not actually free, the power of arbitrary interference made no man any more afraid.

# INDEX.


ACT OF SUCCESSION, 33; partly repealed, 43.

Addison, ineptness at Council, 62; Chief Secretary, 69; cowardice in regard to Ormond, 101; Secretary of State, 157; initiates foundation of the library at Trinity College, Dublin, 184; resigns, 185; controversy with Steele on the Peerage Bill, 225.

Aislabie, John, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the reasons why, 183; expelled the House and his estates forfeited for complicity in South Sea jobbing, 295.

Anne, Queen, accession, 36; to Godolphin on Scottish Union, 40-41; last Council at Kensington, 50; death, 54.

Anson, Admiral, made a Lord of the Admiralty, II., 51; victory off Cape Finisterre, 106; his choice of commanders, 246; resigns office, 334.

Argyll, Duke of, attendance at Council at Kensington, 52; Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, 75; refuses to pursue defeated rebels, 113; superseded by Cadogan, 114; speech against Spanish Convention, 490; dismissed the army, 501; death of, II., 10.

Atterbury, "Necessity of a Plot" attributed to, 178; refuses to be bought, 314; arrested, 315; impeached, 319; acquitted, goes to France, and enlists in Pretender's cause, 321.

Auverquerque, H. de Nassau, Master of the Horse and Earl of Grantham, 4.

BARNARD, Lord, is refused an earldom, 170.

Barnard, Sir J., opposes Pelham's financial schemes, II., 32-33.

Barrington, Lord, Secretary-at-War, II., 245; calls the Cabinet together to decide on operations in America, 435; plea for a younger brother, 536.

Beckford, Alderman, speaks against too large an expenditure abroad, II., 480; advocates continuance of war, 531.

Bedford, John, Duke of, invited to a conference, II., 28; First Lord of Admiralty, 49; schemes of acquisition in North America, 94; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 334; demurs to adding to Irish pension list, 462; complains of withdrawal of troops from Ireland, 466; misuse of patronage, 531.

Bentinck, Groom of the Stole and Duke of Portland, 4; mission to Paris, 19.

Berkeley, Admiral, First Lord Admiralty, 157; removed at accession of George II. for his kidnapping proposition, 365.

Berkeley, Bishop, Dean of Derry, 244; Bishop of Cloyne, 443.

Bolingbroke, Viscount, proposes Coalition, 51; irresolute at change of dynasty, 57; removed and his papers seized, 63; attends the coronation, 85; flies the kingdom, 101; writes from Paris to Wyndham indicating hopelessness of Pretender's cause, 142; intrigues for reprieve, 317; advises George I. to remove Walpole, 349; audience with the King, 350; publishes the *Craftsman* with Pulteney, 354; *Dissertation on Parties*, 354; leaves the country, 447; returns, but without permission to sit in the Peers, II., 116; dies, 117.

Bolton, Duke of, Viceroy, 158; goes to Ireland, 210.

Boyle, Henry, Chancellor of Exchequer, 37; Irish Speaker, organises claims of Commons, II., 154.

Braddock, General, attacks the French in America, II., 261; defeated and killed, 265.

Brodrick, Alan (head of the Irish bar and Attorney-General to Queen Anne), Lord Chancellor in Ireland, and Viscount Midleton, by Sunderland, 69; attempt to force adherence on Peerage Bill, 240-1; deprecates Wood's Patent, 247; family strength in the two Parliaments, 254; his son moves censure on the grant in Irish Commons,

257; correspondence read in the post, 263; resigns, 335.
Bute, Groom of the Stole to Prince of Wales, II., 307; consulted during the Ministerial chaos, 292-3; his brother appointed Ambassador to Turin, 438; thinks Pitt's policy too warlike, 475; conference with Pitt on eventualities at King's death, 481; negotiations through Count Viry, 481, 489, 491.
Byng, Admiral, sent to command squadron at Toulon, II., 96; action off Port Mahon, 289; trial commences, 359; execution, 364.

CAROLINE, Princess, 100; advised by King while abroad to confide in Cowper, her estimate of Townshend, 127; death, 480.
Carteret, John (Earl Granville), moves in the Lords address of congratulation on events at sea, Ambassador to Stockholm, 198; exports Irish giants to Prussia, 307; successful diplomacy and jealousy of colleagues, 326; removed and made Viceroy, 331; his Irish Administration beneficial, 337; friendship with Swift, 338; proposes tax on absentees, 371; Secretary of State, 552; accompanies George II. to Hanover, II., 8; describes battle of Dettingen, 16; negotiates preliminaries of Treaty of Worms, 18; President of Council, 334.
Chesterfield, Earl of—Should he be admitted to Cabinet, 391; Lord Steward and Envoy to the Hague, 392; removed on defeat of Excise scheme, 419; denounces employment of German troops, II., 32; Viceroy of Ireland, 36; Ambassador to the States-General, 49; on recruiting in Ireland, 64-65; on the differences in Cabinet, 456.
Cholmondeley, Lord, succeeds Lord Gower as Privy Seal, II., 24; Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, 51.
Clive, Robt., elected for Michell, II., 186; suggests conquest of India, 484.
Cobham, Lord, removed, with Bolton, for opposition to Excise scheme, and deprived of his regiment, 418.
Compton, Spencer, Speaker House of Commons—George II. requests to draw up announcement of accession, 389; attempts to form a Ministry, 362; gives up and is made a peer, 365.
Conway, Colonel Seymour, Chief Sec. for Ireland, II., 252.
Cope, General Sir J., defeated at Preston Pans, II., 67.
Cotton, Sir J. H., Treasurer of the Household, II., 51.
Craggs, the elder, Half Postmaster-General, 80; complicity in South Sea scheme, death, 295.
Craggs, the younger, Secretary-at-War, 165; Secretary of State, 185; complicity in South Sea jobbing, death, 295.
Cumberland, Duke of, beaten at Fontenoy. II., 57; takes command against Young Pretender, 75; Battle of Culloden, 89; resigns after Klosterseven, 423.

DANBY, Lord President, 5.
D'Arcy, Conyers (Lord Holdernesse), Comptroller of the Household, 396; Secretary of State, II., 146; concludes Treaty with Landgrave of Hesse, 235; Secretary of State, 334; King complains of his negligence in business, and would like to displace him, 439; irritated at Pitt's detaining him hours in writing despatches, 444; Ministers disgusted with him, 505; "Pitt's Footman," 528.
Darlington, Lord, Postmaster-General, II., 245.
Defoe, Daniel, writing for Government, 187-192.
Delafaye, Secretary to Lords Justices, 129.
Devonshire, First Duke of, Lord Steward, 5.
Devonshire, Third Duke, Lord Steward, at Hanoverian succession, 74; President of the Council, 299; Privy Seal, 396; Lord Steward, 419; Lord-Lieutenant, 426; resigns Viceroyalty, II., 36; retires from office, 118; appointed one of a commission to inquire into Jacobite allegations, 160.
Devonshire, Fourth Duke, Lord-Lieutenant, II., 253; First Lord of the Treasury, 334; anxious to retire at close of the Session, II., 368; on the inter-Ministerium, 379; Lord Chamberlain, 383.
Dodington, Bubb, Treasurer of the Navy, II., 245.
Dorset, Duke of, Lord Chamberlain, 5; gives way to Sunderland as President, 182; Viceroy, 393; Lord President, II., 49.
Dubois, Abbé, visits England to negotiate Anglo-French Treaty, 151; receives bribes from the Government, 151; made a Cardinal on intercession of George I., 226-7.

Dupplin, Lord, Paymaster-General, II., 245.

EDGCUMBE, RICHARD, created Baron Edgcumbe, 3.
Egmont, Lord, refuses Leadership of Commons, 326.
Eugene, Prince, visit to England, 41.

FORFEITED ESTATES, Mary warns William, 11; William to Galway, 23; Bentinck's English Grant, 23; early forfeiture, 25; Commission of Inquiry, 27; Resumption Act, 29.
Fowke, General, cashiered, 293.
Fox, H.—Frequent visits to Lady Yarmouth, II., 193; vigorous measures at the War Office, 197; Secretary of State, 202; acquiesces in proceedings against Admiral Byng, 293; views on exchanging Gibraltar for Minorca, 295; proposes taking Pitt into the Cabinet, 300; determines to resign, 309; out of office, 334; abortive schemes of new Administration, 367, 386; anxious for Pay Office, 368; to Newcastle, on the crises in the Cabinet, 376; will not accept office from Newcastle, 387.
Frederick, P. of Wales, comes to England, 379; proposal to increase grant by £50,000 a-year, the King refuses, 467; motion in Parliament, 468; death, II., 145-6.
Frederick the Great, weary of the war, II., 482; flatters Pitt, 483.

GEORGE I.—Accession, 55; lands at Greenwich, 83; special Act passed to allow going abroad, 125; Regency Council appointed, 125; controversy who should be head in Regency Council, 126; death, 355.
George II.—Quarrel with his father when Prince of Wales, 174; is confined to his apartments and his visitors forbidden Court, 176; George I. suggests disinheriting him from accession to Hanoverian Electorate, 178; accession, 358; refuses to grant titles, 377; warlike ideas, 438; wins battle of Dettingen, II., 16; retires after the battle, 17; his reproof of Chesterfield, 49; visits Hanover, 113; mistaken ideas of his power, 137; supposed to be dying, 145; dismisses Ministers, but cannot form a Ministry, 369-395; anxious to get rid of Pitt, 454; refuses to speak to him at audience, 517; threatens to abdicate, 519; death, 534; character, 565-7.
George III.—Jealousies of his tutors while Prince of Wales, II., 159; Waldegrave's opinion of him, 301; wishes to take military service on alarms of invasion, 503.
Gibraltar, offer to give up, 195, 227, 385, II., 403.
Godolphin, Lord, junior Lord of the Treasury, 5; resigns, 23; Lord of the Treasury, 27; Privy Seal, 447.
Grafton, D. of, dismissal from office as Gentleman of the Bedchamber, 178; Viceroy, 242; objects to go over, 243; objects to Irishmen in Irish Offices, 244; repression of Irish industry, 245; Walpole's angry letter on his conduct, 255; to divert attention from Wood's Patent, proposes new Penal Laws, 262; Lord Chamberlain, II., 334.
Gyllenbourg, Swedish Ambassador, arrested for fomenting rebellion, 153.

HALIFAX, Lord, Privy Seal, 5; First Lord Treasury, 71; his patronage of literature, 73; death, 99.
Halifax, Lord (Dunk), Master of the Buckhounds, II., 51; President of the Board of Trade, 122; Colonises Nova Scotia, 123.
Hamilton, Lord A., a Lord of the Admiralty, II., 51.
Harcourt takes oath of allegiance at accession of George I., 55; skill in Chancery, 334; creation of precedents, 335.
Harley, Secretary of State, 43.
Hawke, made Admiral, II., 246.
Henley, Sir Robt., Attorney-General, II., 336; Lord Keeper, 396.
Herring, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, II., 109.
Hervey, Lord, resigns pension, but becomes Vice-Chamberlain, 398; a peer, 425; Privy Seal, 507.
Hoadly, made a King's Chaplain, 148; Bishop of Winchester, 440.

IRELAND, Government of, 206-222; progress of toleration, 211; conflict of jurisdictions, 214-17; penal laws, iniquitous proposal of Bolton, 219 and appendix; Viceroy's salary, 221.

JAMES II., death of, 35.
James III., proclamation in France as King of England, 35; France refuses aid against England, 85; lands in Scotland, and is defeated, 113; proclamation to people of England, 205.
Jobbing, German favourites, 92-3.

Judges, independence of, pay and tenure, 87-89.

KENT, Duke of, Chamberlain, 42.
King, Chief Justice, Lord Chancellor and Baron Ockham, 344.
Kingston, Duke of, Privy Seal, 150.

LEGGE, named Minister of Finance, II., 176; Chancellor of Exchequer, 334; resigns, but persuaded to remain, 438-39; resigns on dismissal of Temple and Pitt, 368; offers to resume, 392; proposes increased taxes on consumption, 487.
Ligonier, Lord, Commander of Forces, II., 334.
Limerick, Lord, moves for Secret Committee to inquire into malpractices, &c., II., 1.
Lonsdale, Lord, Privy Seal, 418
Lucas, Dr., demands Septennial Act for Ireland, II., 155.
Lyttelton, Sir G., Cofferer of the Household, II., 179.
Lyttelton, Sir R., appointed to Jewel Office, II., 342.

MARLBOROUGH, Duchess, Groom of the Stole to Anne, 37; growth of ascendancy, 39; alienation from Anne, 49.
Marlborough, Lt.-General, 5; dismissed and confined in Tower, 11; Captain-General and K.G., 37; "himself the Government," 44; cashiered, and falls with the Junto, 49; left out of Council of Regency, 56; returns to England, 60; Sarah begs him not to take office, 61; Captain-General, 66; offices of his family, 66; communicates with Pretender, 87; loses his daughters, Ladies Bridgewater and Sunderland, 120; his strength gives way, 121; death, 313.
Marlborough, Second Duke of, asks permission to resign after Dettingen, 21; Master-General of Ordnance, 334.
Mary, Queen, alone in England, her picture of the Council of Nine, 9-10.
Matthews, Admiral, demands reinforcements, II., 37.
Methuen, Lord, Secretary of State, 143.
Mitchell, Andrew, protest at the project of Separate Convention excluding Frederick—II., 413; on importunity of Frederick, writes urging active co-operation of England, 439; Pitt enraged at his partiality for Frederick, 441; proposed supersession, 442.
Morton, Lord, report on value of America, II., 538-9.
Murray (Lord Mansfield), Attorney-Gen., nominated Chief Justice, II., 319; refuses without a peerage, 321; sent for to take Exchequer Seal *pro tem.*, 374; returns it to the King, 391.

NEWCASTLE, Duke of, Vice-Chamberlain, 158; quarrel with the Prince, 175; correspondence with Carteret, 305; growth of his influence in Parliament, 311; delight at success of scheme for ousting Carteret, 328; Secretary of State, 331; resumes at accession of George II., 365; treating the voters, 434; mystifying his colleagues, 509-11; financial difficulties, 523; denounces Hanover Treaty, of which he had not been apprised, 532; threatens to resign, 533; foreign policy after Dettingen, II., 20; jealousy of Carteret, 27; jealous of H. Pelham, 28; his Grace and the burgesses of Aldborough, 93; to "Dear Jimmy Pelham," 144; pecuniary difficulties, 153; again threatens to resign, 312; anxious to resume, but afraid, 380; undertakes formation of new Ministry, 385; account of altercation with George II. on forage money for Hessians, 436; to Charles Yorke on privateering, 476; fears the country is unable to support foreign war, 497; slighted at levée, 498.
Newport, Lord, named Lord Justice, II., 185.
Newton, Sir Isaac, supposed to have assayed Wood's coin, really done in his absence by subordinates, 253.
Nithsdale, Lord, rescued by his wife from the Tower, 173.
Norfolk, Duke of, expostulates against oppression of Catholics, II., 34.
Norris, Admiral, refuses to act without Cabinet instructions, 137-9.
Nottingham, Secretary of State, 5; resumes under Anne, 38; resigns, 42; President Council, 73; pleads for mercy for rebel lords, consequent dismissal, 118-19.

ORFORD, LORD (See Walpole, Sir R.).
Ormond, Duke of, flies to France and enlists with Pretender, 102; abortive expedition against England, 110; withdraws into private life at Avignon, 205; Viceroy in Ireland, 207.
Oxford, Lord, throws down the Treasurers' staff, 51; arrest, 102; defends himself at bar of Lords, released, 167.

PARKER, CH. J., Lord Macclesfield, 19; Chancellor, 180; dumb in Cabinet, 202; abuses in Chancery, resigns, impeached, 343; defended by Yorke, 344.
Pelham, Henry, Treasurer of the Chamber, 273; Lord of the Treasury, 298; Secretary-at-War, 331; Paymaster, 392; strives to keep the peace between Walpole and Newcastle, 534.
Pelham, H.—Financial proposals, II., 32; helpless, though in office, 97-99; plans for reduction of national expenditure, 121; effects of his financial rule, 156; encouragement of Jewish citizens; 164-5; statutable founder of the British Museum, 168; death, 171.
Pembroke, Earl of, First Lord, 5; President of Council, 37.
Pitt, William (Lord Chatham), Member for Old Sarum, 450; Parliamentary pedigree of the Pitts: "interloping," the great diamond, 450-461; first speech, 462; deprived of commission for speech on Prince's allowance, 478; attack on the Spanish convention, 488; on military and foreign policy of Government, II., 29-30; not included in coalition Government, 51; made Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Paymaster-General, 83; nominated for Seaford, 107; seven kinsmen in Parliament, 109; at Bath for the gout, 123; on the right of Spain to search English ships in the W. Indies, 143; letter to G. Grenville on Pelham's death, suggesting Ministerial changes, 172-3; marriage with Lady H. Grenville, 182; angry at preference shown for Fox, 239; objects to employment of Swiss troops, 270; to D. of Devonshire on Cabinet changes, 329; First Sec. of State, 334; resignation requested with dismissal of Temple, 368; resumes without reappointment, 399; war on a grand scale, 405-7; Newcastle must attend Cabinet on campaign in America, "where England was to be fought for," 436; impatient for vigour in war, 437; in raptures at Frederick's success at Verden, 444; refuses Frederick's demands, 445; Cabinet meeting of four, 446; asks an humble prebend in the name of the Commons of England, 448; overwhelmed at exorbitance of estimates, 448; altercation with D. of N. on Habeas Corpus Bill. 450; goes into country in rage, 452; to Bute on rejection of Habeas Corpus, 459; anxious for victories, 469; to D. of N. on growth of estimates, 479; assumption of independence, 494; his married life, 500; to ambassador at Constantinople seeking alliance with Sublime Porte, 508; on the capture of Quebec, 526; threatens resignation, 527; on Landed Qualification Bill. 545; supreme in Cabinet, 551; to Mitchell on Frederick's victory at Leignitz, 555; projects of further aggression on French coast, 561.
Potter, T., M.P. for Aylesbury, II., 235; scheme of triple election, 400; death, 509.
Pulteney, Secretary at War, 80; left out of Walpole's Cabinet, 300; disgusted at exclusion from Cabinet, resigns Cofferership, 334; heads opposition in the Commons, 353; overtures on the defeat of Excise scheme, 410; refuses office, but insists on his friends being gratified, 548; Earl of Bath, II., 6; First Lord of Treasury, 81.

REBELLION in Scotland, final retreat, 113; Speech from the Throne on, vows of vengeance, 115; trial of rebel lords, 116-117.
Richmond, Duke of, Master of the Horse, II., 49; dies, 150.
Robinson, Sir T., leaves Vienna, and returns to England, II., 116; Secretary of State, 179; pension of £2,000 a-year, II., 231.
Rushout, Sir J., made Treasurer of the Navy, II., 27.
Russell, Admiral, Treasurer of the Navy, 5.
Rutland, D. of, Lord Steward, II., 334.
Ryder, Chief Justice, death of, II., 319.
Ryswick, Treaty of, 20-21.

SACKVILLE, Lord George, Chief Secretary for Ireland, II., 154; conduct at Minden, 512; court martial, 541.
Sandys, Mr. S. (created Baron Sandys), Chancellor of Exchequer, 547; Cofferer of Household, II., 27.
Sandwich, Earl of, his energy of character, &c., II., 50; First Lord of Admiralty, 115; removed from office, II., 151.
Saxony, Elector of, to furnish 30,000 soldiers, II., 40.
Schomberg, Duke of, Master-General of Ordnance, 4; Commander of Forces in England and Duke of Leinster, 38.
Secker, Bishop, on the Naturalisation Act, II., 167.

Septennial Act, 122-3.
Sherlock, Bishop, objections to Regency Bill, II., 149.
Shippen, William, attacks Government on vote of credit for expedition against Sweden, 156; reflects on the King's English, and is sent to the Tower, 174; attacks secret service expenditure, 367.
Shrewsbury, Lord, Secretary of State, 5; Viceroy, 31; receives the Treasurer's staff from Anne on her deathbed, 52; takes oath to George I., 55; deprecates vengeance on fallen rivals, 95; resigns, 103.
Sidney, Lord, Lord Justice in Ireland, 10.
Sinclair, General, in command of troops to invade France, II., 95; recalled, 101.
Somerset, Duke of, absurd story about breaking into Council, 52.
South Sea scheme, 269.
Stair, Lord, asks permission to retire after Dettingen, II., 21.
Stanhope, James, General, Secretary of State, 75; First Lord and Chancellor of Exchequer, 157; goes to Lords, 164; Secretary of State, 182; resumes foreign diplomacy, 193-4; goes with Dubois to Paris to baffle Alberoni's intrigues, 295; introduces Toleration Bill for relief of Dissenters, 200; impugned on South Sea failure in the Lords, death, 293.
Stanhope, Charles—George II. refuses to make him, who suggested his kidnapping, a Junior Lord, 366.
Stanhope, William (Lord Harrington), made a peer for services at Madrid, 377; Secretary of State, 391.
Stone, Archbishop of Dublin, named Lord Justice, II., 185; left out of commission of Lord Justices, 243.
Stone, Andrew, Private Secretary to Duke of Newcastle, 406; sub-governor to Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., II., 149.
Stuart, Prince Charles Edward, rumours of his movements, II., 33; lands in Scotland, 60; marches southward and reaches Derby, 74; defeat at Culloden, 89.
Sunderland, Earl of, resigns Chamberlainship, 19; Viceroy, 68; Privy Seal, 106; head of the Marlborough party, 129; Foreign Secretary, 157; library in Pall Mall, 173; ascendancy, 177 *et seq.*; exchanges seals with Stanhope, and becomes First Lord and Lord President, 182; Groom of the Stole in addition, 201; survives the South Sea storm, 299; dies, 312.

Talbot, Charles, Lord Chancellor and a peer, 425.
Temple, Lord, First Lord of Admiralty, II., 334; dismissed for pleading for Byng, 368; Privy Seal, 395; desires a Garter, 515; George II. refuses, 516; Pitt importunate for it, 521; resigns, and gets the Garter, 534.
Tenison, Archbishop, in Cabinet, 81.
Townshend, Lord, Secretary of State, 65; not First Minister, 66; Sunderland and Stanhope plot his overthrow, 141; named Viceroy without leave, 143; reproaches Stanhope, 145; refuses, but at last consents, to go to Ireland, 145-7; dismissed for voting against Government, 157; Secretary of State, 299; resumes at accession, 365; defence of Hanover, 381; want of accord with Walpole, 388; quarrel with First Lord, resigns, 391; in retirement, 480.
Townshend, George, Commissioner of Excise, 332.
Tweeddale, Marquis of, Secretary for Scotland, 49.
Tyrawley, Lord, report on the condition of Gibraltar, 293.

Veto, William's, exercise of, 15, 18.
Viceroy of Ireland, 206, 208; a Cabinet office, 209.

Union with Ireland, William's idea of, 13; Scottish, 45-8.

Wager, Sir Charles, succeeds Torrington at Admiralty, 420; Bill for Registration of Seamen, 497; resigns alone with Walpole, 549.
Wake, Primate, succeeds Tenison in Cabinet, 148.
Waldegrave, Earl of, calls on Duke of Newcastle by Royal desire, to resume, Pitt and Temple being removed, II., 366-7.
Walmoden, Sophia (Lady Yarmouth), captivates George II., 407; £3,000 on Irish Establishment, 485; created countess, 501; endeavours to make peace in Cabinet, II., 454; advises Duke of Newcastle "to keep Pitt till after the war," 456.
Walpole, Robert, Paymaster, and subsequently Finance Minister, 76-80; resigns, 157; defends his jobs, 162;

financial and free trade policy, 162-3 and 310; intimacy with Princess Caroline, 270-1; in Cabinet as Paymaster, 273; anxiously looked to in S.S. crash, 289; First Lord, 298; revives the Bath, and takes the first riband, 345; ascendant, 389; refuses to repeal Test Act, 404; Excise scheme, 408-17; Convention with Spain to avoid war, 487; labours for peace, but gives way to popular clamour, 494; arrogance in Council, 505; Premier all but in name, 517; defends his policy, 519; just escapes defeat on Pulteney's motion, 537; resigns, 539; popular indignation against, II., 1-6; his life at Houghton as Lord Orford, 23; letter on the choice of his successor, 24-26; though in retirement still directs, 26-27; last illness and death, 56-57.
Walpole, H., Cofferer, Vice-Secretary of State in Hanover, 463; Teller of Exchequer, 522.
Washington, G., at Fort Duquesne, II., 265.
Wesley, Charles, on the loyalty of Dissenters in 1745, II., 66.
Wharton, Duke of, Privy Seal, 70; death, 97.
Whitfield offers thanks at the Tabernacle for victories at Rosbach and Lissa, 436.
Wilkes, John, unsuccessful candidate for Berwick, II., 187.
Willes, Chief Justice, reports great disaffection in the country, II., 61.
William III., Regent or King? 3; retains conduct of foreign affairs, 5; threatens to return to Holland, 8; death, 36.
Willoughby, Lord, Viceroy in American colonies, II., 260.
Wilmington, Lord, Privy Seal, 391; death of, II., 21.
Winnington, Sir T., made Paymaster-General, II., 22.
Wood, grant to coin copper in Ireland, 246-54; patent withdrawn, 306.
Wyndham, Sir William, charged with complicity in rebellion, 150; opposes Salt Tax, 410.

Yonge, Sir W., Secretary at War, 446; disappointed of promotion, II., 22; required to resign the Vice-Treasurership, 224.
Yorke, Philip (Lord Hardwicke), Solicitor-General, 273; Attorney-General, 331; Chief Justice and Lord Hardwicke, 425; Chancellor, 473; joins with the Pelhams, II., 26; refuses to appoint a Justice of the Peace at Walpole's request, 41; his account of an interview with George II., 52-3; letter to Newcastle after Fontenoy, 58; letter to Archbishop of York on landing of young Pretender, 62; suppression of heritable jurisdictions in Scotland, 104; his sons provided for, 152-3; resigns, 334-5; advice on Address to the Throne, 450; ready to attend Cabinet, though not in office, 558.
Yorke, Charles, Solicitor-General, II., 336.

Zuylestein, Earl of Rochford, 4.

00035420

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020